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Conducting Archaeology in Swedish Sápmi

– Policies, Implementations and Challenges
in a Postcolonial Context

Charina Knutson



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Licentiate Thesis
Charina Knutson

**CONDUCTING ARCHAEOLOGY IN SWEDISH SÁPMI – POLICIES,
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Abstract

Since the 1980s, there has been a growing consciousness among heritage workers and policy makers about the management of indigenous heritage. Museums, universities, and other cultural institutions around the world have acknowledged that old work practices must be exchanged for new ones, where the indigenous peoples are allowed influence, stewardship, and interpretative prerogative. One result of these efforts is the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2007).

With the breakthrough of public archaeology and community archaeology in the 1990s, these ambitions have also been put into practice in multiple archaeological projects around the globe. In my research, I examine the heritage management system of Sweden, and how this system works in relation to the indigenous Sámi.

Despite being on the retreat geographically for the past few centuries, the Sámi still dispose of about 50% of the area of Sweden for the grazing of their reindeer, which means the historical and cultural landscape of the Sámi is vast and the archaeological traces of their activities are spread over a large area.

In Sweden, about 90% of all archaeological projects are due to land development projects and conducted by archaeological companies operating on a commercial market. The remaining 10% are research projects financed by public funding and mostly conducted by museums and universities.

Investigating the Swedish county of Jämtland as a case study and drawing on interviews with ten actors with different perspectives on Sámi heritage, I study what happens when policy meets practice. The indigenous perspective appears to be considered less in contract archaeology than in research projects. Legislation, money, old habits, and the realities of everyday life obstruct indigenous influence. But my research results suggest that there are also ways of improving the system.

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I would like to thank my supervisor, Cornelius Holtorf, for good supervision and for constantly pushing me to think and discuss beyond the obvious. Challenging and sometimes frustrating, just the way it should be! My external advisor Bjørnar Olsen in Tromsø has been very helpful and supporting through this first part of my PhD. Anders Högberg contributed with accurate and constructive criticism in the final phase of writing.

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My travelling from Östersund to Kalmar once a month (pre-corona) would have been impossible without my neighbours Marie Alfredsson and Håkan Jonasson. They opened up their warm and caring home to my children during the “Kalmar weeks” and the *Måndagsraggmunk* became an institution.

Stella and Julius – my courageous, kind, and witty children – I dedicate this work to you.

1. Introduction

About the Licentiate Thesis

Choosing a topic for my PhD studies has been heavily influenced by my experience when working at Jamtli Foundation, the County Museum of Jämtland. For the past 20 years, I have worked in various capacities at the museum, which is situated in Östersund in the north of Sweden. In the course of this time, Jamtli has interacted, or wanted to interact, with the Sámi community; the Sámi being an indigenous people living in Sweden, Norway, Finland and Russia. The archaeologists of the museum have worked on Sámi heritage sites, the educational department has held exhibitions and produced programs about (and sometimes with) the Sámi, the museum has Sámi artefacts, arts, and crafts in its collections. But there has always been an uncertainty about how to interact with the Sámi, and how to obtain a mutual relationship that works for everybody.

The issues raised by the work of the museum with the Sámi made me realise that these issues that interested me must have been the subject of discussion in other countries and have probably been addressed by research into indigenous heritage management in an international context. There were policy documents available for my work. When I joined the Graduate School in Contract Archaeology, GRASCA, at the Linnaeus University, it became clear that I would narrow down my field of interest to archaeological practice, with a special concern for contract archaeology.

To investigate this matter means looking into the everyday practice of contract archaeology in Sweden and relating it to the international discussions on indigenous archaeology – a field to which this licentiate thesis wishes to contribute. The licentiate thesis is not a major comparative study between Sweden and other countries, but a description of the current situation in Sweden and how the actors in the Swedish cultural heritage system reflect on their situation. The concluding chapter sets out possible ways forward if Swedish authorities and archaeologists wish to strive for improvement in line with international policies on indigenous heritage.

A good societal system is one that satisfies the needs of the people within it, protects civil rights, and encourages an active citizenship. Cultural heritage can be one of many building blocks contributing to people's sense of belonging and wellbeing. At the same time, if societal agencies misappropriate, neglect, or belittle the same heritage, these actions can create feelings of bitterness, alienation, or inferiority in the people affected. The Sámi do not have a state of their own. They are supposed to function within a nation state with a set of rules and democratic processes decided upon by the majority of the population. Most Sámi accept being part of a nation state but wish that the nation state would be

more flexible and supportive in return. The voices and opinions of the Sámi are not always taken into account in Swedish decision making, even in Sámi matters. This is counter-productive if the goal is to have a population with high social and economic sustainability.

In this licentiate thesis, Sámi points of view will be crucial. What factors in the Swedish heritage system – power structures, stakeholders, legislation, decision making, work practice and so on – need to change for them to feel respected and in control of their narrative? Public officials working in the Swedish cultural heritage sector operate in accordance with their training and work culture, as well as with the current legislation. But there may be ways to improve the archaeological process, and to a greater extent than today consider Sámi competence, dignity, and rights.

Aim, Goals and Objectives

The aim of this licentiate thesis is to show how it is possible to improve the practices of contract archaeology, using collaborative practices with the Sámi in northern Sweden as a focus. In particular, the aim is to show how in Sweden it is possible to improve compliance with international and national policies on indigenous archaeology.

My goals are to identify the challenges in current Swedish archaeology in relation to indigenous heritage and contribute to means of removing obstacles that have been hindering collaboration with the Sámi. In order to achieve these goals, my objective is to investigate and find answers to my research questions below.

Research Problems and Questions

Even if indigenous heritage had been discussed earlier, it was in the 1990s that the international community started to address it seriously. This discussion has resulted in a number of documents aiming at increasing the influence of indigenous peoples on heritage issues. Sweden acknowledged the Sámi as an indigenous people in 1977 (Utbildningsdepartementet 1977) and has had several decades to initiate, encourage, and develop indigenous archaeology within its heritage system. I am interested in how this work is progressing. I am also interested in how the current situation is perceived by people in the heritage system. In this licentiate thesis, I will investigate this through three questions:

1. Does Swedish heritage management, notably contract archaeology, live up to the goals and demands formulated in national and international conventions, policies, and legislation, concerning indigenous peoples and their heritage?

2. Which challenges do the actors in the heritage system experience, regarding Sámi heritage?
3. What kinds of solutions for the challenges do actors suggest, and are the proposed solutions compatible with each other?

Method

This licentiate thesis will compare relevant documents on indigenous heritage with the actual experiences, preferences, and assessments of people in the Swedish heritage system – for example people with a Sámi identity, and heritage workers. The study will be conducted in two steps and combine two methods. The first research question will be answered through an archive study, and the second and third research question will be answered through interviews.

The first research question is:

1. Does Swedish heritage management, notably contract archaeology, live up to the goals and demands formulated in national and international conventions, policies, and legislation, concerning indigenous peoples and their heritage?

To investigate this question, it is first necessary to identify the current key documents concerning indigenous people and heritage in Sweden. The documents used in this study are presented in Chapter 4. They include an international Declaration from the United Nations, national and international professional ethics for archaeologists, Swedish legislation, and guidelines from Swedish and Sámi authorities. There are other documents with contiguous content, such as the *Convention on Biological Diversity*, ratified by Sweden in 1994, and the *European Landscape Convention*, ratified by Sweden in 2011, where traditional knowledge about environment and landscape is acknowledged. However, the documents chosen for this study, stand out as they explicitly deal with indigeneity in relation to heritage.

I will examine the documents and note the articles applicable to the conducting of archaeology. Contract archaeology is of particular interest, due to the ambition at GRASCA to improve the quality of commercial archaeology in Sweden, but also because almost all archaeological surveys and excavations in Sweden are the result of land development. Articles with kindred content will be grouped together under labels such as influence, communication, or ownership of material culture. To categorise the articles, and group them together, will facilitate the further analysis.

Secondly, I need to discover how these policies are being complied with. Does Swedish heritage management, notably contract archaeology, live up to

the goals and demands formulated in national and international conventions, policies, and legislation, concerning indigenous peoples and their heritage?

Within the limited framework of a licentiate thesis it is not possible to examine all contract archaeology in Swedish Sápmi, which is why my study is limited to contract archaeology in the county of Jämtland in the north of Sweden. The county, situated in the southern parts of the Sámi area, is considered a “border area” for Sámi culture.

To learn about Swedish contract archaeology and how it is conducted, the scientific contract archaeology reports are a relevant source of information. The reports document the aims, methods, and results of the projects. If the project included any kind of indigenous consideration or collaboration, it is mentioned in the report. The reports on contract archaeology are kept in the archive at the County Administrative Board (Sw. *länsstyrelsen*) in Jämtland. The reports are public documents and accessible for all.

I will analyse reports from the years 2000, 2009 and 2018. Most of the policy documents concerning indigenous heritage are from the 21st Century. Choosing the year 2000 as starting point for this study makes it possible to say something about how things worked before the policies were introduced. In 2009, two years had passed since Sweden signed the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Changes related to that commitment would be expected to be traceable in the reports. 2018 can in turn provide information on if and how practices developed over the nine years that followed.

A concern that social aspects, such as interaction with the Sámi, are downplayed in contract archaeology has been expressed for Finnish conditions (Harlin 2019:259). I therefore wish to compare the contract archaeology reports in my study, with reports from two non-commercial archaeological projects from the same county (Jämtland) and period (2000–2018). I am interested in whether the work processes differ between contract archaeology projects and public funded projects, and if the form of financing a project affects the compliance with national and international goals for indigenous archaeology.

Public funded projects are not conducted as often as contract archaeology projects, and they often stretch over several years. It was difficult to make the same kind of systematic selection as with the contract archaeology projects. Instead, I chose two projects from the archive that in part involved the same actors that were represented in the contract archaeology projects. It allowed me to see if the work procedures depended merely on financing, and not on which actors were involved.

My second and third questions are:

2. Which challenges do the actors in the heritage system experience, regarding Sámi heritage?

3. What kinds of solutions for the challenges do actors suggest, and are the proposed solutions compatible with each other?

I approach these questions through the qualitative method of interviews. I have interviewed ten individuals with different perspectives on Sámi heritage. The interviewees were selected to cover as many angles of approach as possible. I wanted to interview Sámi, but also non-Sámi Swedes; people working and living in Jämtland, and people in the Sámi core areas in northernmost Sweden; people with their own experiences of reindeer herding and historical connections to the landscape, as well as academics in the cultural heritage sector; people with a non-profit view on heritage, and people from the commercial side of development projects and contract archaeology. The number of interviews were limited to ten, since I wanted to make in-depth interviews and let my interviewees develop their thoughts without pressure of time. For the record, an eleventh interviewee (a female reindeer herder) was invited to join the study. Despite persistent attempts to reach her through telephone, text messages, e-mail and personal contacts, she did not respond. The remaining ten agreed to participate without hesitation.

The men and women participating in the study are a contract archaeologist, a person representing a Sámi village in Jämtland, two persons working at the Sámi Parliament, one person representing the County Administrative Board in Jämtland, one former Sámi museum manager, one person working at the World Heritage Laponia, one person representing the Swedish National Heritage Board (Sw. *Riksantikvarieämbetet*), one person working at the county museum in Västerbotten, and one developer consultant. Out of the ten interviewees, six are male and four are female.

The interviews were semi-structured. The term “semi-structured” means that the interviewer has a clear list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered by the interviewee. But there is also a flexibility. The interviewee can develop ideas and add other issues to the conversation if he or she wants to (Denscombe 2010:175). The interviews were conducted in person and recorded on a cell phone. I simultaneously took field notes on my computer. Afterwards, the interviews were transcribed into data files to enable further analysis.

The interviews are analysed based on critical thematic analysis, CTA. CTA is a method that helps the scholar structure the content of recorded interviews. CTA is suitable for studies of power relations and social structures, which are relevant to this licentiate thesis as I want to track difficulties and challenges in the Swedish heritage system. The method was first theorized by William Foster Owen in 1984, and further developed by Braun and Clark (2006) and Lawless and Chen (2019), among others. Scientists who have worked with this method recently include Morales, Abrica & Herrera (2019) who have used it to analyse the prejudices of white US teachers towards Mexican–American school children, and Burnette & Hefflinger (2017) who have studied intimate partner

violence against indigenous women. Central concepts in the method are repetition, recurrence, and forcefulness. Repetition means the repeated use of a specific word, in this study for example “Sámi heritage”. Recurrence is when the interviewees may not use the exact same word for a phenomenon, but there are similarities in meaning. Finally, forcefulness is when interviewees mark the importance of a specific issue or opinion, for example by raising or lowering their voice, gesture or in other ways to emphasise what they say (Lawless & Chen 2019:95-96).

Lawless and Chen have stressed how CTA is specifically useful as an analytical approach for qualitative research that works toward social justice goals. The C for “critical” means that the scholar looks for patterns in the communication of individuals, but at the same time is aware of social and historical context, institutional powers and hegemonic structures. The relation between micro- and macrolevels is stressed, as is the reproduction of power relations. Lawless and Chen also argue that “recurrence, repetition and forcefulness must be examined with reference to cultural identity positioning, thus asking: ‘Who said this, and why does it matter?’” (Lawless & Chen 2019:96). The aspects of power relations and cultural identity positioning are both relevant to this study. The Sámi often experience powerlessness in relation to Swedish society, bureaucracy and legislation, a powerlessness clearly associated with the cultural identity of being Sámi. Therefore, it is interesting to see how the interviewees express their thoughts on power and power relations in the heritage field.

In the critical thematic analysis of the interviews in this licentiate thesis, I use the recordings, transcriptions and fieldnotes of the interviews in order to identify patterns in the content. I do not go into details describing body language or incidence of specific words, I rather focus on what seems important to the interviewees. The topics that keep recurring and that evoke the commitment of the interviewees will be clustered into themes and interpreted.

Definitions

This licentiate thesis will use a set of terms and expressions that need to be defined. Although some of the terms are well known they still need to be presented in relation to the content of this study. Hopefully, this study will be relevant to a wider audience, so a description of Swedish conditions and discourse is needed to orientate the international reader. Some of the terms will be further discussed in Chapter 2, Contexts and Backgrounds.

The Sámi are an indigenous people in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. In this licentiate thesis, Sámi refers to a person identifying as Sámi, or to a collective of such persons, or to something belonging to or deriving from a Sámi context.

Sápmi (also for example **Sábme**, **Sábmie**, **Saepmie**) is the cultural region traditionally inhabited by the Sámi. Sápmi covers most of northern Fennoscandia, i.e. the northernmost parts of Norway, Sweden, and Finland, as well as the Russian Kola peninsula. It is surrounded by the waters of the Norwegian Sea, the Barents Sea and the White Sea (Figure 1). Sápmi is the name of this area in the language of the Northern Sámi. The Sámi language is in fact at least nine different languages, but as Northern Sámi is spoken by a majority of the Sámi-speaking population (Utredningen om finska och sydsamiska språken 2006:90), Sápmi has become the accepted official name of the area. Sometimes the name is used in a wider sense, including not only the geographical area but also the Sámi collective (Samiskt Informationscenter 2020). Towns like Kiruna, Jokkmokk and Östersund in Sweden, Karasjok, Kautokeino and Tromsø in Norway, and Enare/Inari in Finland are nodes for Sámi administration and organisation (Figure 2).

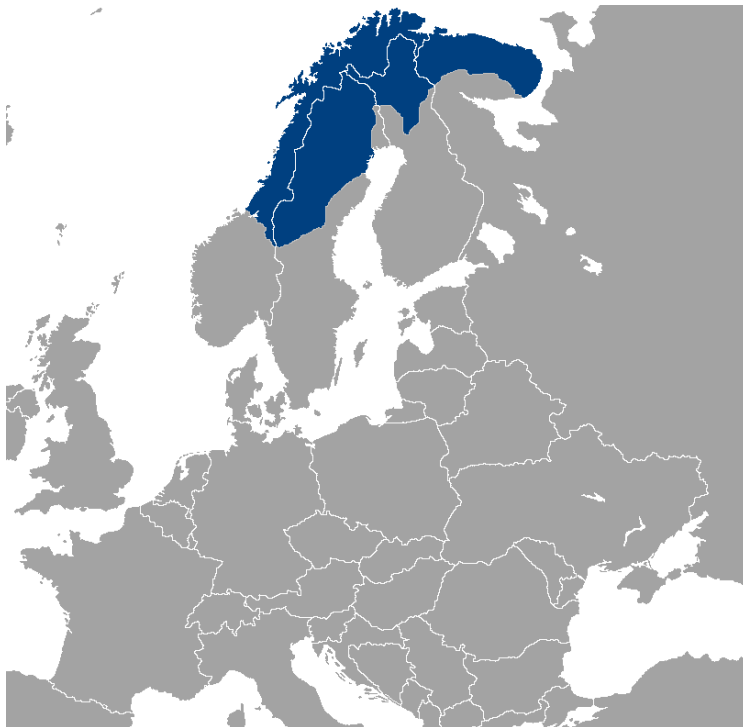


Figure 1. A map of Europe with Sápmi marked in blue. From west to east, Sápmi covers parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. The area is often referred to as “Northern Fennoscandia”. Illustration: Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 2. A map of Sápmi with important placenames. Illustration: Anders Suneson. Used by permission of the Samiskt Informationscenter, www.samer.se

Colonial and postcolonial are terms that will be frequently used in the licentiate thesis, and **neo-colonial** will be mentioned occasionally. **Colonial** refers to practices connected to colonialism, which sometimes is defined as the expansion of Western Empires into other continents 1492–1945; from Columbus’ journey to North America to the end of the Second World War (Lydon & Rizvi 2010:18-20). On the other hand, colonialism is older than that. The Roman Empire and The Mongolian Empire are two historical examples. In general terms, **colonialism** can be described as “the conquest and control of other people’s lands and goods” (Loomba 2015:20). It is a sustained effort of controlling a distant home, by invasion or settlement, and to control this land area economically and politically. **Inner colonisation** (taking control of an area within the state or kingdom), or integration, may differ from colonising an area overseas. Power relations may fluctuate over time, and the cultures may have an exchange of goods, services, and ideas. The state may protect the colonised area or people as part of the essence of the nation. But in the end, it is still an asymmetrical relationship (Fur 2006:6; González-Ruibal 2010:39). The asymmetry is not only material, but also triggers a set of attitudes and approaches, which have proven very persistent. Western exploitation of natural and human resources in former colonies is still in operation, fuelled by growing globalisation and modernisation. A country may have gained formal political independence but still be economically and culturally dependent on the former colonising power. These ongoing inequities are referred to as **neo-colonialism** (Benjamin & Hall 2010:xii-xiii; Loomba 2015:28).

The term **postcolonial** cannot simply be understood as “after the colonial era”. The term has been criticised for suggesting a linear, progressive history, implying that colonialism ceased, when, as a matter of fact, the effects of colonialism are still a global factor (McClintock 1992:85; Benjamin & Hall 2010:xii-xiii; Ledman 2012:30-31; Loomba 2015:28-29). Postcolonial rather means that after 1945, colonialism slowly started to change shape. Intellectually, a critical debate began, stimulating political movements for liberation and independence of the colonies, which in many cases also gained formal independence. The postcolonial perspective was fuelled by publications such as Frantz Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth* (1968) and later Edward Said’s influential *Orientalism* (1978) which showed how Western conceptions of history and culture had become the lens through which all other societies were viewed and judged. Postcolonial research seeks to embrace the perspective of the colonised societies. Researchers with a postcolonial perspective are self-reflexive and willing to negotiate the hegemony of western science. Common goals are the deconstruction of stereotypes and binary opposites such as East/West, Black/White and us/them (Lydon & Rizvi 2010:17-21).

Decolonisation refers in its narrowest sense to the process in which a former colony becomes politically independent, or to a transfer of sovereignty from coloniser to colonised (Smith & Jeppesen 2017:2). However, the “undoing” of

colonialism goes beyond a shift in political power – what is depreciatory called “flag independence” (see for example Collins 2017:39). True decolonisation touches many aspects of human and social life. Again, it is about changing power structures, practices, attitudes, and preconceptions that have been the reality for both the coloniser and the colonised for a long period of time. Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes decolonisation as “a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power” (Tuhiwai Smith 2012:101). This broad definition of decolonisation is the one I will be using in my licentiate thesis.

Indigenous people is a key concept in my study. The word “indigenous” comes from Latin *indigena*, which means “sprung from the land, native”. The word came into the English language in the 1640s when it was applied to plants, animals and people naturally growing, living, or occurring in a region in the New World (Peters & Mika 2017:1229). Even today, a common notion of indigenous peoples is that they are the original or earliest known inhabitants of an area. However, when discussing indigenous rights on an international level, the definition often includes another factor, namely colonisation. Indigenous peoples are in this definition the ones who inhabited a country or region at the time of conquest, settlement, or colonisation. The indigenous people have come under the rule of a dominant power, often coinciding with the establishment of present state boundaries (see for example the definition in the International Labour Organization’s *Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention*, ILO169, which Sweden has not signed. For an analysis of this topic, see Johansson 2008:219-244). The United Nations has not adopted an official definition of the word indigenous. Instead, they have developed what they call “a modern understanding” of the term, which defines indigenous people according to the following criteria:

- Self- identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member
- Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies
- Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources
- Distinct social, economic or political systems
- Distinct language, culture and beliefs
- Form non-dominant groups of society
- Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues 2020).

This “modern understanding” will also be the guiding principle in this licentiate thesis. The status of the Sámi as an indigenous people is undisputed regardless; they have, as mentioned earlier, been acknowledged as an indigenous people by the Swedish government since 1977 (Utbildningsdepartementet 1977).

Contract archaeology is one of many terms for commissioned archaeology, often caused by land-development. Other terms are development-led archaeology, archaeology as cultural resource management (CRM-archaeology) (USA) and commercial archaeology (UK) (Börjesson 2017:32). In Sweden, the commercial practice is regulated by the *Heritage Conservation Act* (Sw. *Kulturmiljölag*, SFS 1988:950) and by the regulations and general advice for contract archaeology established by Swedish authorities, mainly the Swedish National Heritage Board (e.g. Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015a; KRFS 2017:1; KRFS 2018:6). With a strict reading, contract archaeology comprises those projects initiated by a developer and approved by the County Administrative Boards. This licentiate thesis, however, will point out that archaeological businesses (private companies, county museums, foundations, and others) can be given commissions without the involvement of the County Administrative Boards. It is my opinion that these are as much “contracts” as the contracts decided by the County Administrative Boards. In both cases, there is a commercial agreement where an archaeological company provides a service to an external purchaser, and the same laws and regulations are applied. The graduate school GRASCA also aims at improving the quality of contract archaeology in Sweden and paving the way for new practices and services. In the following, contract archaeology will therefore be defined as projects financed by private companies, organisations or persons, conducted by archaeologists operating on the commercial market.

Community archaeology is one of many terms for archaeological outreach and collaboration with the public (others with slightly different definitions are “public archaeology”, “collaborative archaeology”, or when it is conducted together with indigenous peoples, “indigenous archaeology” or “postcolonial archaeology”). Community archaeology is based on the premise that better archaeology can be achieved when more diverse voices are involved in the interpretation of the past (Tully 2007:158). Community archaeology projects collaborate with local stakeholders, preferably in all stages of the project, and value the expertise of the people involved. Community archaeology is further discussed in Chapter 3.

The Swedish National Heritage Board defines **cultural heritage** (Sw. *kulturarv*) as “all tangible and intangible expressions of human activity through time” (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2016:6). In this licentiate thesis I acknowledge the understanding that cultural heritage is created in the present. Heritage comprises the things, tangible and intangible, that provide us, people living today, with meaningful connections to the past. What is designated heritage is a matter of negotiation and varies in time and space (Little & Shackel 2014:39). In archaeological literature, the terms “heritage” and “cultural heritage” are often interchangeable. Since this licentiate thesis discusses indigenous archaeology, it is sometimes implied that “heritage” relates to material and

immaterial cultural heritage. If at some point by “heritage” I also mean other types of heritage, such as natural heritage, this will be clarified.

The heritage sector is a frequently used term in this licentiate thesis. Traditionally, the heritage sector is defined as the collective of actors performing publicly financed heritage work: the Swedish National Heritage Board, County Administrative Boards, regional and municipal museums, and public archives and libraries (Lindström 2007:9). In this study, the definition includes commercial companies such as heritage consultants and contract archaeology businesses.

All these different actors are part of the same system, which have developed over many years. They form a **heritage system**. Using a systems approach encourages us to analyse not only the parts – the actors, the resources, the material and immaterial heritage – of the heritage sector, but the interdependence between the different actors in the system – the relationships, the power structures, the decision-making. A heritage system is connected to a territory, in this case the country of Sweden, and focused on creating value according to the goals set by the government (Barile & Saviano 2015:73-74, 88-90, 100, who use the term “cultural heritage system”). To me, “heritage system” is a wider term than “heritage sector”. Not all of the interviewees in this licentiate thesis are professionals, working in the heritage sector, but they all interact and aim to create value within the heritage system.

Ethical Considerations

I am not Sámi myself, and when started working on my research I had no specific gateways to the Sámi community. To get to know Sámi representatives and to build relationships has been an important part of my research, and a lifechanging experience. As a member of the Swedish majority, I see things through a majority lens, whether I like it or not. To counter-act that, I have tried to listen to many different Sámi representatives, stories, and perspectives, because – naturally! – not every Sámi share the same opinions either. The networking has included moving my office from Jamtli, the County Museum, to the Gaaltije, the South-Sámi cultural centre, participating in Sámi conventions and meetings, and talking to representatives of Sámi villages, the Sámi Parliament and Sámi NGOs. For full transparency, I also wish to report that I was elected as a co-opted member to the Gaaltije Foundation in 2019. This was not connected to my research, but to my experiences from the museum sector (management, exhibitions, branding, and marketing), which Gaaltije thought could be of use as they are planning a Sámi museum in the South-Sámi area.

My networking arrangements call for ethical reflections. Has my interaction with the Sámi community affected my research and made it biased? Am I a Sámi activist? I would not say that. I am interested in democracy and heritage.

This study simply examines Swedish compliance with documents already adopted by democratic bodies. At some point in the near past, an assembly gathered and agreed to handle indigenous cultural heritage according to certain principles. My study is about compliance. Is the state, its authorities and organisations, fulfilling its own promises? Are the principles being implemented? If not, why not? I am not interested in judging or accusing, I want to comprehend people and systems, and understand why people think and act as they do. In my research process, I have therefore focused on listening and trying to understand the motivations and attitudes of my interviewees. I have tried to make fair presentations of all participants in the study, not just the Sámi, and help the reader of this study to understand the different perspectives of the interviewees. All of them act for a reason, and if we understand those reasons, change is possible. This licentiate thesis wishes to contribute to constructive discussions on heritage matters, not to foment conflict.

When I started my research, I knew much more about official Swedish attitude, than I knew about Sámi ways (again, in plural) of seeing things. Interacting with the Sámi community has been my way of evening out that imbalance. Sámi perceptions and interpretations of societal matters differ in many ways from what I am accustomed to. Things I read in the papers, that I assumed would be good news for the Sámi, often turned out to be the other way around, or at least more complex than I assumed in the first place. My hope is that the discussions I had and still have with the Sámi make my research more balanced and percipient.

Regarding research ethics, I have followed the local guidelines of the Linnaeus University (Linnéuniversitetet 2014) and the national guidelines published by the Swedish Research Council (2017). According to the Swedish Act (SFS 2003:460) *Concerning the Ethical Review of Research Involving Humans*, a research project shall be reviewed if it entails the handling of sensitive personal data according to Section 13 of the *Personal Data Act* (SFS 1998:204), including information on race, ethnic origin, political views or religious conviction. For this study, a review has not been necessary. I have interviewed persons with Sámi identity, but they are official representatives for the Sámi community, and interviewed as such. Their names are not revealed in the study, instead they are referred to by their profession or assignment. No register of Sámi individuals has been compiled.

Good research practice includes the four cornerstones of information, consent, confidentiality, and use (Linnéuniversitetet 2014:6). My interviewees have signed, and been given a copy of, the conditions for participating in the study (Appendix 1). They were fully informed about the aims of the study, as well of the terms of their participation. They had the right to withdraw from the study at any point, and without consequences. They have all been given the opportunity to read their quotes in advance, which they also did. This confirmation process was arranged by email and phone. I copied the quotes I

use in the licentiate thesis and sent them to the respective interviewees, and they replied to me by email and/or phone. This procedure resulted in minor changes in the quotes. Mainly, the interviewees wanted to make adjustments to clarify a point which they felt was lost when the quote was taken out of its original context. Some profanities were also removed, as the interviewees felt the words were uttered as part of everyday language and came across as too harsh in print. I agreed on removing them from the quotes.

In the licentiate thesis, the interviewees appear under alias, indicating their role in the heritage management system. You will hear the voices of The Contract Archaeologist, The Sámi Village Chairman, and so on. When signing up for the interviews, they all agreed on participating with their own names, since they were interviewed as representatives for their organisations or companies. The decision to give them an alias was mine. I wanted to keep the focus of the reader on the role of the interviewee in the heritage system, not on who he or she is as a person.

The documentation of the interviews is treated in confidentiality, to the greatest extent possible. The written material (field notes and transcriptions) has had names deleted and been stored at the County Museum Jamtli in Östersund, Sweden. All identifiable information was removed from the documents before storing them, and names were replaced by numbers. A separate key was made to enable future reading and research verification. The key is kept as a digital file on a separate USB memory stick used only for this purpose and is stored in such way that individuals cannot be identified by outsiders. The USB stick is held by the author. It was not possible to anonymise the recorded material in a similar manner. It is obvious in the sound files who the interviewee is, and each interviewee in turn mentions several other persons by name. For this reason, the recorded material has been put on a separate USB memory stick, used only for this purpose, and is also held by the author.

The reports analysed in the archive studies are public documents and can be used without special permission. In some cases, it has been relevant to name companies or institutions, but I have avoided naming individuals, since the actors in the system rarely are private persons anyway, but representatives for an agency of some kind.

Linnaeus University's code for good research practice is thereby fulfilled. The three cornerstones of information, consent, and confidentiality have been addressed above. The fourth cornerstone, concerning use, means that the scholar must commit to not making commercial or other non-approved use of the collected data. This is hereby granted by the author of this licentiate thesis.

Overview of the Licentiate Thesis

The licentiate thesis is organised into seven main chapters. Chapter 1 presents the research problem and the three questions in focus of the licentiate thesis. Chapter 2 covers facts and basic assumptions on the Sámi in Sweden, Sámi prehistory and history, and Swedish contract archaeology. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework for the licentiate thesis, focusing on the terms indigenous peoples, postcolonialism and community archaeology.

Chapter 4 introduces the relevant policy documents on indigenous heritage, applicable to Swedish conditions. Chapter 5 is an archive study of reports on contract archaeology in the county of Jämtland to see if the intentions of the policies are being fulfilled. In Chapter 6, ten persons within the Swedish heritage system are interviewed both on the results from the archive study and about their opinions on Sámi heritage management at large. Their lived experiences are important. In Chapter 7, finally, the licentiate thesis is summarised and the results from the investigation are discussed.

2. Contexts and Backgrounds

The Sámi in Sweden

The Sámi are the indigenous people of northern Fennoscandia. It is estimated that about 20,000 – 35,000 Sámi live in Sweden, and that there are 80,000 – 100,000 Sámi altogether. There are Sámi people living all over Sweden, also in the major cities, such as in and around Stockholm (Ojala 2009:77; Sametinget 2020a).

The economic activity associated most with Sámi culture is reindeer herding, even though historically there has been a variety in how the Sámi made their living. Today, reindeer herding is managed within the framework of Sámi villages (Sw. *samebyar*). There are 51 Sámi villages in Sweden (Figure 3). A Sámi village is not defined as a group of houses nor a specific site or place, but an economic association as well as a social and cultural community for a certain set of members. It also relates to a geographical area where reindeer herding is conducted (Samiskt Informationscentrum 2019).

The Sámi village system was first formulated in the Swedish *Reindeer Husbandry Act* (Sw. *Rennäringslagen*) of 1886. According to this legislation, which is still in practice though modified and revised (SFS 1973:437), only a person of Sámi decent and with a Sámi village membership has the right to herd reindeer, and dispose of land areas for grazing, fishing and hunting. Over the years many Sámi have, to a large extent, been forced to assimilate into Swedish society, resulting in difficulties in connecting to their heritage. This division between Sámi village members and other Sámi is a result of Swedish legislation and one of the most debated Sámi issues today (Lundmark 2002:145ff; Ojala 2009:75-76).

In 2019 there were 4,665 reindeer owners in Sweden (Jordbruksverket 2020:103). This number does not necessarily correspond to the number of individuals in Sámi villages, since eight of the Sámi villages are so called concession reindeer herding villages (Sw. *koncessionssamebyar*), a kind of franchise model where a Sámi both can herd his/her own reindeer and herd reindeer owned by others, including the local non-Sámi population (Ojala 2009:80). Still, the number indicates that many Sámi do not partake in the practice of reindeer herding, which is considered a constituent element of Sámi culture. The Swedish Sámi Information Centre estimates that only one out of ten Sámi is member of a Sámi village (Samiskt informationscentrum 2019). Some still live in Sápmi, in the rural areas or in the small towns of northern Sweden, but many Sámi live in the larger cities, practicing their heritage to a greater or lesser extent. If they wish to become a member of a specific Sámi village, they need to apply to that Sámi village, which often hesitates in accepting new members. The reason is mainly economic. A Sámi village cannot

increase the number of reindeer in its herds, due to the limited resources for grazing. More members of a Sámi village would mean that existing members would have to share the modest surplus with more people (Ojala 2009:76; Samiskt informationscentrum 2019).

It has been suggested that the way the *Reindeer Husbandry Act* was conceived, and later revised, may have had the deliberate aim of limiting the number of members in a Sámi village, since providing further grazing areas for reindeer would be practically and economically problematic. The legislation has also been unfavourable towards the rights of Sámi women (Amft 2000:92-97).

If you are not a member of a Sámi village, there are still ways to stay connected to Sámi culture. One is of course to visit Sámi friends and family and share experiences with them. Another is to join a Sámi organisation or association, either based on a specific geographic location, such as Östersunds Sameförening or Sameföreningen in Stockholm, or based on interest, such as Same Ätnam, which works to strengthen Sámi culture, or Sáminuorra, which is the Sámi youth organisation. The Sámi School Agency (Sw. *Sameskolstyrelsen*) runs five Sámi-speaking schools in the counties of Västerbotten and Norrbotten and provides distance learning in Sámi languages to schoolchildren all over Sweden (Sameskolstyrelsen 2020). The Sámi Education Centre (Sw. *Samernas Utbildningscentrum*) in Jokkmokk is open to Sámi students over the age of 18 and offers education in Sámi languages, reindeer herding, Sámi artisan food and Sámi handicrafts (Sá. *duodji*) (Samernas Utbildningscentrum 2020). Gaaltije, a South-Sámi cultural centre in Östersund, and Ájtte – Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum in Jokkmokk, focus on Sámi culture with exhibitions and projects. At a university level, Umeå university runs the Sámi research centre Várdduo (previously called Vaartoe) with interdisciplinary research on Sámi society, culture, history, and language.

About 50 percent of Sweden's land area is designated as a reindeer herding area (Sw. *renskötselområde*). There are mainly three different types of reindeer herding areas: year-round land (Sw. *åretruntmarker*), winter grazing grounds, and – close to the Swedish-Finnish border – areas for franchise reindeer herding (Sw. *koncessionsrenskötsel*). In addition, there are areas such as areas for seasonal grazing (spring grazing, pre-summer grazing, summer grazing, and so on), areas for calving (Sw. *kalvningsland*), and reindeer migratory routes (Sw. *flyttleder*) (Sametinget 2019a). The year-round lands are generally situated closer to the mountain area (The Scandinavian Mountains Range *Skanderna*, along the border between Sweden and Norway) and can be used for grazing during all seasons. The winter grazing grounds, stretching all the way down to the eastern coastline of northern Sweden, can be used for grazing from the 1st of October to the 30th of April every year. The reindeer herding areas are not owned by the Sámi villages, but by the Swedish state together with thousands of private landowners. The Sámi villages can use the land through customary law; the reindeer have been moving along the same trails from times

immemorial and can continue to do so no matter who owns the land. Sometimes migratory routes have been blocked by modern developments such as new roads or dams for hydro-electric power stations. Winter grazing can also demand moving the reindeer long distances. The reindeer might be transported by trucks to their next grazing area (Sametinget 2019a; Sametinget 2019b).

Looking at the map of the current lands for Sámi reindeer herding and knowing that the Sámi economy was more diverse and geographically widespread a couple of hundred years ago than compared to now (Lundmark 1998:67-75; Ojala 2017:259; Ohtsedidh 2020a) it is obvious that the Sámi left traces in a large part of Sweden. Sámi heritage is not only to be found along the Scandinavian Mountain range, but in forests and coastlands as well (on the forest Sámi and their economy, see for example Marklund 2008). Jonas M. Nordin has contributed to this diverse picture by writing about the Sámi presence in early modern Stockholm and Copenhagen. For example, there were Sámi students at the university in Uppsala already in the 17th century, and the famous shipwreck *Wasa*, that sunk on her maiden voyage in 1628, held several finds of Sámi artefacts (Nordin 2018).

Politically, there has been some progress towards Sámi self-administration (although not self-determination) in the recent decades. In 1993, a Sámi Parliament was established in Sweden. The Sámi Parliament is both a political, elected parliament and a state administrative authority, working as an advisory board and expert on Sámi issues. The Parliament neither collects separate taxes nor makes its own laws but engages in a wide range of different areas such as Sámi trades, reindeer husbandry, Sámi language and culture, and traditional Sámi knowledge. It also disburses compensation for reindeer killed by predators and distribute state funding for Sámi culture (Sametinget 2020b).

The Parliament comprises 31 seats, with elections every fourth year. The right to vote is regulated in the *Sámi Parliament Act* (Sw. *Sametingslag*, SFS 1992:1433). When the Sámi Parliament was established, the Swedish state decided on a definition for eligible voters. They settled for a model focusing on self-identification and connection to the Sámi language (Ojala 2009:74-75). In the *Sámi Parliament Act* the criteria are formulated as follows:

§2 In this law, a person is regarded as Sámi if he or she considers himself or herself to be a Sámi, and

- 1. ensures that he or she uses, or has used, Sámi as a language at home, or*
- 2. ensures that any of his or her parents or grandparents use or have used Sámi as a language at home, or*
- 3. has a parent who is or has been admitted into the electoral register to the Sámi Parliament, unless the county administrative board has subsequently decided differently (translation by Carl-Gösta Ojala 2009:75).*



Figure 3. A map of the Sámi villages in Sweden. The Sámi villages dispose of about 50% of the area of Sweden for reindeer grazing, but far from all areas are suitable for grazing. Illustration: Anders Suneson. Used by permission of the Samiskt Informationscenter, www.samer.se

In addition, a Sámi must actively apply to be registered as a voter and be accepted as such by the electoral committee of the Sámi Parliament. In the election to the Sámi Parliament in 2017, the electoral register counted 8,766 eligible voters. 5,056 of them, or 58%, exercised their right to vote (Valmyndigheten 2020).

In 1994, the state signed the Council of Europe's *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (FCNM), and in the year 2000 the Swedish state also ratified FCNM and declared that Sámi, Swedish Finns, Tornedalers, Roma and Jews were the official minorities of Sweden (Council of Europe 1994, Kulturdepartementet 1999; Utrikesdepartementet 2000). The content of the FCNM was then mirrored in the *National Minorities and Minority Languages Act* (Sw. *Lag om nationella minoriteter och minoritetsspråk*, SFS 2009:724). It protects the rights of Sweden's five acknowledged minorities, of which the Sámi is one. Among other things, this law means that Sámi in designated municipalities and regions (Sw. *förvaltningskommuner* and *förvaltningsområden*) are entitled to information in their own language. They can claim the right to elderly care from Sámi speaking staff, and parents can claim pre-school care in the Sámi language. In November 2020 there were 25 Sámi *förvaltningskommuner*, among them the Swedish capital Stockholm (Minoritet 2020). In the region of Jämtland (which geographically covers the same area as the County of Jämtland), where this study is conducted, six out of eight municipalities are designated as Sámi *förvaltningskommuner*, and the region as a whole is a Sámi *förvaltningsområde*. This means that official buildings now have signs in both South-Sámi and Swedish, something that has made the Sámi presence more visible in society (Region Jämtland Härjedalen 2020). However, there is still a long way to go before the Sámi in the region can be assured of community service, information, childcare and elderly care in their own language.

There is a significant difference between minorities and indigenous peoples. An indigenous people, as we learned in the subsection of Definitions, is a group of people who have inhabited an area for a very long time (from before the creation of the modern state), have a distinct language, culture and beliefs, and a strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources. Because of their historic connections to the land areas where they live, and because they see themselves as nations and peoples, the Sámi invoke public international law which is more extensive in the scope for indigenous peoples than for minorities (Johansson 2008:99). While minority rights focus on culture, religion and language, indigenous rights also include the rights to self-determination and rights to land and water. As mentioned previously, the Sámi are both an indigenous people and a minority – the Swedish government acknowledged the Sámi as an indigenous people in 1977 and a minority in 2000. However, in his dissertation from 2008, Peter Johansson concludes that Sweden does not follow the rights internationally recommended for indigenous peoples but rather “treats

the Sámi as kind of a ‘minority-de-luxe’” (Johansson 2008:247, 257-258). In 2016, Sweden was criticised by the then United Nation Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous peoples, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz. She noted, among other things, that there is an “ongoing need to increase the Sámi parliaments’ autonomy and self-governance authority and to strengthen their ability to participate in and genuinely influence decision-making in matters that affect the Sámi people” and not force them to “implement policies and decisions made by the Swedish Parliament and government institutions, which are sometimes at odds with the policy preferences of the Sámi people” (United Nations Human Rights Council 2016:11). In 2018, a similar critique was put forward by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. The committee expressed their concern about insufficient legislation to protect the Sámi people and their lands, a discontent with the fact that not all the Sámi are treated equally by the law, and concerns about continuing hate crimes and discrimination against Sámi people (United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination 2018). Sweden has also been accused of having “double standards”, protecting indigenous and human rights on a global level while neglecting the rights of their own indigenous people (see for example Fur 2016:12; Fröberg 2018).

The Sámi situation in Sweden today is complex and difficult to summarise. For the purpose of this licentiate thesis, it is important to keep in mind the problematic issue of representation. Only a minority of the Sámi are reindeer herders, members of a Sámi village or active voters to the Sámi Parliament. Still, it is to Sámi villages and the Sámi Parliament that government agencies, institutions, County Administrative Boards, municipalities, and companies – contract archaeology companies included – turn for consultation on Sámi issues. This means that when talking about indigenous archaeology in Sweden, you must keep in mind that a majority of the Sámi are not at the table when Sámi heritage is negotiated. There are many voices that are never heard.

Sámi Prehistory and History

The aim of this section is to briefly sketch contemporary understandings of Sámi prehistory and history by providing the reader a context for (material) Sámi heritage: the places, objects and remains that are of concern to Swedish and Sámi heritage management.

The origin, migrations and history of the Sámi are much discussed. Linguists, lawyers, anthropologists, historians, and archaeologists have been trying to map the Sámi for centuries. Modern DNA-techniques – analysing both people and reindeer! – are adding new knowledge (see for example Bjørnstad, Flagstad, Hufthammer & Røed 2012; Lamnidis et al. 2018; Salmi & Heino 2019) but much is still uncertain. When did the Sámi come to Fennoscandia, and from where, and when did they start to identify as Sámi? These are not only valid

research questions, they are also political dynamite, since rights to land and water often focus on the matter of “who was here first”.

Historic views on the Sámi people

Until about 1850, the dominate opinion was that the Sámi were the indigenous people of the entire Scandinavian peninsula (Hansen & Olsen 2014:10-12; Ojala 2009:117-118). During the second half of the 19th century this view changed, and the Sámi were described as the indigenous population of northern Fennoscandia. A theory of two different stone age cultures was put forward – one as the predecessors to the Sámi, the other as the origin for agrarian Scandinavians. The evidence, researchers claimed, related to the differences in stone artefacts, which in the north were made of slate instead of flint (Zachrisson 2004; Hansen & Olsen 2006, 2014:10-14).



Figure 4. The three major divisions of Sweden: Norrland, Svealand and Götaland. Illustration from Creative Commons/Lapplänning.

From around the year 1900, the prehistory of the Sámi was further diminished. Already in 1870 came the first hypotheses that the Sámi were rather late immigrants to the Scandinavian peninsula. Hence, from about 1900–1970, the dominate theory was that the Sámi came from Russia or Siberia during the Bronze Age or even the Iron Age, and only settled in the northern part of Scandinavia. The southern part of the Sámi areas (understood as the regions of Hedmark and Trøndelag in Norway and the provinces of Jämtland, Härjedalen and Dalarna in Sweden) were not believed to have been Sámi areas until the 17th or 18th century. As a result, the Sámi became less interesting to archaeologists, and more a matter for ethnographers (Zachrisson 2004; Hansen & Olsen 2014:13-16).

Sweden is often divided into three main parts, Norrland, Svealand and Götaland (Figure 4). Norrland covers more than half of the area of Sweden but is sparsely populated. David Loeffler (2005) has shown how geopolitical and socio-economical perceptions of northern Sweden as nothing more than a supplier of resources to the south, has had effects even on archaeological research. Swedish archaeologists in the 20th century were part of a thought-collective that postulated that prehistoric settlements of the North were sporadic, nomadic and poorly organised, and that when progress or change incidentally occurred, it was always introduced from the south (Loeffler 2005:197-200). Twentieth century archaeologists engaging in the prehistory of the north, or the prehistory of the Sámi, risked being belittled compared to colleagues in the south (see for example Zachrisson 2016).

However, a national effort for archaeology in Norrland was made from the 1940s to the 1980s, when the Swedish National Heritage Board carried out surveys and rescue excavations along the lakes and rivers of Norrland in preparation for the extensive building of Swedish hydro-electric plants (Björnstad 2006). The excavations also resulted in the project “Early Norrland” (Sw. “*Norrlands tidiga bebyggelse*”) from the 1960s to the 1980s, aiming to engage in research and producing publications on the material from the surveys and excavations connected to these hydro-electric plants. Also, since the 1970s, universities and museums in the north of Sweden have moved forward, taking the initiative and initiating research on Sámi prehistory.

Umeå University with both archaeological research and a Sámi research centre, Vårdduo, Silvermuseet in Arjeplog, and Ájtte – Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum in Jokkmokk are just three examples.

People in Norrland from the Stone Age to the Iron Age

Archaeological sites and material show that groups of people have lived in northernmost Fennoscandia since the Fennoscandic Ice Sheet retreated 10,000–11,000 years ago. The oldest known hunter-gatherer sites in what is now northern Sweden consist of a camp in Aareavaara, dated to around 8600 B.C. and sites in Dumpokjauratj and Kangos, dated to 7800 B.C. (Bergman,

Olofsson, Hörnberg, Zackrisson & Hellberg 2004; Möller et al. 2012). Archaeological evidence shows that Norrland stayed populated throughout the following millennia.

Archaeological sites and remains from the Stone Age and Bronze Age in Norrland are mainly dwellings, stone artefacts, rock art (paintings and carvings), hunting pits, and from around 1500 B.C. asbestos ware, a form of heat proof pottery (Hultén 1991; Baudou 1995; Bolin 1999; Gjerde 2010; Sjöstrand 2011). In the last millennium B.C., northern Fennoscandia was part of a trading economy with eastern, metal producing societies, exchanging furs for metal. At the same time, the people living in south Norrland were creating a mixed economy where alongside fishing and hunting they also initiated grain cultivation and the grazing of domesticated animals. These early farmers of the north (in Norway on the coast up to Troms, in Sweden to central Norrland – Ångermanland and Jämtland) oriented more and more to the south and wanted to be a part of a Germanic culture, a class society based on agriculture and trade (Hansen & Olsen 2014:43-46). In parallel, there was a hunting population with dwellings and camps along rivers and lakes, leaving behind artefacts such as fire-cracked rock and stone tools.

In the late Iron Age, 500–600 A.D., people in northern Fennoscandia show a different pattern of settlement. They are still hunters with wild reindeer as their main prey, but their settlements become more structured (smaller and more clearly defined) and also stretch into the high-mountain area. Another 200 years later, circular pits in the ground indicating huts, are found in the high-mountain areas down to the birch tree-limit. They are called Stallo foundations (Sw. *Stalotomter*) and occur along the as far south as the north of Jämtland. They are clustered in groups of 2 to 15, placed in a line or row, and detected by their floor area, which is lower than the surrounding ground. They are dated to the Viking Age, 800–1050 A.D. (Hansen & Olsen 2014:82-84).

The Stallo foundations may be an indicator of reindeer hunting slowly turning into reindeer herding. The organisation of the Stallo interior shows similarities with later Sámi huts (Sw. *kåtor*) where the domestic space is divided into female and male, sacred and secular areas. This could mean that the Stallo foundations were the dwelling for entire family entities, what Sámi later called a *siida* (other spellings exist), not just for a group of hunters on an expedition. This would, according to some scholars, be proof of a more domesticated reindeer herding economy, where families moved with the reindeer on a seasonal basis (Liedgren & Bergman 2009; Hansen & Olsen 2014:86). There are other scholars who disagree with this interpretation of Stallo foundations and argue that they are remains from Nordic peat houses, built by Norwegian traders from Hålogaland (see discussions in Wepsäläinen 2011; Kjellström 2019).

Not only Stallo foundations, but also hearths in general, grow in number from 800 A.D. and on, in the cultural landscape of reindeer herding. To some

scholars, this indicates that reindeer herding is developing in the mountains and forests of northern Sweden at that time (Bergman 2018:74). Others still do not want to draw the conclusion that reindeer herding goes back to the Viking Age. Changes in habitats could also reflect changes in trading and economic patterns, and the domestication of reindeer could initially have been a matter of using a few reindeer as decoys for hunting wild reindeer or as pack and draught animals for their belongings. Either way, the transition from reindeer hunting to reindeer herding may have been a long and slow process (Bjørklund 2013; Hansen & Olsen 2014:92).

That the people of northern Fennoscandia used reindeer for decoys is actually confirmed by an early written source, *The Voyage of Ohthere*. A Norwegian chief and traveller, Ohthere (*Ottar*) visited the West Saxon king Alfred around 890 A.D. and told him about the “Finns” who hunt in the winter and fish in the summer, and who pay tax in animal skins, birds’ feathers, whalebone, and ships’ ropes from the hides of whales and seals. An often-quoted piece of information is that Ottar tells Alfred that he owns 600 domesticated reindeer, of which six were decoy or transportation animals. It has been assumed that Ottar had Sámi people taking care of the reindeer (see for example Welinder 2008:102-103; Ojala 2009:83-86; Cramér & Ryd 2012:26-30).

Looking for Sámi heritage sites is not all about huts and reindeer. In the South Sámi area, of which the county of Jämtland is part, a certain type of grave gives another clue. They are called *insjögravar* (lake graves or forest graves), or, on the Norwegian side of the border, *fangstmarksgraver* (hunting-ground graves). They appear from 200 B.C. and throughout the Iron Age. Krankmårtenhögen in Härjedalen is one of the oldest and most significant with its round and triangular shaped mounds, crowned with antlers of moose and reindeer. Later forest graves are very discrete in the terrain, often situated close to small lakes, far away from agricultural areas. They contain mainly hunting equipment, such as arrowheads and knives (Sundström 1989; Hansen & Olson 2014:93-95; for Krankmårtenhögen see Ambrosiani, Iregren & Lahtiperä 1984).

Other graves of significance are the ones in Vivalen, Härjedalen. They are dated to the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., which means late the Iron Age/early Middle Age. The graves at Vivalen show a mixture of Sámi and Germanic features. When they were discovered in 1913 they were assumed to be Germanic, but since the discovery of contemporaneous hut foundations in the 1980s, and because the bodies were buried according to Sámi burial customs such as wrapping the bodies in birch bark, Inger Zachrisson has argued that the Vivalen graves are Sámi (Zachrisson 1987:64-66, 2007:139; see also Welinder 2008:118-121). However, there are conflicting arguments claiming that forest graves are the remains from Germanic people hunting or trading stations, or former hunters now defining themselves as Germanic rather than Sámi, or by people that identified as something other than Sámi or Germanic (Odner 1983:111-112; Baudou 1987; Welinder 2008:131). Overall, there seem to be

more examples of hybrid cultural remains from the south Sámi areas. It may be interpreted as an accommodation from the hunting population, here being more surrounded by the Germanic culture than the in the north (Hansen & Olsen 2014:98).

Markus Fjellström has recently contributed to the understanding of Norrlandic history and prehistory through his dissertation *Food Cultures in Sápmi. An interdisciplinary approach to the study of the heterogenous cultural landscape of northern Fennoscandia A.D. 600–1900* (Fjellström 2020). Through stable isotope analysis on human and animal skeletal remains, he concludes that both food culture and population in northern Fennoscandia have been more varied, diverse and heterogenous than previously assumed.

Groups and Ethnicities in Iron Age Fennoscandia

In *The Voyage of Othere* and other early accounts, there are numerous names and labels of ethnic groups living in northern Fennoscandia in the Iron Age. There is an ongoing discussion about how these names should be interpreted and understood. For example, there are different spellings of words like Finns/Phennoi and Skrithiphinnoi, even Lapps – but not Sámi. How is that? Bjørnar Olsen and Lars Ivar Hansen have recently (2014) and thoroughly analysed the varieties of names. There is a difference between the names groups calls themselves, endonyms, and the names that they are given by outsiders, exonyms. The endonym word seems to have been *sámi-sápmi-sápmilaš*, going back to a Finno-Ugric word with links to Baltic and Russian languages, meaning “country”. When examining exonyms, the most common word has been “finns”. Hansen & Olsen refer to sources in Old High German, where the word “fendo” means “walker”. Hence, they see the farming societies in Sweden and Norway calling the Sámi a name meaning things like nomad, trapper, hunter. At the same time, there is a resemblance between this name for Sámi, and the word for people from Finland, Finns. Hansen & Olsen do not think this is a coincidence. When the Greek authors Tacitus and Ptolemy wrote about the Finns (*fennoi/fenni*) in the first centuries A.D., they may have referred to heterogenous groups of hunters in the south of Finland, predecessors to both Sámi and Finns. A proof for that would be that a couple of hundred years later, European writers started to use the word “*skriðfinner*”, meaning “skiing Finns” – maybe to separate the Sámi from other groups.

Finally, the exonym “Lapps” starts to appear around the year 1000 A.D., first in Russian chronicles. Saxo Grammaticus wrote in the 12th century about “Lappia” as the name of a region. The Norwegians seem to have been referring to Lappland as a land around the Bay of Bothnia, possibly east of Finnmark, which primarily means the north of Sweden and Finland. The word “lapp” has also been in more frequent and early use in the two latter countries and did not appear in the Norwegian language until later. Hansen & Olsen therefore assume that “lapp” is a translated loanword that came into use in the eastern Viking

areas of Russia, for example in Aldeigjuborg, today's Staraja Ladoga. From there, it was imported into today's Finland and Sweden (Hansen & Olsen 2014:35-38).

As mentioned earlier, scholarly opinions on "when" and "from where" the Sámi arrived in Fennoscandia, have varied significantly. In 1959, the Norwegian archaeologist Povl Simonsen explored a different approach to Sámi ethnicity – not as something biological or given by nature, but as a concept, something that is created, perceived, and lived (Hansen & Olsen 2014:21). The real breakthrough for this idea came in 1969, when the social anthropologist Fredrik Barth edited and wrote the introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (1969). Instead of studying ethnicity as something that develops within a group, Barth meant that ethnicity can only exist in interaction with another group. An isolated group does not need to define themselves; it is when an external pressure is put on the group that ethnicity emerges (Barth 1969:17-19). This altered the bipolar "Sámi or Germanic" view that archaeologists had on Fennoscandian prehistory. In 1983, Knut Odner applied Barth's theories to the matter of Sámi ethnicity in his book *Finner og terfinner – etniske prosesser i det nordlige Fenno-Skandinavia* (1983). Odner argues that the demand from the Roman Empire for northern trading goods, mainly fur, made farming communities on the Scandinavian peninsula expand their regions of interest to the north. In the contact between farmers and hunters, structures for trading, transactions and commerce were formed, and these structures became related to group identity. According to Odner, this was the birth of Sámi ethnicity. Other groups of hunters, who may not have identified as Sámi at that point, may have discovered the trade benefits connected to Sámi identity, and started to self-identify as Sámi in order to achieve the same benefits (Odner 1983:86-87, 92-93, 109-110). Today, a common view is that the 10,000 year long history of Fennoscandia must have held a multitude of groupings and identities, but that Sámi ethnicity emerges during either the early Iron Age (Olsen 2007:213-214) or the late Iron Age (Welinder 2008:140-141).

The Sámi in the Viking Age and the Middle Ages

The contacts between the Sámi and the Germanic people in the late Iron Age have been widely debated. It is considered uncontroversial that Sámi goods, mainly fur, were important when the Germanic chieftains in Fennoscandia established and positioned themselves in relation to chieftains in the south. But how did they get a hold of the Sámi goods? In the Islandic sagas, and in the *The Voyage of Othere*, there are episodes describing both taxation of and violence towards Sámi; Norse men of power sending out military forces to frighten the Sámi and collect taxes from them. However, this picture of a colonial and exploiting system has been challenged by several authors arguing that the Sámi-Germanic relationship must have been mutual and served both parties. The

Germanics had weapons and military force but using them on a mobile hunter-gatherer population would not have been efficient, nor would it have guaranteed regular supplies of the goods that the Germanic people wanted. Mutual agreements and reciprocity would have worked better (Hansen & Olsen 2014:48-50). There are also examples of cooperation other than trade between the Sámi and Germanic people. Marriage between the two groups is mentioned in early written sources, and it seems the Germanic population often turned to the Sámi for healing and sorcery (Zachrisson 2006:21-25; Hansen & Olsen 2014:50-52).

A special kind of archaeological material connected to Sámi ethnicity is the metal depot sacrificial sites, thoroughly described in Inger Zachrisson's dissertation from 1984, *De samiska metalldepåerna år 1000–1350 i ljuset av fyndet från Mörträsket, Lappland*. The metal depots are dated to 900–1350 A.D. They consist of metal objects (of both eastern and western origin), antlers and bones, and are found along the shorelines of forest lakes. They have been interpreted as the result of the trading boom in Sámi goods, such as furs, during the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages, and might have had religious, social and ideological functions (Zachrisson 1984; Hansen & Olsen 2014:113-115). The depots seem to occur mainly in the borderlands between Germanic chieftains and Sámi areas. Arguments have been put forward that the deposits were made to close deals, sign contracts of collaboration and maybe confirm borders. They occur in these types of border areas and meeting points in Sweden, Norway and Finland alike. The artefacts in the depots differ from the ones in contemporaneous graves, indicating that they were used for symbolic actions only (Hansen & Olsen 2014:71-75; Bergman 2018:58). The custom ceased in the mid-14th century, something that could be an effect of the Black Death (Zachrisson 1987:62-63).

During the High and Late Middle Ages, the conditions for the Sámi changed in a number of ways, mostly due to the formation of states around them. Hansen & Olsen see three major factors: colonisation, where groups of people settled in Sámi areas and brought their economic activity with them, integration, when the young states surrounding Sápmi included the Sámi in their political and administrative systems, and the spread of Christianity. The latter meant both that the religious exchange that had existed between the Sámi and Germanics had to cease, and that the Sámi were affected by the expansion of Christianity and the building of churches (Hansen & Olsen 2014:141).

The leap into the Middle Ages has recently been examined in the science project "Heritage, landscape and identity processes in Northern Fennoscandia 500 – 1500 A.D." (Sw. *Kulturarv, landskap och identitetsprocesser i norra Fennoskandien 500 – 1500 e. Kr*) (Bergman 2018). Scholars from several disciplines have joined to map agriculture, fishing, trading and reindeer herding in the Swedish provinces of Norrbotten and Västerbotten. Here, the colonisation from the Swedish king and church started around the year 1300 A.D. In the

historical documents, the people living in the hinterland are clearly described as “Lapps”, i. e. with a Sámi ethnicity, whereas the people along the coastline have no clear ethnicity and could be a Germanic or mixed population (Bergman 2018:17-18). Taxes were paid in the form of dry fish from lakes and rivers, and the research shows that fishing took place in cooperation and joint consultation between farmers and the Sámi. Evidence for this are tax rolls and court documents, as well as archaeological finds (Bergman 2018:50-52).

The Sámi are not the only group identity mentioned in northern Fennoscandia during the Middle Ages. Others are for example Tjuders, Värings, Kylfingar, Terfinns, Bjarms, Kvens and Birkarls. (Odner 1983:23; Lundmark 1998:20; Hansen & Olsen 2014:153-155, for the complicated Kven issue, see Elenius 2007, 2008; Ojala 2009:78-80). The Birkarls have never been considered an ethnic group, but descendants of farmers in the valleys of the Pite, Lule and Torne rivers. They are mentioned for the first time in a document from 1328, where it is stated that anyone could settle around the Bay of Bothnia, but no one was allowed to disturb the Sámi in their hunting or interfere with the Birkarls in their trade with the Sámi. The Birkarls were already established at that point, indicating that their role in the trading economy goes back to the 13th century (Lundmark 1998:18-19; Hansen & Olsen 2014:153-155).

The Birkarls had the mandate to collect tax from the Sámi and pay it on to the Swedish king. But they were also the travelling, trading middlemen between the Sámi and others – farmers and traders from today’s Sweden, Finland and Russia. The Birkarls appear in historic sources as farmers, not rich in animals and areas, but in trading goods and metal. They had relationships with Sámi women, sometimes in marriage, and they had children who were granted an inheritance share, even when born outside of marriage. The Birkarls position was very privileged, and the kings of Sweden tried repeatedly to reduce the control of the Birkarls over northern trade and taxes. During the harsh reign of the Swedish king Gustav Vasa, in the mid-16th century, the Birkarls lost their right to tax the Sámi; the king’s own bailiffs took over the task. The Sámi payed tax per family or household, registered under a headman, the *skattelapp* (tax-paying Sámi). The tax was now paid in skins, mainly squirrel and marten skins, dry fish, reindeer produce, and sometimes in money or silver (Lundmark 1998:26-29, 2008a:24-26; Bergman & Edlund 2016; Bergman 2018:60-65).

Because of the taxation system from Gustav Vasa’s time, there is a rich archival material on the Sámi people and land areas. The *siida* system was now established, where several families or households worked together in a cooperative community, and a form of village council took decisions on grazing lands and migration. As mentioned, the head of each family was responsible for paying tax for the household, and therefore was referred to as *skattelapp* in the Swedish archives. The land areas were called *lappskaatteländ* or in Jämtland and Härjedalen *skattefjäll* (even though it must be noted that Jämtland and Härjedalen were part of Norway and the Norwegian administration for most of

the time until 1645). These lands were geographically defined, and they could be inherited, rented out to others, pawned, or sold, just like any other pieces of land. In the Swedish state administration, *lappskatteländ* were treated equally to any other property (Lundmark 1998:59; Gränsdragningskommissionen för renskötselområdet 2006:110-111; Päiviö 2007:114, 122-123). This taxation was not overwhelming; most farmers were more heavily taxed than the Sámi. Other examples of Sámi status and independence are that the Sámi were exempt from the obligation to provide transportation for public officials and other travellers (Sw. *hållskjutssystemet*) – and from conscription, even though it has been argued that the latter was due to Sámi scepticism towards the Crown, which the Crown feared would make them disloyal soldiers (Fur 2006:54-55; Lundmark 2008a:58-59; Cramér & Ryd 2012:68-70).

State-sponsored settlements

Research shows that the Swedish Sámi were in many aspects respected by the Swedish king, and later by the Swedish state, from the Viking Age throughout the Middle Ages (Lundmark 2008a, 2008b; Lundmark & Rumar 2008; Bergman 2018). Their way of life was accepted, they were free to migrate with their reindeer between countries, and they were providers of appreciated trading goods. As late as 1751, the Sámi had their rights clearly recognised when Sweden and Norway signed the Strömstad Treaty, in which the border between the two countries was affirmed. The treaty had an amendment that was especially written for the Sámi. It was called *Lappkodicillen* (The Sámi Amendment) and stated that although the Sámi from now on had to decide whether to be Swedish or Norwegian, they could still move freely with their reindeer across the border as they had always done, spring and autumn. They could use land and water along the route, and farmers had to welcome and protect them along the trail. Because the amendment ensured Sámi rights, it is often referred to in present day discussions as well (Lundmark 1998:17, 2008a:56-62; Lantto 2010).

However, a colonial relationship between the Sámi and the Swedish state had already started to develop. During Sweden's epoch as a Great Power, often determined as the period 1611–1721, a gradual change of attitudes and practices developed, and for different reasons. Gunlög Fur thinks that in the period Sweden is a Great Power, it is still “more appropriate to speak of attempts to integrate the Saamis into the realm on Swedish conditions and sometimes with the use of force, than to term it colonization” (Fur 2006:7, 40). However, it seems that the period as a Great Power may have fuelled colonial practices on several levels. The urge to control and administer the growing kingdom, and to provide troops and nobility with material supplies, primarily metal, affected the way the state administration viewed the northern parts of the country. For example, the Swedish Crown established churches and marketplaces in Sámi areas, with the function of being nodes in the colonial landscape. The Sámi were

required to meet up at the nodes for trade, taxation, church services and legal matters (Ojala & Nordin 2015, Ojala 2017:261).

Another example of both cooperation and resistance is when the Swedish state in the 17th century forced the Sámi to work with transports related to government owned mines. The Sámi were badly treated in the process, but they could put up a resistance, negotiate and get better conditions (Lundmark 1998:44-50, 64-65).

In 1673 and 1695 the state set up decrees to enable the recruitment of farmers to settle in the north of Sweden. The reason was again to serve the mining industry. After the end of the of the Great Nordic War in 1720 Sweden slowly moved into an expansive phase – population, the economy and production all increased – and settlement continued. Until the mid-18th century, all parties agreed that settlement could only take place if no Sámi activities or rights were disturbed (Lundmark 1998:62, 2008b:149-150). In 1749, the state decided on regulations for new settlements in the north, offering land areas and tax reductions for any family breaking new ground. When more settlers came, disputes over land and water started to occur. The laws and regulations were more often twisted in favour of the settlers (Päiviö 2007:124-126). The colonisation of Swedish Sápmi was therefore slow and gradual and did not include armed force – but it was executed, nevertheless. Gradually, the Sámi lost the land they had utilised since time immemorial (Lundmark 1998:67-75; Päiviö 2007:131-132; Lundmark 2008a:72-74, 2008b:150-151).

The settlers were now in all parts of Sápmi, forcing the Sámi to withdraw from land areas they had formerly used. Landowners showed less and less understanding for the needs and habits of reindeer, which they now claimed damaged their land and ate their hard-earned crops. A famous proprietor in Härjedalen, William Farup, managed the largest piece of privately-owned land in Sweden, the 900 square kilometer large Ljusnedal. Farup wanted to transform Ljusnedal from a non-profitable iron production unit to a modern farm with large scale dairy production and forestry, and the reindeer were in his way. The conflict went all the way to the Swedish Parliament, where it was called the Härjedalen Culture Struggle (Sw. *Kulturkampen i Härjedalen*). The politicians realised that reindeer needed their forest grazing in winter, when the mountains were covered in thick layers of snow. The struggle resulted in the Swedish state buying land areas to secure winter grazing; one of the estates being Ljusnedal, which the Swedish state bought when Farup died in 1893 (Lundmark 1998:95-96; Gränsdragningskommissionen för renskötselområdet 2006:184-187; Thomasson 2007:63-64).

In the *Reindeer Husbandry Act* from 1886 (revised 1898) it was decided that the *lappskatteländ* and *skattefjäll* now were state property. The Sámi were organised in *lappbyar*, later *samebyar*/Sámi villages, and their former individual rights to land and water were transformed into collective resources for the *lappby* (Thomasson 2007:71). Decisions concerning the *lappby* and its

reindeer herding were now to be authorised by the County Administrative Boards, and a special Sámi bailiff (a Swedish public official) was appointed in each county. This led to a decline in Sámi representation in public life (Lundmark 1998:94; Lantto 2000:14, 22, 51-53). From this point, reindeer herding was only allowed to take place within the framework of Sámi villages, to which only a limited number of Sámi could be members. With the *Reindeer Husbandry Act* of 1928, the Swedish state confirmed the opinion that only reindeer herders in the Sámi villages were “real” Sámi. The right to reindeer herding, hunting, fishing, logging and other land-based resources belonged to them. Other Sámi were left without legal rights (Lundmark 1998:106-107, 113; Mörkenstam 1999; Lantto 2000:40-42; Mörkenstam & Lantto 2008; Össbo & Lantto 2011:328-330).

The *Reindeer Husbandry Act*, as it was devised at the turn of the 19th century, reflected the animated discussions of the time. The Sámi people and culture had both advocates and opponents in Swedish politics. To the *samevänner* (Sámi friends) the Sámi were an asset, an exotic group of people representing a primordial society from before industrialisation and urbanisation. To others, inspired by Social Darwinism, the Sámi represented a lower form of humans, living a primitive and pitiful life, and it was the duty of any modern society to put an end to it, by assimilation and re-education. Both the Sámi friends and the more Social Darwinist oriented wing, however, tended to think that the Sámi people needed supervision, guidance, and patronage. They were also united in their view on reindeer herding as essential to Sámi ethnicity – the nomadic and primitive culture of the “noble savage” was the one Sáminess that was worth protecting (Lundmark 1998:85, 92-93; Lantto 2000:42).

Wanting to conserve the Sámi culture as it was at the time, led to the idea that the Sámi culture must not develop or change – then it would no longer be authentic and worth protecting. This led to discrimination in political decisions. Reindeer herding Sámi were expected to live in *kåtor* and could be stopped from building houses in reindeer grazing areas (Lantto 2000:9; Cramér & Ryd 2012:142). By a law from 1913, Sámi children were forced to attend nomad schools (Sw. *nomadskolor*), arranged in *kåtor* and with a lightweight curriculum, not to adapt to a modern, comfortable environment or be tempted to further studies (Lundmark 1998:100; Lantto 2000:42-45; Thomasson 2007:57; Kortekangas 2017). This policy was called “Sámi shall remain Sámi” (Sw. “*lapp ska vara lapp*”) and influenced Sámi politics in Sweden until the 1940s (Lundmark 1998:103-104).

As we shall see in Chapter 3, Theory, this is not specific for Swedish or Sámi conditions, or for the late 19th century. There are still expectations from states and authorities that indigenous peoples must keep certain traditions or lifestyles to be valuable to the rest of society. This attitude also shines through in documents from the international organisations where indigenous knowledge and traditions are safeguarded. The intentions are to protect and cherish

indigenous features, but at the same time, those writings define – and may also limit – our images of and expectations on indigenous communities.

The Role of Cultural Heritage in Swedish Colonialism

From the 1870s until World War II, Social Darwinism was part of the academic discourse. Social Darwinism is an umbrella term for various ideologies which mixed thoughts on evolution and natural selection with liberal *laissez faire* politics, promoting a minimum of state interventions, and instead letting “nature take its course”. Competition between individuals, nations or ideas was believed to push the development of society forward. Individuals too weak or ill-equipped to compete, ought not to be given artificial (governmental) stimulation to survive. Social Darwinism was later connected to ideas on race and class, and in the late 19th century, also to eugenics and racial biology (Dennis 1995:244-246). In Sweden, archaeologists, anthropologists, anatomists, and others worked together to map the origin of Germanic and Aryan peoples. Physical anthropology, including measuring the anatomy of Swedish military recruits, or measuring anatomies to track regional or class-related features, was conducted, but also questioned (see for example Ljungström 2004).

The Sámi, with their long history, distinctive culture, and “exotic” features, triggered the interest of the scholars. Many Sámi families were photographed, measured, and studied by Swedish scientists, who visited Sámi camps and even schools to collect information. With the founding of The Swedish Race Institute 1922, studies continued. The manager Herman Lundborg had a special interest in the Sámi and the people of Tornedalen and travelled to the north of Sweden to collect information (Broberg 1995; Lundmark 1998:90-91; for a biography on Lundborg see Hagerman 2016).

Archaeology as a science was part of the abuse, since buried bodies and skulls were included in the studies. In their collections, Swedish museums and institutions still hold Sámi human remains that were collected in an unethical way, without Sámi approval. The Sámi parliament demanded an inventory of all public collections and a programme of repatriation. The archaeologist Fredrik Svanberg (2015) carried out an examination of Swedish human remains, *Människosamlarna – anatomiska museer och rasvetenskap i Sverige ca 1850–1950*. Since 2002, there have been several reburials of Sámi human remains in Sweden, for example in Tärna and Lycksele in the county of Västerbotten and in Gransjön in the county of Jämtland (Ojala 2017:265; Västerbottens museum 2020). Two policy documents in the matter were released by the Swedish National Heritage Board in February 2020: *Stöd i hantering av mänskliga kvarlevor i museisamlingar* (“Support in the Handling of Human Remains in Museum Collections”) and *Stöd för museer i återlämnandeärenden* (“Support in the Handling of Matters of Repatriation”) (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2020a, 2020b).

Due to complicated diplomatic relations between Sweden, Norway, Finland and Russia in the late 19th and early 20th century, where reindeer migration across borders was restricted, northernmost Sweden became overcrowded with reindeer and there was not enough pasture for all of them. The reindeer were undernourished, and easy targets for diseases emerging in overcrowded grazing pens. The Swedish state decided to organise translocations, or forced relocations, of people and reindeer, from areas in the north to areas in the south – which already had existing communities of herders and reindeer. Between the years 1923 and 1932, 300 Sámi and 16,500 reindeer were translocated, but there were additional translocations both before and after that period. Old and new herders were forced into conflict with the after-effects still evident today (Gränsdragningskommissionen för renskötselområdet 2006:100-103; Lantto 2008; Lantto 2014a). Vapstens Lappby in the south Sámi area recently turned to Lycksele District Court to plead for the Sámi rights they lost with the establishment of Vapstens Sameby, consisting of immigrants from Karesuando in Norrbotten, in the 1930s. A first judgment in February 2020 gave both parties the right to reindeer herding in the area. Both parties have lodged an appeal against the decision and at the time of writing, the case is still open (SVT Nyheter Västerbotten 2019; Sveriges Radio 2020).

Rights to Land and Water

The Sámi's right to land is still a highly disputed issue, and in recent decades, these rights have been examined in court on several occasions. In 1966, the Sámi in Jämtland claimed ownership of a number of *skattefjäll* in Jämtland, in the so called Skattefjäll trial (Sw. *Skattefjällsmålet*). Because of the complicated nature of the case, and several appeals, it took until 1981 before a judgment was pronounced by the Supreme Court. Although the Supreme Court acknowledged that Sámi in the 17th century had the rights to the land, the Sámi lost the case (Lundmark 1998:128; Thomasson 2007:77)

In 1991, the two archaeologists Inger Zachrisson and Evert Baudou were called to court in the Härjedalen trial. This case was about reindeer grazing in forest land. Three large forestry companies and 700 private landowners started a legal proceeding against five Sámi villages, whose reindeer winter grazed in their forests. The Sámi claimed customary law, i. e. that they had been using the land since time immemorial. The landowners argued that there was no evidence of a Sámi presence in the area until the historical sources record them in the 17th century. Zachrisson, arguing for a long period of Sámi presence, pointed to the graves in Vivallen in Härjedalen from 1000 A.D. as one example in support of her case (Zachrisson 2005). Baudou claimed that Vivallen was a temporary settlement and that there had been little contact between the Sámi in north Norrland and the farmers in south Norrland until the Middle Ages, but his main argument was that archaeological source material in general was unsuitable as evidence in court, since it was too fragmentary and too difficult to

interpret (Baudou 2002, 2007:170). In 1996, the court in Sveg decided in favour of the landowners. The burden of proof was put on the Sámi, to provide evidence that their reindeer had been grazing the areas 90 years before 1972, when the present Land Code became effective. To find written documentation on grazing in the 19th century was not possible (Lundmark 1998:131-132; Zachrisson 2004). The Sámi took the case to the Court of Appeal, where the Sámi lost again in 2002, and the Supreme Court would not try the case in 2004, whereby the judgment from 2002 became legally binding (Thomasson 2007:77; Lantto 2014b:11-17). The judgement in the Härjedalen trial has been thoroughly analysed and criticised by historian and archivist Lars Rumar (2014).

The landowners in the Härjedalen trial referred to an old idea called *framrykningsteorin* (the theory of “advancement”, or “moving forward”, theory). The theory was first formulated by the Norwegian historian Yngvar Nielsen in 1889 and he claimed that the south Sámi on the Norwegian and Swedish sides of the border only came to the areas of Trøndelag, Jämtland and Härjedalen in the 17th century. In following this hypothesis, it was the Sámi who intruded on the farmer’s land, not the other way around. The theory is based on existing written sources, where farmers are mentioned earlier and to a greater extent than the Sámi. The theory has a recent advocate in the Norwegian historian Kjell Haarstad, who also gave evidence in the Härjedalen trial. The “advancement” theory is contradicted by archaeological findings on both sides of the Norwegian-Swedish border. Historians in opposition to Nielsen and Haarstad claim that the late occurrence of Sámi in historical sources is more a result of the development of public administration than of Sámi advancement (Ljungdahl & Aronsson 2008; Rumar 2008:169-170).

Thirty years after the Skattefjäll trial, in 2011, another case went all the way to the Supreme Court. It was called the Nordmaling trial and concerned the right to winter grazing in Nordmaling, south of Umeå. One hundred and five landowners and farmers took the three Sámi villages Vapsten, Ran and Ubmejen Tjielddie to court. This time, the tables were turned, and the landowners lost. One reason was stronger legal support for the concept of prescription from times immemorial than before, another was better historical documentation than in the Härjedalen trial (Cramér & Ryd 2012:157-162).

The most recent case is Girjas, where the Sámi village claimed rights to decide on fishing and hunting permits on the Sámi village grazing land. (Before, it was the County Administration Board which decided on permits for hunting and fishing.) All five judges in the Supreme Court agreed that the Sámi village had the right though prescription from time immemorial (Lagerwall & Ewald 2020).

Rights to land and water are complicated topics. An indigenous population, in this case the Sámi, have been subject to centuries of disenfranchisement, assimilation and other threats, and are eventually allowed “privileges” not afforded to others. George P. Nicholas has described this as “at once a necessary

means of restitution but also highly contentious and politically charged, especially in the context of unresolved land claims” (Nicholas 2017:199). What is at stake is, he says, is the identity, well-being, sovereignty, and survival of an indigenous people, but the surrounding world experiences it as an injustice. In the Girjas case, the Supreme Court judgement has triggered racist actions such as online abuse and the torture and killing of reindeer (Moreno 2020).

Summary: Sámi Prehistory and History

There is no doubt that northern Sweden was populated throughout the Stone Age and that there are archaeological remains from hunting activities, rituals, and dwellings in the arctic and subarctic landscape. However, to talk about Sámi prehistory and Sámi archaeology in relation to the Stone Age can easily be criticised, not because the inhabitants of Stone Age Norrland cannot have been the ancestors of modern-day Sámi, but because we do not know anything about the ethnicity of those inhabitants, or how they identified themselves.

About 2,000 years ago, with large regional differences, there are traces of two co-existing economic lifestyles in Norrland, a hunting economy and a farming economy. The hunting economy had far-reaching trading contacts and must have been well organised and skilled to maintain its flourishing commercial activity. After the 1960s and 1970s discussions on ethnicity as a construction, where Fredrik Barth was influential, several scholars think that Sámi ethnicity developed in relation to this trade. That does not mean that Sámi culture is not older than that, or that ancestors of the Iron Age Sámi might have lived in northern Fennoscandia for centuries or millennia before that. It just seems that the need for an ethnic identity emerges at that time, and that it also shows in the archaeological material such as metal depots, and Stallo sites, and typical burial traditions such as wrapping the dead body in birch bark (Hansen & Olsen 2014:132-133; Bergman 2018:77-78, 86).

From the 12th to the 17th century, the Swedish king and state established a relationship with the Sámi, based on trade and taxation. The Sámi were important to the economic well-being of the nation, respected as the inhabitants of the northern regions of the nation, and comparatively autonomous.

Lots of research is currently being conducted on Sámi history and prehistory, and there is a need to remain open to new theories and perspectives. For example, the narrow view of the Sámi making a living from reindeer hunting and herding is now challenged; there are indications that the Sámi had a mixed economy for a long time, combining hunting and herding with agriculture and ocean and river fishing, at least from 500 A.D. until the 18th Century. There is also growing evidence that the Sámi have lived not only in northern Sweden but as far south as the provinces of Värmland, Västmanland, Gästrikland and Uppland (Zachrisson 2004).

From the 17th century on, the Swedish state actively worked for a colonisation of Norrland. The original intention was that settlements could only

be established with the consent of the Sámi, but this changed with time. The Sámi gradually lost access to land, and they also lost the opportunity to migrate between countries in search of reindeer grazing areas. With the nationalism of the late 19th century, the Sámi people and culture became object to political initiatives aiming at defining, controlling and limiting – and in some cases also “rescuing” – the Sámi culture. For example, the state limited Sámi access to modern facilities (the “Sámi shall remain Sámi”-policy), set up special schools for Sámi children and allowed racial biological studies of Sámi individuals (Ojala 2017:262-264). The fight over rights to land and water continues today, with high-profile court cases and loud reactions to the judicial decisions.

Contract Archaeology in Sweden

Contract archaeology, or development-led archaeology, is the dominate branch of archaeology in Sweden. About 90% of all archaeological work in Sweden is due to development projects, and the work is conducted by private companies, foundations/trusts, or museum departments. The market is semi-regulated. Archaeological companies and organisations compete in procurement-like processes. The business is semi-regulated in the sense that it is the County Administrative Boards, and not the developer, which decides who wins a contract (Börjesson 2017:34-35).

Roles in the Swedish contract archaeology system

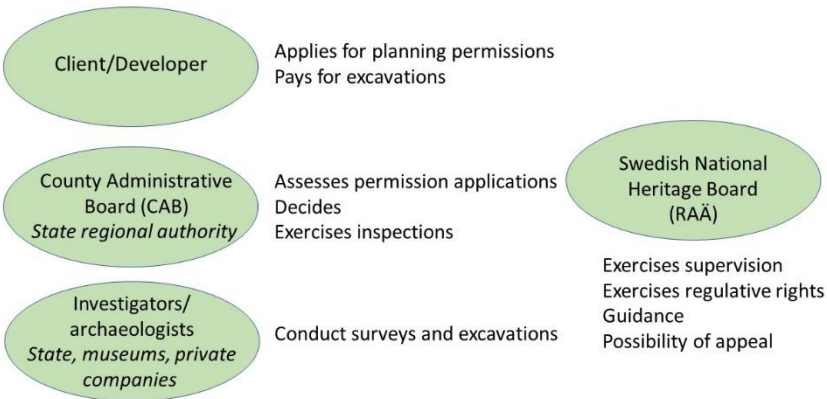


Figure 5. Roles in the Swedish contract archaeology system. The developer applies for permission to the County Administrative Board. It decides which company gets the contract. The Swedish National Heritage Board is the supervising authority. Graphics by the author, based on a figure by The Swedish National Heritage Board (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015a:6).

In 2015 there were about 55 companies or organisations active in the market of contract archaeology in Sweden (Törnqvist 2015:10; Högberg & Fahlander 2017:15). A professional association for archaeological companies with more than three employees was established in 2014. It is called SUBo, *Sveriges uppdragsarkeologiska branschorganisation*, and has 22 members (November 2020) (SUBo 2020).

The Swedish contract archaeology system is designed around the interaction between the developer, the archaeological companies, the County Administrative Boards, and the Swedish National Heritage Board (Figure 5). The Swedish *Heritage Conservation Act* (SFS 1988:950) states that it is prohibited, without permission, to displace, remove, excavate, cover, or by building, planting or any other actions change or damage a heritage site (6§). Before initiating a development project, the developer should communicate with the County Administrative Board to make sure no heritage site is affected by the project. If a heritage site is discovered during construction work, the work must be disrupted and the discovery immediately reported to the County Administrative Board (10§). If an archaeological survey is needed prior to the development project, to find out if any heritage sites risk being damaged, the developer must pay for the survey. The formal decision is taken by the County Administrative Board, which also decides which actor will conduct the survey (11§). The same applies if the developer needs to remove or in any other way cause damage to a heritage site, thereby motivating an investigation or excavation of the site. The County Administration Board then decides if the site can be investigated or excavated, and by whom. The investigation or excavation must be conducted according to “good scientific standards” and the cost must not be higher than motivated by the circumstances (12 and 13§).

Contract archaeology in Sweden has a long history. Already in 1942 Sweden adopted a new law for ancient monuments, making it possible to charge land developers for archaeological excavations in a form of “rescue archaeology” or “rescue excavations”. The large-scale transformation of Swedish society after World War II, with the previously mentioned hydro-electric plants, but also with the building of a million modern houses and apartments, new roads, new industrial areas, and new public buildings, multiplied the number of archaeological excavations. Between the 1940s and the 1990s, this development led archaeology was mainly conducted by the Swedish National Heritage Board or by the county museums. In 1967, the Swedish National Heritage Board founded an in-house organisation called UV (Sw. *Uppdragsverksamheten*) to meet the demands for development led archaeology. In 1976, the County Administrative Boards in Sweden were given responsibility for decision-making in the heritage matters of each county, and the monitoring of regional development projects improved. What remained a problem was that the costs for development-led archaeology only covered excavations, artefact handling, and report writing, no research or deeper analyses of the results. In

the 1970s and 1980s even the writings of reports started to fail and results from many excavations were never published (Nilsson & Rudebeck 2010:12-17).

In the mid-1990s Swedish contract archaeology started to change. The government bill on contract archaeology, *Uppdragsarkeologi m.m.* ("Contract Archaeology and more") (Kulturdepartementet 1997), opened up a deregulated market for archaeology, where companies could compete for assignments, but where the County Administrative Boards were in control of the procurement process (Högberg & Fahlander 2017:14-15). Simultaneously, in the late 1990s, there were new expectations that contract archaeology also should contribute to new knowledge. The archaeological companies were requested to add research questions to each commission, and to have research plans for their businesses. Competitiveness and the increased demands on the production of knowledge developed side by side, stimulating both the start-up of new businesses and the way museums and companies formulated their visions for contract archaeology. This was a step towards improving the social benefits of contract archaeology. However, Nilsson and Rudebeck (2010) ask themselves if and how the demands on producing new knowledge with every project, has proven constructive or obstructive to archaeology. Referring to the research of Joan M Gero, and drawing on their own experience of contract archaeology, they warn that competitive archaeology rewards certitude and can tempt archaeologists in making quick and assertive interpretations instead of allowing archaeology to be complex and multifaceted (Nilsson & Rudebeck 2010:38).

In 2015, another aspect was added to contract archaeology, namely the expectations of public outreach. The bill covering this aspect, *Kulturmiljöns mångfald* ("The Plurality of Historical Environments") (Kulturdepartementet 2013), suggested that contract archaeology should not only provide new knowledge, but also that that knowledge had to be communicated and made meaningful to the wider community. This was more explicitly expressed in the regulations of the Swedish National Heritage Board on contract archaeology in 2015 (KRFS 2015:1). These stated that the research results from the excavations should be communicated to the public – provided that the results of the excavation are of "relevance to the public" (KRFS 2015:1, 29§). The paragraph has proven to be both an opportunity and subject to criticism. It has enabled archaeological companies to build relations with the wider community, and the overall goal is democratic: that the results of contract archaeology projects must be appropriately available to professionals and the public alike. The County Administrative Board takes these goals into account in the tender procedure, where the capacity and ambition of a company regarding research and outreach are evaluated in the same way as the estimate of costs (Kristiansen 2009:645; Högberg & Fahlander 2017:15).

However, the sentence about public outreach has been regarded as insufficient. For example: in their instructions to the archaeological companies, the County Administrative Boards often transform the demand for public

outreach into a request for guided tours of the excavation, preferably to schools, or to a popular publication of the results. But how can anyone know the best forms for public outreach before the excavation has taken place and the results are at hand? How can the County Administrative Boards, or the companies, pinpoint target groups for the outreach before they know what is under the ground, and is a guided tour or a publication always the best way to communicate with the public (Högberg 2013:50)?

The contract archaeology system in Sweden also struggles with other challenges. For example, the division of roles between archaeological companies, County Administrative Boards, and county museums, can still improve. Until the 1990s, the county museums conducted most of the archaeology in their county and acquired an overall perspective on prehistory and history of the county. Today, new knowledge is continuously produced by a multitude of actors, but it is still the county museums who are expected to be the main mediators of historical knowledge to the public. This is made more difficult since traditional links between archaeological fieldwork, collection management and public outreach has become weaker (Trulsson 2014:81-84; Eboskog 2017; Högberg & Fahlander 2017:16; Smits 2019).

The Contract Archaeology Process

An archaeological company which intends to compete for contracts in one or several of Sweden's 21 counties, must leave an annual notice of interest to the relevant County Administration Boards, which draw up a list of interested companies for each county. The County Administrative Boards are then responsible for negotiating tender assignments with the interested companies.

For jobs that are estimated to cost less than five price base amounts (Sw. *prisbasbelopp*, one *prisbasbelopp* in 2020 is 47 300 SEK or a little less than 4 500 Euro according to Statistics Sweden – the amount is based on annual changes in the Consumer Price Index), the County Administrative Board can make a direct choice (Sw. *direktval*) among the companies on the list and allocate the project to an archaeological company they find most suitable for the task. The County Administrative Board is obliged to spread these contracts fairly and not favour a specific company. If the project is estimated to cost between five to 20 price base amounts, the County Administrative Board can choose between a direct award and a tender procedure. For archaeological contracts that are estimated to cost more than 20 price base amounts, a tender procedure is compulsory. The tender is announced on the webpage of the County Administrative Board and to companies that have registered as interested in taking contracts. The companies respond to the tender documents and the County Administrative Board decides which company gets the contract (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2018:18-21). In the contract agreement it is stated when, where and how the work must be conducted, which scientific questions

must be answered, and which methods must be used. The archaeological company follows these instructions very closely

There are three steps, or levels, of archaeological contracts. The level depends on how much information the County Administrative Board needs to decide on the further development project. On the first level, “archaeological survey” (Sw. *arkeologisk utredning*), the job is just to locate, identify and value the presence of heritage sites within the appointed area. If there are sites that risk being damaged by the development project, the next step is to do an “archaeological investigation” (Sw. *arkeologisk förundersökning*). This means perhaps taking samples, digging a small trench and/or with the help of other methods determine the character, age, size and complexity of the site. Step three, if there are archaeological sites that need to be removed, involves an “archaeological excavation” (Sw. *arkeologisk undersökning*). The purpose of the excavation is to document, archive and report what knowledge can be drawn from the site. The Swedish National Heritage Board decides which museum will take care of the artefacts (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015).

When the archaeological work is complete, no matter at which level, the company needs to write a report and send it to the County Administrative Board. The report must also be delivered to the county museum, a number of appointed libraries and to the Swedish National Heritage Board. The company is also responsible for uploading the report to the open-source archive Samla, hosted by the Swedish National Heritage Board (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015a:11-13). Finally, the artefacts are sent to the institution that the Swedish National Heritage Board has appointed, as stipulated in the *Heritage Conservation Act* (SFS 1988:950, 17§).

3. Theory

At heart, archaeology is a colonial endeavour (Smith & Wobst 2005a:4).

Indigenous Archaeology – a Postcolonial Turn

The story of indigenous archaeology is closely linked to colonial archaeology. Western scholars, following the colonial invasions of foreign countries, studied the prehistory and culture of the indigenous peoples of the world without much participation of the indigenous peoples themselves (Nicholas & Hollowell 2007:60). This has gradually changed. Today there is a range of experiments, projects, and critical discussions to challenge the white, academic monopoly not only in archaeology but in the heritage sector at large. Recent examples are provided by Sagiya (2020) who criticises ongoing colonial structures in the management of heritage sites in Zimbabwe, Vamanu (2020) who analyses the effects of indigenous museum curatorship in the United States and Canada, and May et al. (2020) who examine how indigenous oral traditions can help rethink interpretations of Australian rock art. The change is very much the result of a bottom-up movement, where local initiatives and collaboration between archaeologists and indigenous populations has developed through personal relationships. Sonya Atalay (2019) even suggests that community-based archaeologists now have the skills to help transform institutions like universities, museums and public agencies toward more decolonised models and systems. The practices and discussions in these studies can be inspirational on how to work with indigenous heritage and better fulfil relevant goals of national and international policies in the matter.

If we want to study Sámi heritage management from a postcolonial perspective, an initial question is whether the Sámi have been subject to colonisation. In the subchapter on Definitions in Chapter 1, colonialism was described as the conquest and control of the lands and goods of other peoples, sustained efforts at controlling a distant home, by invasion or settlement, and to control this land area economically and politically (Loomba 2015:20). As shown in the subchapter on Sámi Prehistory and History, Sámi people in Sweden were accepted as landowners and/or legitimate users of land by custom, during the Middle Ages. Gradually during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, colonisers supported by the Swedish state settled in the very same areas. Through acts of settlement and administration, the Swedish state gained control, economically and politically, over what were previously Sámi areas. The Sámi

people have been prevented from talking their own language and forced to change religion from Sámi beliefs to Christianity. They have been subject to forced resettlements. Culturally significant artefacts and human remains have been deposited with Swedish museums without consent. These are all political events related to the concept of colonisation. The view of the Sámi people as colonised has, therefore, been accepted by a majority of scholars (see for example Baer 2008:21-22; Fur 2013; Lindmark 2013; Naum & Nordin 2013b; Nordin & Ojala 2018; Fjellström 2020; and previously mentioned works by Patrik Lantto, Lennart Lundmark and Gunlög Fur). Among these, Naum & Nordin and Fur explore resemblances between Swedish external and internal colonialism. Gunlög Fur also reminds us that even the discourse of inner or internal colonisation is problematic, since it implies that Sápmi was never Sámi territory to begin with. Using phrases like “the Swedish Lapplands” or “the Swedish Lappmarks” is nothing less than a way of saying that the Sámi country is inherently a Swedish space (Fur 2006:7).

It should however be noted that to some people, it is not Sápmi but Norrland that is subject to colonisation. Norrland cannot be said to have belonged exclusively to the Sámi at the point of Swedish expansion, and today, more groups than the Sámi feel that the state has taken advantage of and exploited the natural resources of Norrland (ore, water power, forests) without giving enough in return (see for example Tidholm 2014; Forsgren 2015).

An uneven distribution of power and resources between southern and northern parts of Sweden is also reflected in the discipline of archaeology. In his dissertation *Contested Landscapes/Contested Heritage: history and heritage in Sweden and their archaeological implications concerning the interpretation of the Norrlandian past* (2005) David Loeffler has shown that not only Sámi prehistory but the prehistory of the entire area of Norrland has been systematically overlooked and under-studied in relation to the prehistory of South and Central Sweden. He explains this by describing archaeologists as a “thought-collective” with a certain “thought-style”, where conscious and subconscious images about Norrland as a colony allowed descriptions of Norrland to be less precise, and research on Norrland to have less funding and generate less archaeological status, than for example research on the Viking Age in the Stockholm region.

Even if people in Norrland in general experience feelings of exploitation and colonisation, this licentiate thesis specifically deals with the established and approved indigenous rights of the Sámi people, in particular their rights connected to the management of cultural heritage. The history and prehistory of indigenous peoples, and the management of the same history and prehistory, can be interpreted and analysed through different lenses. As mentioned above, this study will use a postcolonial lens, but there are other perspectives that could be applied.

With a gender perspective, for example, indigenous history would focus on the vulnerability of women in relation to the colonisers and also within the indigenous or colonised community. Simultaneously seen as the “mothers of the nation” and exposed to physical and psychical violence provoked by colonial structures, the struggle of women for equality often continues after formal independence (Loomba 2015:210-220).

Another way of analysing indigenous history is through the lens of capitalism and means of production. A Marxist perspective would have less to do with ethnicity and tradition, and more to do with the organising of work and redistribution of profit. (Occasionally, this has actually been the case, see for example Vladimirova 2017 about how reindeer herding in the Kola peninsula was re-organised without specific regard to ethnicity during the era of the Soviet Union.) The Italian Marxist philosopher and intellectual Antonio Gramsci built on Marx’s ideas of historical materialism when he formulated his theories on “cultural hegemony” and “the subaltern” in the 1920s and 1930s. Gramsci argued that western, capitalist society did not uphold its position through oppressive leadership alone, but through establishing a “cultural hegemony” where the values and world view of the bourgeoisie were accepted as self-evident common sense; a form of mental colonisation. Gramsci’s example was the Italian worker, but the concept of the subaltern later came to include other groups that were distanced from the white, middle class bourgeoisie – socially, politically, and geographically distant from power, and without a political voice (Cashmore 1996:156-158, 356-357, for selected writings by Gramsci, see Gramsci & Forgacs 2000). This perspective was further developed in the 1980s by the Subaltern Studies Group, focusing on rewriting the history of India and South Asia based on experiences of the people being colonised. Gayatri Spivak and Dipesh Chakrabarty were two of the influential scholars in the group, and Spivak’s (1987) often mentioned article “Can the Subaltern Speak?” one of the most influential texts.

However, this licentiate thesis will be analysing indigenous heritage management from a postcolonial perspective. It offers suggestions on how a colonised people can regain influence and achieve reconciliation in relation to the dominant state, which correlates with the aims and objective of this study.

Archaeology and Colonialism

When western colonisation began in the 16th century, the self-image of the conquerors was that they were on a mission from King and God, and that the people they met were inferior and “subhuman”. The idea of indigenous peoples as primitives and their land as wilderness justified colonisation – the taking over of land and the assimilation, discrimination, or extinction of indigenous groups (Smith 2004:18-19; Sommer 2017:178-179). At the same time, there was a fascination for foreign people and places, fuelled by the flourishing trade that followed. With the coming of the ideals of the Enlightenment in the 18th Century

colonising nations acquired new arguments to master, educate and “civilise” the peoples of Africa, Asia, and the Americas. The bearer of Western humanist and Enlightenment discourses was the white, educated colonialist, and every new colony was sorted and ranked into the European system of knowledge. The reverse chain of events has been suggested: that it was European colonialism that enabled, or at least inspired and fuelled, the Enlightenment. European exploration of overseas continents, making acquaintances with new plants, animals, and peoples, called for descriptions and systematisation, such as Linnaeus’s *Systema Naturae* (Pratt 2008:31-34, Loomba 2015:34, 75-78).

The production of knowledge connected to colonialism in the 19th and most of the 20th century was focused on the study of what Edward Said later would call “the Other”. In his book *Orientalism* (1978) Said argued that throughout the colonial era western scholars patronised and romanticised the East. The people living in the colonies, “the Other”, were exotic creatures, primitive peoples requiring modernisation, which could be provided by the colonisers. It was believed that evolution, not only of species but also of societies, was a ladder. Lewis Henry Morgan’s influential *Ancient Society* (1877) described three major stages of cultural evolution: savagery, barbarism, and civilisation. The idea was that humans moved from less complex hunter-gatherer societies to more complex societies with specialisation and the division of labour; the colonial powers being the most developed societies in existence (Moses 2009).

Archaeology became part of the production of evidence for these theories. Already in 1836, long before both Darwin and Morgan, the Danish archaeologist Christian Jürgensen Thomsen had formulated his idea on the three-age system defining the development stages as Stone, Bronze, and Iron ages. Archaeologists in the 19th and 20th centuries continued elaborating this linear timetable, describing societies as developing from primal and primitive to technically advanced. To them and to society as a whole, this was proof that Western society had come “further” than was the case in other continents. The colonies needed Western help and guidance. By contributing to an evolutionary writing of history, archaeology became fundamental in justifying colonial intervention (Lydon & Rizvi 2010:23-24; Prine Pauls 2008).

Many European countries sent out their archaeologists to explore other parts of the world – colonial powers such as Germany and Great Britain, but also smaller countries less involved in the colonial enterprise. The purpose was both to bring home knowledge and artefacts to the financiers (states, museums, universities, and private collectors) but also to initiate research and stimulate scholars and universities in the colonies. Two Swedish examples illustrate the complexity of colonial archaeology. Swedish geologist and archaeologist Johan Gunnar Andersson, known as Kina-Gunnar, was employed by the Chinese government in 1914. He did geological research, which in the 1920s led to archaeological excavations, culminating in the Neolithic findings that shaped the pre-history of China. Andersson was also one of the explorers behind the

discovery of the Peking Man. Artefacts were brought to Sweden and became the foundation for the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm. Agreements were made with the Chinese government to return certain finds, such as human remains, after studying and describing them. Other artefacts could be kept in Stockholm and put on display. The Swedes kept the agreement and returned the artefacts in the 1920s and 1930s. Sadly though, the goods shipped out were scattered during the civil war, and today nobody knows the whereabouts of the collections (Fiskesjö 2004; Frängsmyr 2006).

Anna Källén has, through her field work in Laos, been able to point out similarities between colonial thinking in archaeology in the early nineteenth-hundreds and today. The Swedish archaeologist Olov Janse took part in French excavations in Indochina in the 1930s. He was a strict and attentive archaeologist with a good reputation. His relationship to the local population was caring but also patronising. He took good care of his workers but paid little if any attention to their experiences or local knowledge. The focus of the investigations was on material culture and how it could be linked to high cultures in the west. When Anna Källén came to Laos in the 1990s, it was through a scholarship provided by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sida. The work was done together with archaeologists from the Ministry of Information and Culture in Laos, therefore in some way “less colonial” than Janse’s excavations. But Källén found that material culture was still in focus, that commercial and political interests had a large impact on the excavations and that the experience of the local villagers was still neglected. For example, their relation to the excavation site included a concept of spirits; it demanded a certain level of respectful behaviour and put the site in other contexts of understanding. Since spirits are not a part of western academic thinking, these aspects will never be central in the archaeological reports from the site, and the official interpretations will not be the ones of the villagers (Källén 2004a, 2004b).

These two examples show that even a small country like Sweden had, and still has, the capacity to operate in other countries, and that connected to those operations are political, ethical, cultural, and relational dilemmas that need to be reflected upon and negotiated. If the overall goal of society is to end colonialism and strive for international equality, there needs to be a discussion about how equality and reciprocity can be achieved in collaborations on international research and how colonial structures and practices can be detected and prevented.

The two examples also reflect another factor in colonial archaeology, namely its complex and multifaceted relation to nationalism. In the literature referred to above, Johan Gunnar Andersson is described as a scientist who helped China in their efforts to modernise the country, where the Qing dynasty had just been removed from power and replaced with the Republic of China. But a recently published article (Högselius & Song 2020) suggests Johan Gunnar Andersson

was closely affiliated with Swedish industrial and foreign-policy actors, taking the lead in Sweden's "quasi-colonial presence in Republican China". A flourishing economy and high international reputation would compensate for the recently dissolved union of Sweden and Norway – "a key task in its own rights in this age of growing nationalist sentiments", the authors remark. The large quantities of Chinese antiquities that Andersson brought back to Sweden were further evidence of Sweden's international status and importance. In the case of Laos, the involvement of the Ministry of Information and Culture was no guarantee for a decolonised archaeological process. Instead, the site was judged by its capacity to be economically and politically useful to the state of Laos – which can be interpreted as internal colonialism. Alfredo González-Ruibal has linked both internal and external colonialism to the consolidation of the nation-state and claims that the boundary between nationalism and colonialism is blurred (González-Ruibal 2010:43). He exemplifies this with colonised Algeria, which was considered part of France although it was situated in a different continent, and with Catalonia and the Basque country, where general Franco "used a colonial language and policy" to incorporate the populations into a Spanish context. Archaeology, González-Ruibal says, "played a pivotal role in incorporating minorities into the nation-state". It seems colonialism, nationalism, and indigenous heritage are typically intertwined, but that the dynamics can vary with local, regional, and national settings.

After World War II, former colonies started fighting for and gaining independence with various results. Following that wave was a wave of indigenous consciousness, inspiring indigenous peoples all over the world to revitalise the culture, language and traditions that had been suppressed by the colonial powers. The role of cultural heritage in that revitalisation has been particularly important. In the international community, the United Nations has repeatedly taken a stand for indigenous culture and heritage. Most significant is the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (United Nations 2007a) where culture and heritage are key elements (see Chapter 4).

In the 1980s, archaeologists started reflecting on their role in relation to imperialism and colonialism. Bruce Trigger's essay *Archaeology and the Image of the American Indian* (1980) pointed out how American archaeologists assumed Native Americans were relative recent settlers of the continent, thereby questioning both their right to the lands and their ability to change and develop their communities, as material remains of social complexity was interpreted as remains from even older cultures. Could it be that archaeologists played an active role in preserving old, biased images of colonised and indigenous peoples?

The World Archaeological Congress

An important event in the history of postcolonial archaeology was the foundation of the World Archaeological Congress, WAC, in 1986. The purpose

of the WAC is to protect the cultural heritage of indigenous peoples, minorities and economically disadvantaged countries, encourage participation from these groups, and create awareness among heritage workers of the inequalities created by colonialism (Lydon & Rizvi 2010:17-18)

The background story to the WAC is very much related to politics and postcolonialism. It is also closely related to the story of the IUPPS, the International Union for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, a member of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, which in turn is linked to UNESCO. In 1986, the IUPPS was to have its 11th International Congress since its foundation in 1931. The congress had been planned for years and was about to take place at Southampton, UK. Peter Ucko, Professor of Archaeology at the University of Southampton, had been designated as the National Secretary of the Congress. He had previously been the Director of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies and was involved in indigenous issues (Day 2016:41-42).

One of Ucko's conditions for taking on the job was that the conference should be a truly global, international one – welcoming not only white scholars from Europe, but representatives from all continents and from indigenous peoples, academics and non-academics. The representation was also to be manifested in the themes of the sessions in, and publications from, the conference. In the midst of planning the conference, Ucko's ethical stand would be put to the test (Ucko 1987:10, about the planning of conference publications, see Ucko 1989:ix-xv; Day 2016:41). In South Africa, the apartheid regime run by P.W. Botha had started to trigger sanctions from the world community. The State of Emergency proclaimed by Botha in 1985 made the United Nations adopt a resolution for voluntary sanctions, and regimes all over the globe started to re-evaluate their interactions with South Africa and Namibia, a country under South African rule until independence in 1990 (Ucko 1987:54; Day 2016:42).

The British Executive Committee responsible for the conference had a difficult decision to make, weighing the principle of academic freedom against the need to put pressure on the apartheid regime. The broad participation of Non-Westerners and indigenous peoples was also threatened since a majority of them supported sanctions and refused to come to the conference if the participation of South Africans/Namibians were allowed. The Executive Committee also faced withdrawals from both speakers and funders, no matter what stance they took (Ucko 1987:73-75).

At an early stage, the British Executive Committee of the conference took a stance for banning South Africans and Namibians, but when the International Executive Committee of the IUPPS held their meeting in Paris January 1986, they decided against the ban, and gave the British a month to change their minds (Ucko 1987:110). But the British National Committee of IUPPS did not. It clung to the anti-apartheid ban, and the World Archaeological Congress could, therefore, no longer be an official IUPPS conference. The IUPPS XIth

Conference was instead moved to Mainz and postponed to 1987 – an agreement to avoid further conflicts between the congresses (Ucko 1987:126-130).

The British team kept working to arrange an independent conference with a substantial global and indigenous participation. This conference, the World Archaeological Congress, was held in Southampton as originally planned, in September 1986. Around 1,000 participants from more than 70 countries attended what was reported as a working conference with pre-circulated papers, allowing lively discussions during the sessions (Ucko 1987:216; Ascherson 2007; Day 2016:45).

Since 1986, the WAC has held international conferences every fourth year, raising issues about the politics and ethics of archaeology and heritage, political hegemonies and the role of pre-history in the political landscape of today. The insight that archaeology can have an impact on society is repeatedly stressed by the members of the WAC, propagating goals such as solidarity and inclusiveness (Holtorf 2006). Several book series are published; the initial conference in 1986 generated the first 22 (!) volumes of the series *One World Archaeology*, which was later complemented with the series *Indigenous Archaeologies* and others. The WAC also produces the peer-reviewed journal *Archaeologies*. The publications are relevant to this study since they contribute to a critical discussion on colonial structures and suggest new ways of working with indigenous heritage.

The WAC took the explicit stance that archaeology is created in a historical, social, and political context, and that there is no such thing as a neutral archaeologist. That is why archaeology should be understood as a contemporary field, revealing as much about the present as it does about the past. The WAC has worked with highlighting the significance of politics and ethics in archaeology, by formulating its *First Code of Ethics*, which provides archaeologists with a set of guidelines for indigenous archaeology projects (see Chapter 4). The WAC promotes indigenous participation and agency, as well as repatriation of human remains and artefacts of cultural significance.

Indigeneity and Heritage

This licentiate thesis applies the United Nations' definition of an "indigenous people". This definition is based on historical continuity with pre-colonial or pre-settler societies, self-identification, and "distinct language, culture and beliefs" (for details, see the subchapter Definitions). "Indigeneity" is the common term for qualities that individuals or institutions experience through being indigenous.

However, the definition of indigeneity, i.e. what it means to be indigenous, is subject to debate. When comparing indigenous peoples from different parts of the world, it becomes clear that indigeneity is complex and can be problematised from many aspects. Indigeneity is not always defined in terms of oppression by outsiders – for example, tribal peoples in India suffered

marginalisation long before European colonialism. Territorial attachments are no obvious pre-requisite for indigeneity either, since such attachments can be broken, peoples can be deported, assimilated, or urbanised. In Bolivia and Brazil, newly recognised indigenous groups have been registered in the 21st century by individuals who previously considered themselves assimilated. They do not have an indigenous culture or language but are still regarded as indigenous peoples because of their self-identification as such (Gregg 2019). There are no self-evident, fixed, frozen or natural categories of indigenous peoples, and the criteria of belonging to an indigenous people are in constant flux. Indigeneity is something that can be both acquired and lost. A Sámi is not born Sámi, he or she becomes Sámi through social processes (Eriksen 2002:12-13, 19, 37; Hillerdal, Karlström & Ojala 2017:2-3; Gregg 2019:831).

Indigeneity can simply be many different things since indigeneity, like ethnicity, is a construction. However, even though indigeneity relates to ethnicity, they are not one and the same. Ethnic groups are named groups that share a set of characteristics – history, ancestry, culture, memories, myths, and symbols. Ethnicity is also connected to the idea of a nation. Even if an ethnic group does not always form a nation of its own, ethnic groups are tied to the nation-state enterprise, often as ethnic minorities that want to integrate into the national community in some respect (Smith 1998:190-193, Ibrahim 2011).

Indigenous peoples are more often connected to an experience of colonial practice in some form. Their uniqueness has been described as stemming from their identities as the “original inhabitants of particular tracts of land” together with a spirituality connected to these lands (Williams & Schertzer 2019:679-681). Due to their historical connections to the landscape, indigenous peoples often have more far-reaching rights than ethnic minorities. Indigenous peoples seeking independence and rehabilitation can therefore gain from defining as “something more” than an ethnic group. You could say indigenous peoples are also ethnic groups, but not all ethnic groups are indigenous. However, the definitions of these two concepts are fluid and will continue to be discussed.

Indigenous/indigeneity is a social and political concept created to serve specific purposes. To the colonising powers of Europe, calling the peoples of Africa, Asia, and the Americas indigenous was a way of creating Otherness, an “inverted image of the Western self” – a physical and mental distance to the people they oppressed. The indigenous peoples were rooted, isolated, primordial, and timeless, in contrast to the Western, modern cosmopolitan (Hillerdal 2017:65; Shepherd 2017:34). Indigenous was also a term created to meet the expectations of colonisers of “authenticity” and legitimacy in connection to place and culture (Rizvi & Lydon 2010:499). Today, the term is reclaimed by the indigenous peoples, who through the concept of indigeneity have been offered new routes to global interconnectedness. In the 1970s, indigenous peoples started demanding justice and representation in their societies. The calls were often made by a particular indigenous group, aimed at

the particular state in which they lived, but the movement was global with a political and social agenda, where indigenous peoples inspired each other and created international alliances (Patterson 2010:137). Critics warn that the indigenous movement is not only a platform for social and political demands, but that it threatens to lock communities into a colonial structure. By referring to the relation between indigenous people and the state as oppressive indigenous peoples can on the one hand draw attention to serious ongoing situations, but at the same time open up to increased intervention by states to “make things right”. States can also, in a neoliberal spirit, be tempted to respond to indigenous demands only to gain credit from the international community (Lindroth 2014:353-355).

A central claim in the indigenous movement concerns cultural heritage. There is a strong desire from indigenous peoples to write their own history and challenge the hegemonic structures and methods of professional heritage workers such as archaeologists (Patterson 2010:137). “Indigenous archaeology” is now a term for describing both the involvement of indigenous peoples in the practice of archaeology, and the development of non-Western approaches to the past (Nicholas & Hollowell 2007:70). In indigenous archaeology, indigenous rights are stressed, as are the needs for cooperation, responsiveness and sometimes indigenous self-determination and ownership of heritage.

In 1990, the US government passed the federal law NAGPRA, the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act*, that requires that human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony are repatriated to direct descendants or culturally affiliated Native American tribes or Native Hawaiian organisations. Cultural affiliation is supposed to be proven through a reasonable connection between the present-day organisation and the group from which the object came – if that can be determined. This cultural affiliation can be established through geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, linguistic, and folkloric information, together with oral tradition, historical evidence, expert opinions, and other relevant data. Evidence does not need to be demonstrated with scientific certainty (Daehnke & Lonetree 2010:249-250).

NAGPRA was put to the test by the famous case with the Kennewick Man, or The Ancient One. The 9,200-year-old remains of a man were found in the Columbia River in 1996. Since the skeleton, which was almost complete, was one of the five oldest in North America, a long fight over the remains broke out. In short, a group of five Native American tribes invoked NAGPRA and wanted to rebury the remains. Several US authorities supported the claim. They were challenged by a group of eight anthropologists who argued that the scientific value of the Ancient One was too high, and that the tribes could not prove their cultural affiliation to the remains. The case was not settled until 2015, when a DNA analysis showed that the Ancient One was closer to modern Native Americans than to any other population worldwide. In 2017, the Ancient One

was reburied by the tribes (for a fuller review of the Kennewick Man/the Ancient One, see for example Burke, Smith, Lippert, Watkins & Zimmerman 2008; Jantz & Owsley 2014).

The Ancient One is an interesting case, but not typical. About 119,000 – 125,000 human remains are still kept in museums across the USA, labelled as “culturally unidentifiable” and therefore unable to be repatriated. To this number must be added human remains that are identified as affiliated to an earlier group for which there is no present-day tribal organisation, and the remains that are affiliated to a present-day tribe that is not federally recognised as an Indian tribe. In addition, NAGPRA does not apply to private individuals or institutions that do not receive federal funds, which means there can be indigenous human remains in private collections (Atalay 2010:70; Daehnke & Lonetree 2010:249-251).

NAGPRA draws attention to some of the difficulties with repatriation. One is how to label heritage with a cultural affiliation when culture itself is dynamic and flexible and changes over time. Another is the ownership issue and the problems associated with returning something when it might not be clear to whom it should be returned. In many European countries, repatriation has been discussed in terms of “what is best for the artefacts”. A famous Swedish example is the Haisla tribe totem pole that was wrongly taken by the Swedish consul in Canada and given to the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm in 1929. The pole was given back to the Haisla tribe in 2006 and shipped back to Canada where it was put on the ground to decompose. Some people were upset that the tribe “destroyed” the artefact, others respected that this is the way Haisla want their poles to return to nature (Sveriges Radio 2014). A similar thinking exists among the Sámi population, where the decomposition of a *kåta* is not seen as loss or a manifestation of neglect, but as a respectful return of borrowed material into an eternal natural cycle (Bexelius 2019:78).

The act of repatriation is often motivated by a desire to create and strengthen an indigenous national identity. This may in turn inflate ethno-nationalistic tendencies where the 19th century idea that an ethnicity comes with a specific and inherent set of features and ways of being, is used to achieve political or social goals. Liv Nilsson Stutz stresses that repatriation is important to human rights and the processes of democracy and reconciliation, but that society still must continue to discuss and negotiate repatriation in the terms of how and why (Nilsson Stutz 2007). Repatriation of an object to a “patria”, a fatherland, can also be complicated or misguided if, for example, borders have been changed over time. To whom should you hand over an Armenian medieval piece, if the site it is from now lies in Turkey (Bauer, Lindsay & Urice 2007:50)?

Affiliation can be easier to verify if artefacts were removed, looted, or excavated more recently, than if this happened long ago. With the long timespans of archaeology, affiliation can become more difficult to establish beyond reasonable doubt. Closeness in time therefore seems an important

factor, but recent Swedish examples show that also closeness in space can affect decision-making. The Swedish agency, the National Historical Museums, judged human remains from Hawaii easier to repatriate than human remains from Rounala in Swedish Sápmi, since the Hawaiian remains were not a responsibility of the Swedish state in the same way the Rounala remains were (Rasmusson 2015 on Rounala; see also Fjellström 2020).

The “returning” or “retaining” of objects also assumes that culture can be partitioned and alienated in the first place. A contrasting view, occurring particularly in anthropology, instead claims that objects are being transferred between cultures all the time, and that cultural meaning will shift with the transfer (Bauer, Lindsay & Urice 2007:46). Scholars representing this angle of approach do not condone theft or the displacement of cultural property but believe that a culture can survive losses of material culture. In their opinion, culture is dynamic, fluid and in constant change both materially and immaterially, and the loss of specific items is not fatal to the culture as a whole. However, the removal of archaeological material might be a question of loss of trust and respect (Bauer, Lindsay & Urice 2007:47-49).

Regardless of these and other ethical dilemmas, scholars have identified many reasons for a state or a museum to respond positively to repatriation requests. Human remains and cultural objects have been removed from indigenous cultures without negotiation, and it is hard work to reconstruct a material and immaterial past with many pieces missing. The buying or stealing of indigenous cultural objects is a symbol for oppression and colonialism. Handing objects back is interpreted as actions of regret and redemption. It is a way of making amends for past injustices and offering support and respect to a group of people that has been deprived of property and political status. Repatriation can promote dialogue and help individuals and communities move towards reconciliation and respect (Bauer, Lindsay & Urice 2007:49).

But again, who is a member of that indigenous collective, and how is that membership defined? When indigenous peoples demand stewardship in heritage matters (such as the return of human remains kept in national museums, official apologies, claims for social and cultural independence), the question immediately occurs: who is indigenous? Who should have the right to the restitutions, who could be the recipient of cultural objects of certain significance, and for human remains? Here, the theoretical discussion on indigeneity as a construction does not meet political practice. Instead, legal and political frameworks push indigenous peoples to once again essentialise their identities, making indigeneity a question of origin and inherited features (Hillerdal, Karlström & Ojala 2017:3). In essentialism, your cultural identity, or ethnicity, is given to you by birth, you cannot gain it or learn it. Among contemporary scholars, this definition is outdated and considered nationalistic, but in practice and everyday life, it is still a common understanding (Ledman 2012:36-37).

This discussion is relevant to this licentiate thesis since it discusses indigenous involvement in heritage management. Sweden has agreed to follow the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, which among other things calls for indigenous stewardship of indigenous heritage. If the Swedish heritage sector – with national agencies, universities, museums, and private companies – and the Sámi are about to work more closely together, or if the Sámi wish to take control of parts of Sámi heritage, it is of interest how this group is defined, who is included and who is excluded. Today's structure of public service and administration is based on the interaction between Swedish authorities on the one hand, and the Sámi Parliament together with the Sámi Villages on the other. Sámi private persons can become involved by joining a Sámi association of some kind, but even though a membership can be valuable to the individual, the political impact of these organisations is limited.

There are reasons for Swedish archaeologists to engage in indigenous dialogue and interaction. Archaeology started off as a bourgeois project in the service of the nation state, “embedded in the logics of capital and the fetish of commodities”, and there is overwhelming evidence that archaeology served the agendas of nationalism, racism, imperialism and colonialism (McGuire 2007:10). Since human science has actively taken part in the colonial processes of the 19th and 20th centuries, it also has a responsibility to assist with the decolonisation of the very same heritage (Smith & Wobst 2005b:369; Kiddey 2020).

Opening up to indigenous perspectives is also a way of improving the quality and relevance of archaeological research. An important idea permeating the WAC, is that archaeologists must be willing to accept that indigenous concepts of history are valid alternative versions of history. In her analysis of Australian archaeology (2020), Anne Ross concludes that in spite of 35 years of trying to recognise the right of the Aboriginal people to control their heritage, there are still strong metanarratives – over-arching philosophical understandings of how to interpret the world around us – that underpin the belief that the past can only be understood through the elements of Western scientific techniques, for example that nature and culture are divided, or that the past is separated from the present. By taking account of different voices narrating the past (multi-vocality) archaeologists can generate a more complex and meaningful understanding of that past (Ross 2019:65-66). Sonya Atalay, a Native American and archaeologist, has argued that the only way to achieve a postcolonial archaeology is through “a decolonizing paradigm that brings Native American systems of knowledge and concepts of stewardship to the centre, and works to combine them with standard archaeological approaches in new and creative ways” (Atalay 2010:61).

Concerning the quality of research, acknowledging indigenous knowledge could broaden and confirm assumptions made. Their competencies on nature and terrain often exceed or complement those of an archaeologist who visits the

area for the first time. When the Betsileo people in Madagascar were shown aerial photographs and maps over sites and finds, they could correct mistakes in the location of Betsileo villages, as well as explain a system of site occupation and abandonment (Raharijaona 1989:190).

Indigenous people can also challenge the conceptions of space held by archaeologists. H.M. Wobst (2005) suggests that spatial bias can be problematic in three respects: artefact density, artefact visibility, and intensity of ground modification. Because Western archaeology is based on studies of material culture, archaeologists tend to focus on areas with high artefact density even when going to indigenous areas, because this is the kind of materiality that they can relate to. To indigenous cultures, areas with few archaeological sites can be as important as an area with many sites. Likewise, archaeological visibility is overrepresented in the archaeological material, even though visible heritage such as eye-catching grave mounds are not necessarily the key to understanding the complexity of a pre-historic society. The discreet, decomposed, or cached cultural heritage might say as much. With “intensity of ground modification”, Wobst refers to the fact that archaeologists are seldom interested in areas perceived as “empty”, “undisturbed”, and “sterile”. For Swedish conditions, one could add “wild”, since the Swedish mountains are often described as a wilderness, even though people have been using the land for thousands of years. Places with rich remains from human activities are thoroughly investigated, while un-disturbed land is left un-disturbed even by archaeologists. This relation upholds the colonial contrast between lands of cultural creativity (the land of the colonisers) and lands of cultural incompetence and impotence (the lands of the colonised) (Wobst 2005:16,19).

Loomba also touches on the issue when she discusses American environmentalism and its obsession with the “wilderness”. “Wilderness” is celebrated in American literature as well as in natural history, but spokesmen neglect the fact that they are looking at a cultural landscape where people have lived for thousands of years, erasing the history of colonised people through the myth of the empty lands (Loomba 2015:251). This phenomenon, “spatial amnesia”, is common also in Sweden, where the mountains are often marketed to tourists as “untouched”. The system of contract archaeology, where archaeology is performed only in case of exploitation, is likely to consolidate this pattern of “intensity of ground modification” and “spatial amnesia”. Areas that are interesting to develop are also the ones that are most likely to be surveyed and excavated, while areas with less human activities remain unexplored.

However, archaeologists must also ask themselves if there is a limit to their flexibility, openness, and willingness to incorporate indigenous perspectives in their research (Nicholas & Holloway 2007:74-75). The theories and methods of a discipline, in this case archaeology, have been developed over a long time and with the purpose of creating a systematic growth of knowledge where results

can be valued, tested, and compared to each other. Just as there are voices for allowing indigenous and alternative perspectives to be taken seriously, as in the WAC, there are plenty of archaeologists in the field (for example The World Heritage Archaeologist in Chapter 6 in this licentiate thesis) who insist that indigenous archaeology must be subject to the same scrutiny as other archaeology if it wants to be taken seriously, or, at least, apply what Nicholas & Holloway call “*critical* multivocality” (Nicholas & Holloway’s cursive) where standards of common sense and critical thinking are applied, such as internal coherence, consistency, reliability and contextual depth and breadth (Nicholas & Holloway 2007:75). Otherwise, the idea of valuating all perspectives equally could result in a confusing form of research where recipients (readers, viewers, audience) are left with little guidance.

Collaboration – on Equal Terms?

A postcolonial approach to archaeology has, since the 1980s, inspired many joint projects between Western scholars and stakeholders in what is currently referred to as “the Global South”. Postcolonial archaeology was inspired by both the international indigenous movement and by post-processual archaeological theory, and its interest in anthropology and marginalised societies. This did not stop collaboration from being mainly controlled by the Global North. European archaeologists continued to go abroad, helping other continents to recover their history, without necessarily inviting the recipient countries to control the outcomes of the projects. The neo-colonial nature of these projects was obvious, according to Alfredo González-Ruibal: “The language of cooperation cannot avoid the uncomfortable fact that Euro-American scholars are still the gatekeepers of knowledge about others” (González-Ruibal 2010:44).

At the beginning of the 21st century, the relationship between archaeological metropolises and their satellites was questioned and inequalities highlighted. Due to economic and political realities, the colonies had substantial problems educating and employing native archaeologists, leading to an imbalance that was disadvantageous to former colonies and former colonists alike (Shepherd 2005:251-252). In his call for a postcolonial archaeology in 2005, the South-African archaeologist Nick Shepherd continued:

The prevailing, unequal North-South logic needs to be replaced by new forms of exchange, other forms of community: regional organisations; South-South exchanges; truly multilateral and multinational organisations. We need to treat on equal terms with our peers in the North: set our own research agendas, in line with local interests; write our own theory or, better still – write universal theory (Shepherd 2005:252).

What is underlined here, is that all parties gain from a more equal and collaborative archaeology. Shepherd expresses in his article an urge to re-examine the ways in which archaeological knowledge is produced, and the relations connected to that production of knowledge (Shepherd 2005:252). This is of interest, also to archaeology in Sápmi. How has knowledge about the Sámi been produced, who sets the agenda, and who benefits from the results?

Laurajane Smith also speaks of the problems in power/knowledge relations between archaeologists, the state, and other stakeholders, such as indigenous communities. Archaeologists in the cultural resource management (CRM) sector, have according to her analysis from 2004, a status as the “technology of government”, which means that archaeologists are not only managing tangible cultural heritage, but also the meanings and value that the state wants heritage to symbolise, or represent. This marriage between the CRM and the state builds on the image of archaeologists as objective scholars. Translated into Swedish conditions, the term CRM would cover both the archaeologists/heritage workers in the public sector (museums, authorities, universities) and in the commercial sector. All of them are involved in the management of cultural properties for the public benefit, through the application of the law and public policy. According to Smith’s results, neither the state nor the archaeologists would have much to gain from engaging with the cultural, social, and political contexts of postcolonial or indigenous theory, since this could undermine the positions of them both. There has been some increase in indigenous participation and consultation since the 1990s – in Sweden and internationally – but, as Smith remarks, rarely to the extent where it threatens current policies and legislation (Smith 2004:29, 195-200).

The archaeological community in many ways answered to the call. For the past 10 years, collaboration on equal terms has increased, as has the awareness of archaeologists of postcolonialism, hegemonies within archaeology and heritage management, and the need for multivocality and alternative histories, such as those of the subaltern. Archaeological techniques are experimented with and used in combination with oral history and archive studies, and a complementary goal is often to contribute to social justice in the present (see for example Oland, Hart & Frink 2012; Noum & Nordin 2013a; Spangen, Salmi & Äikäs 2015; Schmidt 2016; Guilfoyle, Carey, Rogers, Bernard & Willoya-Williams 2019; Smith et al. 2019). However, even though postcolonial theory and indigenous archaeology have found their way into Swedish universities and occasional projects, the everyday practice in Swedish heritage management has not changed accordingly.

Are there problems connected to transferring indigenous heritage management from state authorities to an indigenous people? To begin with, it is not always easy to separate what is indigenous heritage from what is not (the question of whether or not it is possible to label an archaeological site with an ethnicity). Secondly, there is a fear of indigenous heritage being used for

political reasons (even though it has been argued that this has been the case for any heritage for centuries). Neglect of a shared history, or idealising the pre-colonial past, are other concerns. What indigenous ideologies and hierarchies existed before colonisation? “Colonialism did not inscribe itself on a clean slate, and it cannot therefore account for everything that exists in ‘postcolonial societies’”, Loomba writes (Loomba 2015:37-38), and urge us to be cautious of the romantic and “nativist” idea that precolonial cultures are hidden away somewhere, intact, just waiting to be recovered. The history of the colonies is intertwined with colonisation and there is still much research to be done on these relationships. However, the history of the colonies must never be reduced to being *only* about colonisation (Loomba 2015:37-39).

Today, there are signs that postcolonial studies are developing in new directions. More focus will be on the impact of colonialism on climate change and other environmental issues, since the connection between them and colonialism, capitalism and trans-national corporations are obvious, and an example of how colonial structures still have a global impact (Loomba 2015:250-251, 264).

Even if it is fruitful to apply postcolonial theory to indigenous archaeology, the two concepts postcolonial and indigenous do not always harmonise and aims and agendas may differ. Postcolonial theory invokes reflexivity, multivocality and renegotiation, it dismantles colonial structures and gives voice to the subordinate. But it does not build upon the dichotomy of indigenous and non-indigenous. Instead it strives to dissolve this polarisation and point to the complexity of human interaction with terms like hybridity and intersectionality (Hillerdal 2017:66). Sometimes these perspectives come into conflict with each other. It can be in the political interest of an indigenous people to point out its uniqueness – that they had a distinct and unchanging culture over a long period of time. This is not necessarily the key issue of a postcolonial thinking, where the study of human relationships and cultures focuses on dynamics.

These two ways of approaching indigeneity, as a dualistic black-or-white reality, or with a perception of human social life as complex and interactive, is also reflected in postcolonial thinking. Anna Källén points out a distinction between postcolonial criticism and postcolonial theory. Postcolonial criticism rose in the early 20th century as a direct protest against colonial or colonial-like domination. The critique was often formulated from within the colonies and had a radical, activist agenda that aimed at overthrowing the colonising power and gaining independence. Today, indigenous archaeology has a lot in common with postcolonial criticism, as it argues for compensation for historical oppression. Postcolonial theory, on the other hand, is an academic phenomenon of more recent date. It is more occupied with the deeper structures of human thinking, puts emphasis on discourse and tries to deconstruct binary categories such as good/evil and black/white, which colonial criticism accepts or even emphasises (Källén 2015:81-82). “Advocates of postcolonial criticism are not necessarily

fans of postcolonial theory”, she writes, thereby providing a distinction that will be useful in the concluding discussion of this licentiate thesis.

Summary: Indigenous Archaeology – a Postcolonial Turn

The indigenous movement across the world has raised an awareness of past and present injustices towards indigenous peoples, including the Sámi. These injustices developed in a colonial system, where an outside power or a nascent nation-state took control over indigenous land and goods, economically and politically. Archaeology and archaeologists have been actors in this system. Excavations and investigations have been conducted without the consent of the indigenous peoples. Artefacts and human remains have been brought back to museums and universities across the globe. On a political level, archaeologists have contributed to prejudice and even racism as indigenous peoples have been valued and categorised based on their material culture, sorted into an imagined evolutionary ladder with rungs from primitive societies to technically advanced and modern societies.

Today, indigenous peoples demand to control their own heritage, and they have found support in the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights on Indigenous Peoples*, where heritage is a designated area. Concurrently, parts of the archaeological community, such as the WAC, have become aware of colonial structures and declared that they are willing to work for changes in attitudes and methodology (see for example Gould 2016). This shift marks a postcolonial turn in archaeology, but that is not to say that the process is complete. In Sweden, a postcolonial way of thinking is becoming established at the universities and in clusters of active heritage workers, but the implementation of the same thinking in official heritage legislation and practice is moving slowly.

The initiatives of indigenous archaeology projects referred to in this subchapter are of course just a few examples from a flourishing research field, but they indicate that indigenous archaeology in combination with postcolonial theory have the capacity to improve both the quality of archaeology – broadening archaeological understandings of the past and becoming more relevant to indigenous peoples themselves – and the situation for indigenous rights and social justice in the community where it is conducted.

The field of indigenous and/or postcolonial archaeology is not free from conflicts. The discussion on repatriation and reburials reveals some of the remaining dissensions between indigenous peoples, the archaeologists, and the state. There is a concern that repatriation and reburials would aggravate archaeological research, and that valuable material would be lost, for example material that could be analysed with the new potential of extracting ancient DNA. There is a concern that indigenous peoples would use heritage for ethno-nationalistic purposes. The conditions for storage and display of the artefacts is sometimes a factor brought into the discussion – larger museums may dispose

of more resources for conservation than smaller ones. Finally, there is the discussion of cultural affiliation. It is not always easy to determine to whom human remains and cultural objects should be repatriated, as territories and ethnicities are in constant change. Nevertheless, neglecting indigenous claims on repatriation is damaging, too. It can undermine the relationship of the nation to the indigenous people and cause distrust and segregation.

Promoters of decolonisation claim that sufficient change – a true shift in power over cultural heritage – cannot be reached within current systems, but that legislation and administration need to be essentially reshaped.

However, most indigenous communities, the Sámi included, need to cooperate and negotiate with state authorities on the management of their heritage. A first step towards a postcolonial archaeology would be to improve dialogue, practice, and understanding within current frameworks.

Community Archaeology

Community archaeology is archaeology created in collaboration between archaeologists and people in the wider community. It can be archaeologists working together with a Sámi village in order to register heritage sites (Norberg & Winka 2014), people of ethnically diverse descendant communities excavating a plantation in the Southern States of the USA (McDavid 2010), or Aboriginal traditional owners working with archaeologists to interpret rock art in Australia (Brady, May, Goldhahn, Taçon & Lamilami 2020). The aims of community archaeology are often about redistributing power and influence over the past, and to hand back or reveal the pasts of disadvantaged groups in society, such as indigenous groups or the working class (Kiddey 2020).

A closely related term to community archaeology is public archaeology, but there is a certain confusion on whether the two terms are interchangeable, or if public archaeology is the umbrella under which several types of participatory approaches, such as community archaeology, collaborative archaeology, and open archaeology, are congregated. In this licentiate thesis I will use the term community archaeology, since it is well established and relates to the types of project that can be valuable to my study.

The concept of community archaeology (understood as “community archaeology with a strategic purpose” – public engagement in archaeology has a longer history) took shape in the 1970s and 1980s. The interface between archaeology and society was affected by the political discussions of the time, questioning traditional hierarchies and structures. They coincided with the post-processual turn in archaeology, where archaeologists were encouraged to welcome a plurality of interpretations and approaches to the past. Community archaeology is based on the assumptions that archaeology can gain from having more diverse voices involved in the interpretation of the past – that the *quality* of archaeology improves – and also that community archaeology can contribute

to social cohesion and the questioning of inequalities and power structures in society – i.e. that the *effects* of archaeology improve (Moser et al. 2002:222; Tully 2007:158; Simpson 2008:4; Brighton 2011:344; Moshenska 2017:4-6; Thomas 2017:15, 18).

For this study, the principles of community archaeology can be viewed as an inspiration both on how to relate to indigenous communities and how to generate innovative ideas on how to conduct contract archaeology in those communities. Community archaeology and indigenous archaeology are closely related, in that indigenous archaeology often includes participatory elements. But the one does not presuppose the other. Community archaeology does not have to include an indigenous or ethnical dimension. It can be oriented to any type of community, defined for example by geography, class, ethnicity or religion, or simply to a group of people who are interested in archaeology and volunteer to participate in a project of their choice. Likewise, indigenous archaeology is far from always organised as community archaeology projects. Still, there are many case studies, articles, and publications that show how community archaeology projects can work well in indigenous contexts. They can improve relations, strengthen societies, and contribute to fulfilling the democratic goals as formulated in the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. This subchapter will introduce the concept of community archaeology in general, including some examples of indigenous community archaeology. In the concluding discussion, I will relate community archaeology specifically to Sámi heritage management in Sweden.

Improving the Quality and Effect of Archaeology

Community archaeology today is not only conducted among what are considered disadvantaged or marginalised groups but can be of interest to all types of communities, including people living in welfare states, since all communities have things to explore, and since there is a public demand for archaeological experiences. How the projects are conducted in different countries varies with their legal framework and the cultural, economic, and social setting (Thomas 2017:15-16, 18; Tully 2007:158).

There are many positive and constructive aspects of community archaeology, and it can contribute to society in different ways. For communities with past and ongoing conflicts, a community archaeology project can help talking about sensitive topics. For communities in decline, for example an industrial town losing job opportunities and population, a community archaeology project can be empowering, as the history of the residents is recognised by outside academics and the media (Brighton 2011). Involvement and interaction with heritage has also been shown to increase “well-being” connected to social contacts and experiences of meaningfulness (Thomas 2017:25).

For the relations between indigenous communities and heritage workers, community archaeology has been of special importance. Not only has

indigenous community archaeology contributed to the recognition of indigenous history, it has also been used as an approach to moderate tensions between indigenous communities and archaeologists, promote collaboration, and recognise indigenous rights to cultural places and histories (Brady & Crouch 2010:414-415; Thomas 2017:26). As such, community archaeology can be a part of decolonising practices that aim to resolve longstanding tensions between researchers and communities, science, and life (Atalay 2012:18-19).

In some cases, community archaeology or at least community interaction has also been encouraged by legislation. NAGPRA, the US federal law from 1990 calling on repatriation, also stipulates that the tribes should be consulted prior to archaeological excavations on any tribal territory, and that no excavation could be performed without approval from the head of the tribe. In 1991, another document came into force. It was the *Principles for the Conduct of Research in the Arctic*, initiated by the National Academy of Sciences and formulated and approved by the Interagency Arctic Research Policy Committee of the U.S. Government. Abiding by these principles has since then been a requirement for receiving funding from the National Science Foundation (NSF). The principles recommend, among other things, scientists to consult the local communities in the planning and implementation of the project, to respect local traditions and values, make use of traditional knowledge and experience, guarantee personal anonymity to research subjects unless they have agreed to be identified, and provide research results in a language and manner that suits the local community. Eight principles for cooperation were also identified as being of special concern, such as setting up common goals and making it possible for the local community to make a peer review of the research results by inviting them into the evaluation process as local expertise. After imposing the principles, which still are in use, research results and relations have improved. At the same time, research costs have been reduced, since the researchers are cooperating more intensively with the local community, using local housing, logistics, and support (Broadbent 2004:90-92).

Legislation can also leave heritage unprotected, thereby requiring or inspiring community archaeology of other kinds. In the USA, heritage sites and artefacts – with the exception of human burials – are not protected if they are situated on property owned by private citizens. Much of the archaeological record of the country is therefore at the risk of being damaged if the landowners do not feel related to and responsible for the heritage on their land. In Garden Creek, North Carolina, archaeologists decided to arrange a community archaeology project for families living in what is now a suburban neighbourhood but was once an old Cherokee site (300 B.C.–600 A.D.) (Wright 2015). Instead of drawing on the native or indigenous qualities of the site, archaeologists decided to examine the concepts of place attachment (the bonding of people to places, rootedness), place interaction (lived experience in a particular place) and place identity (the way in which people come to define

themselves with the places in which they live). To the residents, engaging in excavations made them realise that previous generations had lived their lives there, not simply left some artefacts; “Although none of these current residents was genetically related to members of this particular ancient community, they still expressed a connection to them based on a mutual attachment to this particular site” (Wright 2015:219). For the archaeologists, it made sense to work with the people who in the long run will be the ones responsible for the preservation and protection of the site (Wright 2015:222). In Sweden, all heritage sites that are from the year 1850 and older, and that are permanently abandoned, have the same legal protection. This means the example from Garden Creek is not fully applicable to Swedish conditions. What is interesting to the Swedish/Sámi example is the shift of focus – from ethnicity to place. I will return to this issue in the concluding discussion.

In general, there is no single methodology for practising community archaeology – in fact, there is not always a methodology at all, as well as there is a troubling lack of evaluations of the effects of community archaeology projects (Gould 2016). However, there are some key features that recur when reviewing collaborations projects from around the world. Successful community archaeology projects are defined by cooperative attitudes, trust, obtaining permission to conduct research, mutual exchange of information, reports written in a non-excluding language, community participation and community review of published material (Cressey, Reeder & Bryson 2003:14-16; Knecht 2003:107-109; Pyburn 2003; Brady & Crouch 2010:415; Atalay 2012:40-41).

The community archaeology project at Quseir, Egypt, was set up in 1998 and aimed from the start to develop a general methodology for facilitating community involvement. The project suggested the following seven components as worth considering when initiating a community archaeology project:

1. Communication and collaboration
2. Employment and training
3. Public presentation
4. Interviews and oral history
5. Educational resources
6. Photographic and video archive
7. Community-controlled merchandising (Moser et al. 2002:129).

According to Moser et al., communication and collaboration includes partnerships with local organisations, work updates and strategies, plain language reports, openness, authorship and ownership (putting local people in the role of facilitator), social interaction (encouraging archaeologists to engage

as humans, not only as archaeologists, for example visiting the community in between excavations) and acknowledging difficulties and being prepared for tensions and disagreements. Regarding employment and training, full-time employment is suggested when possible, but the training of a larger group is equally important – sharing knowledge to all and helping others to move on to formal educational programmes. Public presentation includes providing outreach to the wider community, minding colonial or academic attitudes and language. It also means planning for the establishment of permanent or temporary exhibitions and creating international connections with relevant museums. The fourth component is stressed as one of the most important. Interviews and oral history mean documenting local people and their experiences of heritage. The topics for the interviews should be negotiated with all stakeholders in advance, and the results are analysed to provide guidance for future projects.

Educational resources are about providing educational material to local schools, offering site visits and giving access to digital material. Photographic and video archiving points to the public good of documenting the people involved. Finally, community-controlled merchandising is about establishing a plan for how souvenirs, replicas and other products can be manufactured and distributed, letting the merchandise contribute to local self-sustainability. Ideally, the local community keeps at least partial control in every step of the project (Moser et al. 2002:229-242).

Gemma Tully later used the seven-component method from Quseir to make a comparison with the methodological components of six other projects (Tully 2007). The purpose was to contribute to a general methodology for community archaeology. Tully argues that an articulated, generalised methodology is necessary if community archaeology want to “become recognised as valid and respected academically”, and that we cannot expect the field to prosper if we do not share knowledge, successes and failures with each other (Tully 2007:157). The most common components were the interviews and oral history along with communication and collaboration, but all components were represented by one or more of the case studies (Tully 2007:167). The comparative study also revealed additional aspects that could improve the methodology of community archaeology. Tully sorts them into the seven-component scheme. Under Communication and collaboration, for example, she suggests that indigenous, postcolonial and non-academic communities can put across their perspectives through co-authorship of the academic publications about the site (Tully 2007:169-170, 176), under Public presentation she suggests incorporating bilingual display texts in presentations of the project (Tully 2007:177) and under Interview and oral history that interviews can be a way of investigating the appropriate methods for treating human remains and objects before work begins (Tully 2007:178). Her impression is that it is “clear that an ‘instinctive underlying’ system is already in place for the practice of community

archaeology”, but that methodology needs to be flexible and constantly re-evaluated (Tully 2007:179).

Rachael Kiddey, who has worked with community archaeology in relation to homeless people and refugees, concludes that in her view, for a project to be genuinely collaborative, it needs to be structured in such a way that “/.../ each individual – or community group – involved is able to contribute their knowledge, skills, and experiences in ways which are meaningful to them” (Kiddey 2020). This means there are two equally important components in a community archaeology project: the knowledge obtained, and what is made of it. The archaeologists alone cannot decide how the material may be interpreted and made use of – the research agenda must reflect the concerns of all stakeholders.

The indigenous archaeologist Sonya Atalay, herself a Native American, writes specifically about indigenous community archaeology and does so in terms of Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR), where the participatory standards are high. CBPR must not only be community-based, but it also has to be community-driven (Atalay 2012:78). She states that the method has “remarkable potential for archaeologists who seek to engage with Indigenous groups” and has the capacity of giving reciprocal benefits to each partner. It also has the potential of bringing together information and knowledge from different knowledge systems, and of creating research design that benefits all participants as equal partners (Atalay 2012:13-14). She acknowledges community archaeology as something that can be conducted on many different levels, and that practice on these levels is interconnected and overlapping (Figure 6).

Critical Views on Community Archaeology

In the literature on community archaeology projects, writers report a number of pitfalls. Many of them concern the core issue – the definition of a community. If you are about to set up a community archaeology project, how do you know what is the relevant community to work with?

A community today can be place based, face-to-face based or non-face-to-face based, or a mixture of all three. This means participants of a community can build their relationship based on where they live, or on which people they can interact with in real life, or on which people they can connect with through digital solutions and social media. What unites participants of any community is their ability to engage not only with people they already know, but with strangers of the same extended social network. The interaction includes “routine performances of conviviality, shared interests, constructions of otherness, structures of feeling and/or everyday labours and mundane experiences” (Waterton 2015:54-57).

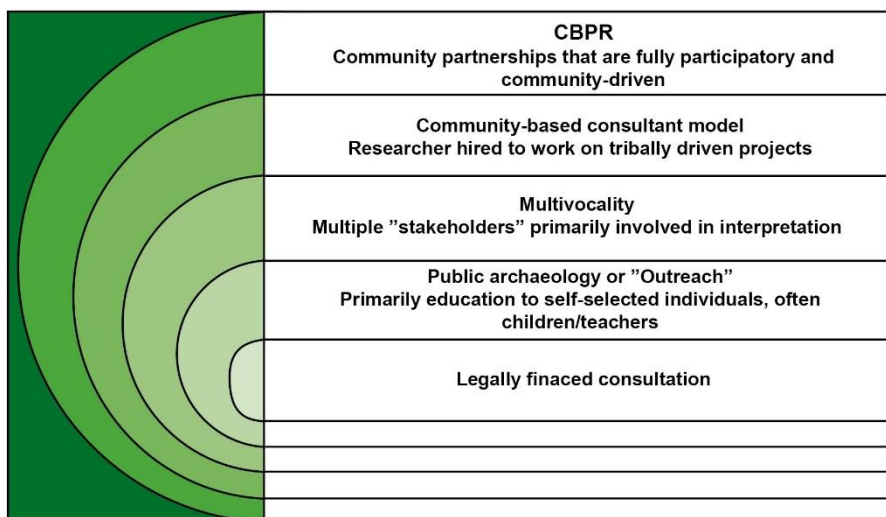


Figure 6. Interconnected and overlapping practices of community archaeology. Based on Atalay 2011. Illustration by Kristina Jonsson.

Nevertheless, the variety of communities, together with the insight that a person is part of numerous different communities, has been a critique of community archaeology. Setting up a community archaeology project can be complicated since communities are complex and diverse. Smaller communities exist within larger ones, membership is in flux. Members can be born into a community or chose to become a member – or chose to leave it. Members who have moved away can maintain strong links to the community. Other people can have a strong interest in a place or site, but no connections to the members of the community. Communities have their own hierarchies and are not safe places for everybody. What responsibilities do the archaeologists have to include not just the men, the educated, those who have lived a long time in the community, or those who are likely to support the project? Also, there is a built-in resistance to talk about problems occurring in community archaeology projects, since the relationships between archaeologists and participants tend to be close and personal. Being open about problems in the group can jeopardise future projects, both in relation to the community and to financiers (Tully 2007:159; Atalay 2012:76-82; Kiddey 2020).

A risk of inequality also occurs in the relationship between the community and the archaeologists. It is often noted that the projects are conducted on the

conditions of the archaeologists, who like to depict themselves as the agents of change and the source of community/indigenous empowerment. Rico (2017) sees two types of typical frameworks for collaboration, “capacity-building” and “stakeholder consultation”. Capacity-building is a one-way learning process where (in his case) indigenous people are regarded as receivers of knowledge and expertise that they do not possess, but that other actors assume they need (Rico 2017:39). It is questionable if capacity-building projects would count as community archaeology at all, but for someone setting up a community archaeology project without considering methodology, elements of capacity-building could easily slip through, if it seems like a good deed. The stakeholder consultation, on the other hand, accepts alternative voices as valid expertise alongside other stakeholders. However, the stakeholder consultation, or the “stakeholder model”, often fails. Communities, archaeologists, government bodies and other stakeholders are only *imagined* as having equal control of the projects, Rico writes. In reality, the power relationship is biased and does not reflect local agency enough. Alternative and marginalised voices are requested, but there is often an urge to edit these voices and make them fall in line with dominant heritage discourse, deeming the process of (indigenous) community archaeology as nothing but “postcolonial PR” (Rico 2017:48-49). An alternative to the stakeholder model is the host-guest-relation, where the archaeologists are seen as the guests of the community and the community remains in control of the project (Brady 2009; McNiven & Russell 2005:235-242; Brady & Crouch 2010:417).

Evaluations of the effects of community archaeology were conducted by Faye Simpson (2008). She studied six different projects in the USA and UK and compared the “espoused value claims” to “actual value outcomes”. The values were grouped into four categories: social, educational, economic and political. The results showed that the espoused social value claim to encourage proactive and direct involvement by members of the community in their heritage was only partially fulfilled. The actual value outcome was “often superficial”, and involvement varied with the age and interests of community members. An educational espoused value claim for increased knowledge and awareness of archaeology was met, but only for those participating, and the economic espoused value claim for increased tourism was met with increased tourism in certain urban locations (Simpson 2008:12). A challenge for all projects was to serve the needs of the public and the archaeologists simultaneously. In some projects, the community ended up serving the archaeologists in their quest for research values and student training, and in others, the public aspect overshadowed the archaeological preservation to such an extent it risked vital contextual information (Simpson 2008:12-13).

The study points to the necessity of drawing up clear goals for all stakeholders when initiating a community archaeology project, and to evaluate and re-structure the project as it moves forward. Another factor pointed out by

Gemma Tully is the stress placed on the archaeologists to give back to the community feelings of identity and linkages to the past. In her comparative study, several communities hoped the project would lead to a revivification of the past that would unify the current society (Tully 2007:170). Tully talks of this in terms of opportunities, but there is reason to believe, also, that these types of expectations could lead to disappointment if the hoped-for effects fail to materialise, or if revivification of “lost” identities results in discussions on who belongs to the community and who does not.

To avoid complications and conflicts in a community archaeology project, Karen Anne Pyburn (2011) suggests archaeologists (1) stay aware that individuals can be members of multiple communities; (2) refrain from creating and reifying communities and leave the definitions to the communities themselves; and (3) work to understand the dynamics between different communities – how they interact with and influence each other.

Atalay, in turn, lists five common features for successful CBPR projects. First, they utilise a community-based partnership. Second, they aspire to be participatory in all aspects. Third, they build community capacity. Fourth, they engage in a spirit of reciprocity, and fifth, they recognise the contributions of multiple knowledge systems (Atalay 2011:59-71, see also Watkins & Ferguson 2005).

These and other checklists are easily available online for anyone wishing to design a community archaeology project. The fact that there is no agreed methodology of community archaeology does not mean there is no methodology at all – there are a variety of project designs to be inspired by, and the designs will still need to be adjusted to fit the preconditions of each project. Some things seem to be important regardless of the setting. To take time to build lasting and trusting relationships is one. To be willing to accept contrasting perspectives, and share power and influence, is another. A third is to formulate the results of the project together – texts, exhibitions, websites et cetera. The narrative that is created in the project must make sense to all participants (Malloy 2003).

However, the most important thing must be to get started. As pointed out by Carl-Gösta Ojala, “the practice of community-based, collaborative, participatory archaeology is not very well developed in Sweden, especially in relation to Sámi (pre)history” (Ojala 2017:266). Understanding how indigenous and community archaeology has functioned in other parts of the world, can bring new perspectives and possibilities to contract archaeology in Swedish Sápmi.

4. Policies Concerning Indigenous Archaeology

About Ethics and Policies

The practice of archaeology poses a set of ethical dilemmas that deserves exploring and reflecting on. An initial quandary is that the archaeologist takes on him/herself the right to intrude into layers that people from the past have left behind, sometimes with the intention of keeping them sealed for eternity. Other, more society-related questions could be about the looting of pre-historic sites, illegal trading of artefacts, interpreting artefacts to suit a political or ideological theory, handling human remains, and, as in this licentiate thesis, conducting archaeology in relationship with an indigenous group. The ethical aspects of being an archaeologist are, despite all this, seldom addressed in the education and training of new archaeologists in Sweden (Welinder 2004).

There are numerous international publications on the subject (of which many connect to indigenous issues and have been mentioned in previous chapters, but for additional perspectives see for example Vitelli & Colwell 2006, Sandis 2014, Ireland & Schofield 2015). In Sweden, the recent discussion has been reflected in the anthologies *Swedish Archaeologists on Ethics* (Karlsson 2004a) and *Etiska perspektiv inom arkeologin. Studenter och lärare i Lund reflekterar över ämnesetiska frågor* (Iregren & Jennbert 2015). These two publications have articles on repatriation and ownership, but also on the complicated situation with free labour in the archaeological sector, ethical dilemmas with and while working “abroad”, touristic exploitation of heritage sites, and, in different ways, balancing the needs of today with the conservation of the past.

The ethics of a community – whether it is a geographical, work related or social – is something that is resolved as a shared agreement between community members. As distinct from morals, which are commonly defined as the inner sense of right and wrong of the individual, ethics is the intellectual discussion about how people in general should treat each other and behave within the community (Karlsson 2004b:76).

Today, many sectors have “professional ethics”, stating the agreed ways of practicing the profession. Even the existence of ethical policies and guidelines can be criticised from an ethical point of view. The Swedish Archaeological Society has received queries on whether or not the guidelines are fulfilling their purpose, since not all Swedish archaeologists are members of the Society, and since no penalties or sanctions face the archaeologist that does not follow the rules (Karlsson 2004b:77-83). Another worry is that signing policies or documents on professional ethics risk the stagnation and bringing to closure of a discussion that needs to be ongoing (Hamilakis 2007:22). Our views on

cultural heritage change with the political and social reality around us, and policies need to be re-negotiated and discussed in an ongoing process.

Policies concerning indigenous heritage are the focus of this licentiate thesis. The acknowledging of the abuse, ignorance and oppression of the heritage of indigenous peoples by national governments and archaeologists, has propelled the writing of documents stressing the need for reversed strategies that strengthen indigenous influence and ownership over heritage (see for example Clifford 2013:16ff).

The discussion has led to the writing of declarations, policies, and legislation, both on a national and international level. Some of the documents are legally binding, some are indicative, and set target goals for the ideal administrative and practical treatment of indigenous heritage. In this licentiate thesis the word “policies” will sometimes be used as a collective term for all types of documents, to avoid repeating “declarations, professional ethics, policies, laws, statutes, regulations” and so on.

Policies can be important means to improve and develop practice and serve as tools for parity and the equal treatment of people in different countries or regions. But international policies on indigenous archaeology are also criticised (beyond the criticism of professional ethics in general). As shown in the subsection on Indigeneity and Heritage, “indigenous” in itself is a modern construction, invented to describe a political relationship between coloniser and colonised. As Western hegemony has also defined “archaeology” and “heritage”, the policies on indigenous heritage are accused of not taking enough consideration of contrasting worldviews, or as Yannis Hamilakis puts it: “...western official archaeology is a recent construction of capitalist modernity, and it carries with it the foundational ideologies of the western middle classes” (Hamilakis 2007:22, see also Nicholas 2017:202-203), as is exemplified by the idea of valuing science and economic development over spirituality and closed-loop cyclicity.

The policies for indigenous archaeology are also coloured by the fact that the indigenous movement has been strongest, and most influential, in North America and Australia. The policies have evolved to fit the needs and political systems of these continents. They also reflect a colonisation process where there is a clear delineation “before” and “after” colonisation. The concepts of colonisation and indigeneity can be understood differently in for example Africa and Asia (Hillerdal 2017:65-66; Matenga 2017:127-129). After working in Laos, Anna Karlström notes that from the perspective of Southeast Asia, indigeneity is “complex, diffuse and multi-layered because of innumerable invasions and colonizations throughout history” (Karlström 2017:176-177).

The Policies in This Study

In this licentiate thesis, I will examine six policies and relate them to Swedish heritage management. The policies were shaped over the past 30 years and differ in levels of implementation. Two documents are central in the discussion. The first one is the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, which was signed by Sweden in 2007 and has explicit references to cultural heritage. The second one is the *Guidelines for Good Archaeological Practice of the Swedish Archaeological Society* from 2000. These guidelines are well known to archaeologists in Sweden and the Articles are “hands on” and applicable to the everyday challenges of an archaeologist.

The other four documents are in different ways intertwined with the first two. The international discussion on archaeological ethics in relation to indigenous heritage management originates from the World Archaeological Congress, which is why their *First Code of Ethics* (1990) is part of the study. In Europe, the European Association of Archaeologists’ *Code of Practice* followed in 1997, and they in turn were the inspiration for the guidelines of the Swedish Archaeological Society (2000) mentioned earlier.

The *National Minorities and Minority Languages Act* was adopted by the Swedish government in 2009 and says nothing specific about archaeology or heritage but has an Article on the importance of keeping and developing culture, which corresponds with one of the writings in the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (United Nations 2007a). The *Sámi Heritage Programme* from 2015 explicitly builds on the *United Nations Declarations on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* and is interesting as an example of how the Declaration can be used and applied to national conditions.

These policies will be presented briefly, in chronological order. Then follows a thematic analysis of the content of the policies, and at the end of this chapter, the expectations these policies place on the heritage sector are summarised in five checkpoints which will be used to evaluate the contract archaeology reports in Chapter 5.

The policies, or relevant parts of them, are found in Appendices 2–8.

The *First Code of Ethics* of the World Archaeological Congress (1990)

The World Archaeological Congress (WAC) is an international network of archaeologists, meeting once every four year. At every congress, important policy issues are addressed, and resolutions are proposed and formulated. The very germ of the WAC was a discontent with the western colonial approach towards the heritage of developing countries and indigenous peoples (Ucko 1987; Gero 1999). Therefore, one of the first things on the agenda was constructing professional ethics and agreements on how to handle indigenous archaeology.

The *First Code of Ethics* (World Archaeological Congress 1990, Appendix 2) was adopted by the WAC Council in 1990 at WAC-2, Barquisimeto, Venezuela. It is a continuation of and builds on the principles of *The Vermillion Accord on Human Remains* that the WAC adopted in 1989 (World Archaeological Congress 1989, Appendix 3). It is clearly recommended that the two codes should be understood and interpreted in relation to each other. *The Vermillion Accord on Human Remains*, adopted at the WAC Inter-Congress, South Dakota, USA, stipulates respect for all human remains irrespective of origin, race, religion, nationality, custom or tradition. Archaeologists should, if possible, respect the wish of local communities and relatives of the deceased, but also recognize the scientific research value of the human remains, and to try to negotiate between the two.

In the *First Code of Ethics*, members of the WAC also undertake to acknowledge the importance of indigenous heritage in order to secure the well-being of the people and the survival of their culture. Indigenous methodologies for managing heritage should be applied, and indigenous peoples should be represented in the planning and performing of research projects. Unfortunately, not many Swedish archaeologists are members of the WAC – the statistics from 2018 only show five Swedish members (e-mail from the WAC Membership Secretary, 28-02-2019). However, the *First Code of Ethics* is still relevant to Swedish conditions, since it is listed by the Swedish Research Council as one of two relevant professional ethics for Swedish archaeologists (the other one is the *Guidelines for Good Archaeological Practice of the Swedish Archaeological Society*, below). These two professional ethics are included in Codex, a webservice provided by the Swedish Research Council together with the Centre for Research Ethics and Bioethics at Uppsala University (Codex 2020).

The Code of Practice of the European Association of Archaeologists (1997)

The European Association of Archaeologists (EAA) was founded in 1994 and is open both to individuals and bodies. The association approved of a *Code of Practice* at their annual meeting in Ravenna, Italy, in 1997. The code was amended in 2009 (European Association of Archaeologists 2009, Appendix 4). It is a document with two main sections, one on the relationship of the archaeologist to society, and one on the relationship of the archaeologist to his or her professional role. It says nothing specifically about indigenous peoples but mentions the responsibilities of archaeologists towards the general public and local communities: to communicate objectives and methods of projects and to make prior evaluations of any ecological and social implications of their work. An additional document on contract archaeology, *The EAA Principles of Conduct for Archaeologists Involved in Contract Archaeology*, mentions the

obligation of the archaeologist to make the results from contract archaeological works available to the public.

The Guidelines for Good Archaeological Practice of the Swedish Archaeological Society (2000)

The EAA *Code of Practice* inspired The Swedish Archaeological Society (SAS) to formulate guidelines of their own (Appendix 5). The guidelines were approved in 2000 and amended in 2005. They resemble the EAA code on many points. The two sections, on the relationship of the archaeologist to society and to the profession, are the same, as well as many of the Articles.

Two Articles are of interest to indigenous archaeology. Article 1.3 advocates that archaeologists must pay attention to any kind of discriminating or racist opinions that their research may fuel, and that may have negative consequences on society, “morally and ideologically”. The archaeologist must strive for a critical, thoughtful attitude in mediation and interpretation of archaeological results. Article 1.7 states the following:

When planning and conducting archaeological projects, archaeologists should, in accordance with agreed contracts, consider the ecological and social consequences of the investigation, especially in relation to the local community. Research concerning the indigenous population of a country calls for special consideration. All such projects must be conducted in contact and dialogue with the local community or indigenous population, including the mutual exchange of experiences (my translation).

The Society, founded in 1947, had 617 members at the end of 2019 (e-mail from Ingrid Berg, Swedish Archaeological Society, 05-02-2020). Their guidelines are well known and can be considered as relevant to archaeologists in Sweden (Iregren 2015:60; Larsson 2015:28).

United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007)

The *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) (Appendix 6) was adopted by the General Assembly in 2007. It was supported by 144 states, including Sweden. Eleven states abstained from voting, and four states, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States of America, voted against. These four states have since then reversed their positions and now support the Declaration (United Nations 2019, for the background of the document, see Charters & Stavenhagen 2009). A Declaration is not legally binding, but it is an official commitment for a country to work in a certain direction. When the UNDRIP was adopted, Sweden made a form of

reservation, an explanation of vote (Sw. *röstförklaring*), mainly to clarify Sweden's interpretation of land rights. The Swedish delegate stressed that it is important for the Swedish Government to maintain a balance between competing interests of different groups living in the north of the country. Sweden declared that they wanted to fulfil the intentions of the Declaration through consultative processes and through Sámi participation in democratic systems (United Nations 2007b).

The UNDRIP consists of 46 Articles, mainly aiming to bolster indigenous self-determination. Culture, tradition, identity, and customs are frequent terms. Six of the Articles talk explicitly of cultural heritage and connection to land and archaeological sites. These Articles are listed in Appendix 6. The goals of the UNDRIP are set high and clearly goes beyond the current practice in most countries, including Sweden. Central demands in the Declaration are the right for an indigenous people to fully pursue their cultural development, to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, and to ensure the repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains. For Swedish conditions, the Articles can be interpreted as a support for Sámi management of Sámi heritage.

The UNDRIP was welcomed, and is often referred to, by the Swedish Sámi Parliament, which along with other indigenous communities in the world continues to call for national implementations of the Declaration (United Nations 2014, Sametinget 2014). In Sweden, the UNDRIP is currently discussed in relation to the creation of a new law, an order of consultation (Sw. *konsultationsordning*) for Sámi related issues. The new *konsultationsordning* will make sure that the Sámi Parliament, and in relevant cases the Sámi villages concerned, are consulted before political decisions “of special importance for the Sámi”, on national, regional, and local levels. A draft for the proposal of the new law (Sw. *Utkast till lagrådsremiss*) came in June 2019 (Kulturdepartementet 2019). In their consultation responses, the National Historical Museums and the Nordiska museet, among others, point to their conclusion that the law will also affect decisions and matters within the heritage sector (Regeringskansliet 2020).

National Minorities and Minority Languages Act (2009)

The Swedish *National Minorities and Minority Languages Act* (SFS 2009:724) contains provisions for the rights of national minorities and the right to use national minority languages in the public administration and courts (Appendix 7). According to the Swedish *Language Act* (SFS 2009:600) there are five minority languages in Sweden: Finnish, Yiddish, Meänkieli, Romany Chib and Sámi. In the *National Minorities and Minority Languages Act* it is stated that the minorities have the right to information and service in their own language, not all over Sweden, but in appointed municipalities and regions. In the county of Jämtland, six out of eight municipalities, and the county/region as a whole, are appointed administrative areas for Sámi. Swedish society also has an

obligation to promote the opportunities for minorities to “keep and develop their culture in Sweden” (4§), and to facilitate their influence on official decision making (§5). As mentioned in the section on The Sámi in Sweden, the law derives from the Council of Europe *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (FCNM), ratified by Sweden in the year 2000 (SÖ 2000:2). In the FCNM, cultural heritage is identified as one of four essential elements of minority identity:

The Parties undertake to promote the conditions necessary for persons belonging to national minorities to maintain and develop their culture, and to preserve the essential elements of their identity, namely their religion, language, traditions and cultural heritage (FCNM Article 5.1).

Also, in the introduction to the convention, it says that the document is signed by states that are determined to implement the principles set out in the convention “through national legislation and appropriate governmental policies”.

The Sámi Heritage Programme (2015)

In 1997, the Swedish National Heritage Board initiated a programme for Sámi heritage. For six years, 1997–2002, mountain areas in northern Sweden were to be surveyed. The Sámi population was in various degrees involved in the work. To organise the work, several authorities worked together to formulate a set of guidelines. It resulted in a document, *Bevarande av det samiska kulturarvet. Program för stöd* (Riksantikvarieämbetet, Länsstyrelsen i Norrbotten & Ájtte 1998), that by now has been updated three times: *Bevarande av det samiska kulturarvet. Program för stöd 2003–2007* (Riksantikvarieämbetet, Länsstyrelsen i Norrbottens län & Länsstyrelsen Jämtlands län 2003), *Bevarande av det samiska kulturarvet. Program 2008–2012* (Ájtte & Gaaltije 2008) and *Det samiska kulturlandskapet. Program för att bevara, bruka och utveckla samiska kulturlandskap 2015–2020*. (Ájtte & Gaaltije 2014). The first version was initiated by the Swedish National Heritage Board which commissioned the County Administrative Board of Norrbotten to coordinate the work. Many stakeholders had their say: the Sámi Parliament, Ájtte – Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum, Silvermuseet, the County Administrative Boards and the county museums of Norrbotten, Västerbotten, Jämtland, Västernorrland and Dalarna including their Sámi reference groups, Nordiska museet and the finally the Swedish National Heritage Board themselves. The first update of the programme had almost the same reference group, but with the third version, the Swedish National Heritage Board transferred the job of editing to Ájtte, on commission. The fourth programme was initiated by Ájtte and Gaaltije and not

at all by the Swedish National Heritage Board, neither did it receive any funding from the board, although they held a seat in the reference group.

The target groups for the programme are “all authorities, organisations, scholars and individuals who work with issues about Sámi heritage and historical environments” and the purpose of the programme is to “serve as an inspiration and basis for authorities, organisations and institutions in community planning and allocation of funding” and also to “initiate research”, and among other things also to “provide support and guidelines on how to conduct different activities aiming to preserve and develop Sámi heritage /.../ (Ájtte & Gaaltije 2014:7-8, my translation). Worded in this way, the document shows its intention to serve as a kind of policy for the participating stakeholders on how to manage Sámi heritage.

The programme express a concern for the low levels of knowledge on Sámi heritage in the Swedish community, and stresses the need for Sámi agency in Sámi heritage issues: “Sámi organisations must be given the opportunities to develop heritage work according to their own conditions and priorities” (Ájtte & Gaaltije 2014:27). At the end of the programme, in Chapter 5, the authors sum up the goals of the programme in six “focus areas”: Knowledge base, Information, Climate change, the European Landscape Convention, Environmental quality goals and Conservation and protection (Appendix 8). The current programme has been developed in collaboration between Ájtte – Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum, Gaaltije, the Sámi Parliament, Svenska Samernas Riksförbund SSR (The Swedish Sámi Association, organising primarily reindeer herding Sámi), the County Administrative Board in Västerbotten, Västerbotten Museum, Jamtli, and the Swedish University of Agricultural Science (SLU). Also participating in the work to various degrees was the Swedish National Heritage Board, the Swedish Forest Agency, the National Property Board, the County Administrative Boards in Norrbotten, Jämtland and Dalarna, the Forest Museum in Lycksele, the county museums in Västernorrland, Norrbotten, Dalarna and Gävleborg, and the Swedish History Museum. This broad consultation means the programme is well-known and accepted among stakeholders in Sámi heritage management. At the time of writing (November 2020) there is no revised programme for the years to come. The Sámi stakeholders express the need for a renewed document, but other stakeholders have asked for an evaluation of the usefulness of the programme first (e-mail from Jerker Bexelius, manager of Gaaltije, 17-11-2020).

In relation to this document, I also wish to mention the document *Samisk markanvändning och MKB* (“Sámi Land Use and Environmental Impact Assessment”) produced by the Sámi Parliament and SSR in 2010. It is a guide on how to support Sámi interests in community planning. The document is not part of this study since it is not so much a policy (in the sense of an agreement between members or stakeholders) as a statement to the wider community on how an ideal Environmental Impact Assessment process could be formed from

a Sámi point of view. Still, it contains conclusions that are similar to the ones in the *Sámi Heritage Programme*: that there is an overall lack of expertise and knowledge about Sámi heritage in Swedish society, and that there is a need for increased Sámi participation in the processes of decision-making (Svenska Samernas Riksförbund 2010:30-31).

Analysis of the Policies

The objectives of the policies on how to manage indigenous heritage revolve around key elements such as dialogue, cooperation, and self-determination. Some objectives are easier to achieve and others more difficult. At one end of the scale, there are the calls for increased dialogue, which, at least in theory, could be put into action quite easily. Cooperation demands more effort from participants, as it would involve new sets of working routines. Finally, different forms of self-determination and indigenous agency are even more challenging, as they call for changes in administration and/or legislation. The policies in this study will now be discussed in relation to this conceived scale of difficulty. I will also try to identify what kinds of substantial actions or arrangements are suggested to meet the needs of indigenous peoples. I will call these arrangements checkpoints.

The professional ethics of the European Association of Archaeologists would be at one end of the scale. It calls for “active steps to inform the general public” (§2) of archaeological projects but says nothing about two-way communication (dialogue) or cooperation. It asks for archaeologists to “carry out prior evaluations of the ecological and social implications of their work for local communities” (§5) but does not specify how, or with input from whom. The focus is on the archaeologist and on his or her intellectual efforts.

In the Swedish version, which explicitly builds on the European, the Swedish Association of Archaeologists advances from aiming to “inform” the general public to “having a mutual and continuing dialogue with society at large” (§1.2, my translation). The importance of two-way communication is also stressed in the introduction to the policy. The Article on the impact analysis of ecological and social implication has been expanded and developed in the Swedish version. It says impact should be analysed in relation to the local community, and that special consideration must be taken of the indigenous population of a country. Projects including indigenous peoples must (the strong Swedish verb *skall*) be conducted in contact and dialogue with the indigenous people, “including the mutual exchange of experience” (§1, my translation). This means the policy of the Swedish Archaeological Society goes further than the policy of the European Association of Archaeologists. Where the European version stops at “informing” (one-way communication), the Swedish calls for dialogue (two-way communication), and collaboration (“exchange of experience”) with the indigenous community. However, there is a certain woolliness regarding

contract archaeology. The Swedish policy says that the impact analysis must be conducted in relation to “concluded contracts”, which means that the level of interaction with the local and indigenous community, to a certain extent, is dependent on the judgement of the County Administrative Boards and/or the developer. Formulated as checkpoints, these two professional ethics advocate:

- 1. Information in advance**, preferably in the form of dialogue, and
- 2. Indigenous participation**, which means a mutual exchange of experiences where archaeologists value and make use of indigenous knowledge.

The *First Code of Ethics* of the WAC also turns to the archaeologist as an individual – the Articles begin with formulations like “Members agree to...” or “Members shall...”. The *First Code of Ethics* does not call for changes in legislation, however, some of the Articles can be difficult for a single professional to carry out, not least in commercial archaeology. To promise not to interfere with and/or remove human remains (Rule 5) or artefacts or objects of special cultural significance (Rule 6) without the expressed consent of the indigenous people can be difficult if you are part of a team with divergent routines, or a system that does not support that kind of actions. Nevertheless, together the Articles form a concrete and hands-on checklist for archaeological investigations of indigenous heritage sites. Prior to any investigation, members shall seek to define the indigenous people whose heritage is the subject of investigation (Rule 1). They shall, through representatives authorised by the indigenous people, obtain the informed consent of the indigenous people (Rule 2) and keep them informed during all stages of the investigation (Rule 3). They have an obligation to employ or train indigenous peoples in proper techniques, and have indigenous peoples monitoring the projects (Rule 7). When the work is complete, it is to be presented with deference and respect to the indigenous people (Rule 4) and archaeologists are encouraged to acknowledge and recognise indigenous methodologies for interpreting, curating, managing and protecting indigenous cultural heritage (Principle 6).

So, in comparison to the professional ethics of the EAA or the Swedish Archaeological Society, the *First Code of Ethics* of the WAC exceeds the demands of the dialogue-end of the scale and puts the emphasis on collaboration and mutual respect. The responsibility for collaboration falls on the archaeologists.

The *First Code of Ethics* of the WAC supports checkpoint **1. Information in advance**, and even goes a step further as it recommends the informed consent of the indigenous people in question, something that can demand negotiation. The *First Code of Ethics* also supports checkpoint **2. Indigenous participation**, with the additional goal to train and employ indigenous work force. We can also formulate two new checkpoints:

3. Information about the results. The *First Code of Ethics* of the WAC stresses the need for keeping the indigenous people informed throughout the project and giving them access to the results of the survey or excavation. The code also argues that these presentations should be conducted with deference and respect to the indigenous people.

4. Interpretation and impact analysis. The *First Code of Ethics* of the WAC advocates that not only should the indigenous people concerned receive information about the results, but since cultural heritage is important for their well-being and survival (Principles 1 and 2), they should be a part of the interpretation of the results as well as of the impact analysis of the results. Archaeologists should recognise indigenous methodologies for interpreting, curating, managing, and protecting indigenous cultural heritage. In comparison to the *Guidelines for Good Archaeological Practice of the Swedish Archaeological Society*, we note that they too encourage an “impact analysis of ecological and social implications” of each indigenous/local community project, for example to prevent misuse of archaeological results in the contexts of racism or discrimination.

The *National Minorities and Minority Languages Act* is not very specific when it comes to heritage, and it says nothing about how to practice archaeological activity. Instead, its weight comes from being a law, and in addition, a law that builds on a framework convention from the Council of Europe, the FNCM. This means it represent a strong recommendation to authorities on all levels of society to adjust to its Articles. According to the FCNM, Sweden must accept the responsibility of allowing minorities to keep, develop and preserve essential parts of their identity, of which heritage is one (Utredningen om en stärkt minoritetspolitik 2017:53). Both the FCNM and the *National Minorities and Minority Languages Act* propose agency to the minorities – *they* must be given opportunities to keep, develop and preserve *their* culture (my italics) – and authorities are supposed to assist them, and also to give the minorities influence through a “structured dialogue” in matters that concern them (*National Minorities and Minority Languages Act* 5§). In contrast to the professional ethics, which address the professional archaeologists, the *National Minorities and Minority Languages Act* addresses government bodies, County Administrative Boards, regions, and municipalities – the public sector. It explicitly requires them to have a dialogue with the minorities in decision-making, but also suggests minority/indigenous agency (even if it does not suggest minority/indigenous self-determination).

In terms of checkpoints, the *National Minorities and Minority Languages Act* says nothing specific about how to conduct archaeological or cultural heritage work, but there are traces of something else: suggestions for indigenous agency – the idea of allowing minorities and indigenous people themselves steer the management of their cultural heritage.

The *Sámi Heritage Programme* focuses on knowledge. The authors express a concern about level of knowledge of Sámi heritage being too low, in Swedish society at large, but also within the Sámi community. The surveys of the Sámi landscape for heritage sites and historical buildings are insufficient, which is troublesome as increased exploitation and climate change threaten to destroy Sámi heritage. There is a lack of knowledge about the character and amplitude of Sámi heritage outside (mainly south) of today's reindeer herding areas, for example in the provinces of Hälsingland and Dalarna. Swedish authorities need to increase their knowledge of Sámi heritage. Also, there is an urgent need to document the knowledge of old Sámi people, who bear traditional knowledge that is about to disappear (Ájtte & Gaaltije 2014:27-29).

Because there is no central authority with expertise in, and overview over, Sámi heritage issues (authors write with a nod to the Swedish National Heritage Board), it is important to initiate local and regional management plans for Sámi heritage. The Sámi villages are encouraged to devise their own plans, as are the municipalities, which should devise their plans together with Sámi representatives. Municipalities and state authorities should aim to have appointed curators/antiquarians with Sámi expertise (Ájtte & Gaaltije 2014:27, 32).

The programme is more about the “what” than about the “how”, but Sámi participation is central to achieve the goals of the programme. Stakeholders should strive for “/.../ Sámi participation and influence in decisions and processes concerning the Sámi landscape locally and regionally”. Sámi management of “their own lands” as in the management of the World Heritage Site of Laponia is presented as a good example (see page 146). Increased networking and collaboration between stakeholders at all levels are requested (Ájtte & Gaaltije 2014:27-29). The intentions of the programme can be fulfilled within the framework of the current organisation and legislation of Swedish heritage management.

The *Sámi Heritage Programme* shows, much like the *National Minorities and Minority Languages Act*, an eagerness to improve the dialogue between the Sámi and Swedish authorities. The programme explicitly demands **2. Indigenous participation** in the decision making and conducting of heritage initiatives. But these two documents also talk about something else, that must be formulated in a fifth checkpoint:

5. Ownership and agency. There is a willingness to an actual transfer of power; to experiment with new ways of working and

steering work on indigenous cultural heritage. The indigenous people themselves should, to a greater extent than today, be the stewards of their indigenous heritage. This does not immediately call for changes in legislation, but in attitudes, administration, and work processes.

The *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) turns to the states and legislators. It calls for dramatic change in the way most states treat indigenous heritage and positions itself on the far right of our scale – it calls for indigenous self-determination in heritage matters. Already in Article 3, the UNDRIP states that indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination and the right to freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development. In Article 11, the UNDRIP says that indigenous peoples have the right to practice and revitalise their cultural traditions and customs, maintain, protect and develop their past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature. Article 12 talks about the right to use and control their ceremonial objects, and the right to the repatriation of human remains. The UNDRIP also endorses that the “dignity and diversity of their cultures” shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information, and that states shall take effective measures to combat prejudice discrimination of indigenous peoples (Article 15) which can be compared with Article 1.3 in the *Guidelines for Good Archaeological Praxis of the Swedish Archaeological Society* where it says that archaeologists have an obligation to be aware of discriminating or racist messages that their research may (unintentionally) generate. The two documents are relying on the cultural heritage sector to counteract racism and discrimination. Finally, the UNDRIP states that indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop not only their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, but also to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such matters (Article 31).

The UNDRIP supports all five checkpoints formulated in this analysis. To checkpoint **5. Ownership and agency** can be added the rights to ownership of human remains, religious objects and culturally significant objects, including the repatriation of these objects. Applied to indigenous archaeology, the UNDRIP could mean that indigenous archaeological surveys and excavations should be in the hands of the indigenous peoples – management, artefacts, interpretation and record-keeping. The question of ownership is also addressed in the *First Code of Ethics* of the World Archaeological Congress, where members must agree to “acknowledge that the indigenous cultural heritage rightfully belongs to the indigenous descendants of that heritage” (Principle 5) and that “the important relationship between indigenous peoples and their cultural heritage exists irrespective of legal ownership” (Principle 4).

Summary: Policies Concerning Indigenous Archaeology

The policies in this survey are of different date and origin. Some address archaeologists as professionals, other address decision-makers on national, regional, or local levels of society. But as shown in the analysis, there are some themes that keep recurring. Claims for dialogue, cooperation and agency/self-determination are central. But it does not stop there. The *First Code of Ethics* of the WAC gives instructions on exactly how to conduct an archaeological investigation to protect indigenous interests, step by step. The *Sámi Heritage Programme* stresses the importance of capturing the unique knowledge and expertise that only the indigenous people have concerning their land and traditions. The *National Minorities and Minority Languages Act* and the UNDRIP urge authorities on all levels to allow the indigenous peoples to take more responsibility over their own heritage, and to respect the demands of indigenous peoples regarding the treatment of human remains and culturally significant objects.

The first question of this licentiate thesis is:

1. Does Swedish heritage management, notably contract archaeology, live up to the goals and demands formulated in national and international conventions, policies, and legislation, concerning indigenous peoples and their heritage?

To be able to answer that question, I have grouped the recurring elements of the policies into five checkpoints.

1. Information in advance. When initiating archaeological activity on territories with indigenous cultural heritage, policymakers find it essential to inform the local indigenous community about the project. This communication, preferably in the form of a dialogue, could include obtaining approval from, or negotiating with, the indigenous people.

2. Indigenous participation. The policies stress the need to capture and cherish indigenous knowledge and consult indigenous people as experts. The indigenous people often possess local and traditional knowledge that may increase the quality and value of the archaeological investigation. Furthermore, encouraging indigenous participation creates democratic values, promotes active citizenship, and stimulates mutual communication and respect. If possible,

archaeologists should aim at training and employing an indigenous work force.

3. Information about the results. This aspect is the most common in the policies, not only in relation to indigenous peoples but to all local communities and other stakeholders. It is regarded as a basic obligation of any archaeologist to inform the local community and the public of the outcomes of their work, not on demand but proactively. In relation to indigenous communities, the results should be presented with deference and respect to the indigenous people.

4. Interpretation and impact analysis. The policies also have recommendations on how to act after a completed project, e.g. an excavation. The indigenous people should be consulted in interpretation and other aspects of the subsequent work of the project. The ecological and social consequences of the project should be taken into consideration. This include preventing the misuse of archaeological results in the contexts of racism or discrimination. The indigenous methodologies for interpreting, curating, managing, and protecting the material should be acknowledged.

5. Ownership and agency. The indigenous people should have agency or even self-determination concerning the management of their cultural heritage – the right to maintain, protect, and develop manifestations of their cultures, such as their archaeological and historical sites and artefacts. The indigenous people are proposed to have ownership of human remains, religious objects, and culturally significant objects. The question of repatriation is mentioned in several policies.

In the next chapter, I will take these five themes and compare them to archaeological surveys and excavations in the county of Jämtland, to see if these expectations are being met.

5. Indigenous Archaeology in Jämtland County – an Archive Study

This chapter examines contract archaeology in the county of Jämtland and how it has been conducted in adherence to the national and international recommendations for indigenous archaeology. I will also examine two examples of publicly financed projects, to see if the financing model of archaeological projects affects the work routines of the archaeologists.

The purpose is to contribute a basis for answering the first research question of this licentiate thesis: Does Swedish heritage management, notably contract archaeology, live up to the goals and demands formulated in national and international conventions, policies, and legislation, concerning indigenous peoples and their heritage? Since this is just a case study, it cannot answer this question fully, but it will provide some information that can form a basis for the following interview study and analysis.

The Archive Study – Purpose and Background

When commercial archaeology was gradually introduced in Sweden in the 1990s, it did not immediately have an impact on the county of Jämtland. For the first decade, practically all surveys and excavations were conducted by the County Museum, Jamtli. One more local actor has become established since, but most competitors are companies operating nation-wide. County museums from the surrounding counties also compete, and Jamtli competes for contracts in the neighbouring counties, too (Anders Hansson, Senior Curator/Chief Archaeologist, Jamtli County Museum, personal conversation 27-01-2020). In 2018, twelve companies registered with the Jämtland County Administrative Board as interested in conducting contract archaeology in Jämtland.

Contract archaeology in the county of Jämtland is a rather small business. Infrastructural projects and other big enterprises are rare. Statistics show that the County Administrative Board of Jämtland in the period 2003–2011 only decided on 1–10 archaeological contracts a year, adding up to a total of 51 decisions. (One decision can lead to more than one investigation.) The figures are about the same in the surrounding counties, but in counties with many infrastructure projects, such as Skåne, the number of decisions between 2003 and 2011 was 2072 (Myndigheten för kulturanalys 2016:88).

The contracts in the county of Jämtland are often related to windfarms, tourism, or forestry. Most of the contracts concern surveys. Excavations are not often conducted. This is not only because the archaeological sites in the forests and mountains of Jämtland are more spread out than in, for example, the centre of a medieval city. It is also because the nature in this sparsely populated area

often allows developers to change the blueprints and avoid disturbing archaeological sites. If an historical or archaeological site is discovered, a wind turbine can quite easily be placed a bit to the east or west of the original plan. In this way, the developer does not need to pay for the costs of excavating and documenting a site.

Many, but not all, contract archaeology projects in the county of Jämtland involve reindeer herding areas. Looking at a map, it appears that the Sámi villages dispose of large areas of the county, but far from all areas are in use simultaneously. The areas are mainly arranged into year-round land (Sw. *åretruntmarker*) in the high mountain areas, and winter grazing grounds (Sw. *vinterbetesmarker*) in the forests. Other types of areas are seasonal grazing areas for spring, summer and autumn, calving areas, and migration routes. The areas are owned either by the state or by private landowners. The areas disposed of by the Sámi villages in Jämtland are illustrated in Figure 7.

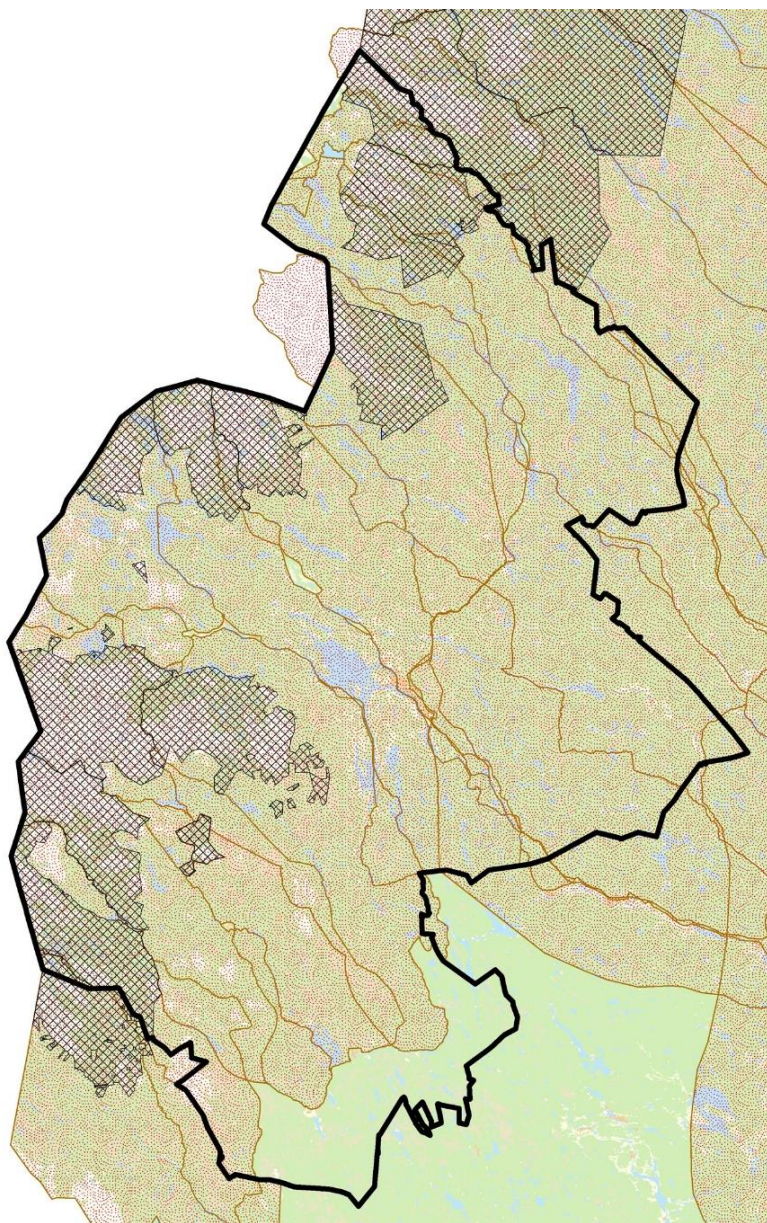


Figure 7. Areas at the disposal of Sámi villages in the county of Jämtland, with the year-round lands marked in a checked pattern closest to the Scandinavian Mountain range. Only an area in the south-east part of the county, and a small area to the north-west, are unavailable for reindeer herding. Illustration: Anders Hansson.

Method of the Archive Study and Selection of Sources

Chapter 4, Policies Concerning Indigenous Archaeology, gave an account of the guidelines and agreements set up by international and national actors concerning indigenous archaeology. The policies had several common and converging themes, that were formulated into five paragraphs:

1. Information in advance
2. Indigenous participation
3. Information about the results
4. Interpretation and impact analysis
5. Ownership and agency

In this case study a number of reports from contract archaeology projects are analysed to see whether or not the work procedures reflect the guidelines in the policies. The reports are examined with regards to the paragraphs 1–5. Each paragraph has been supplemented with a question on which to base the analysis:

- 1. Information in advance** – were the Sámi informed that contract archaeology activities were about to take place?
- 2. Indigenous participation** – were the Sámi consulted as experts on their heritage?
- 3. Information about the results** – were the Sámi informed about the outcomes of the survey?
- 4. Interpretation and impact analysis** – were the Sámi involved in the subsequent work of the survey, and consulted in how the project could affect their community?
- 5. Ownership and agency** – were the Sámi allowed ownership, or at least partnership, of the material and immaterial results?

The procedure for contract archaeology in Sweden is described in the subchapter on Contract Archaeology in Sweden. Briefly, the County Administrative Board decides on archaeological projects (surveys, investigations, and excavations) and allocate the projects to an archaeological company.

Large development projects need an Environmental Impact Assessment to evaluate the likely environmental impacts of a proposed project or development. The Swedish Environmental Code (Sw. *Miljöbalken*, SFS 1998:808) states that an Environmental Impact Assessment must be conducted if a project will cause “significant impact on the environment” (Sw. *betydande miljöpåverkan*) (6 kap.

3§). The purpose is to predict environmental impacts at an early stage in project planning, find ways to reduce adverse impacts, shape projects to suit the local environment, and reduce cost and time of project implementation. In some cases, the archaeological survey becomes part of the Environmental Impact Assessment. Normally, this survey, too, is decided by the County Administration Board. But if the project is in an early phase, the developer can turn directly to an archaeological company of their choice and hire them to do the work. This is called a voluntary survey. In the county of Jämtland, with many surveys but few excavations, this procedure is quite common. It is difficult to get precise statistics on exactly how common, since the results of the voluntary surveys can end up in just about any application for development projects, in different departments, of the County Administrative Board.

The sources in this study are the archaeological reports written by contract archaeology companies operating in the county of Jämtland. The reports are public documents, available for anyone to study in the archive of the County Administrative Board of Jämtland. The archive is situated in Östersund.

The archaeological reports in the study are all quite similar in their structure and reflect the demands of the contract. If the job is an archaeological survey, which most jobs are, the report starts off with a description of the undertaking. There follows a review of what the archaeologist already knows about the area: a description of the geography and vegetation of the area, administrative facts from authorities, municipalities and other official bodies, excerpts from relevant historical sources, already registered archaeological sites, and so on. After that, the archaeologist reports about his or her survey of the area, conducted alone or along with colleagues, to search the area for further sites. If they have found archaeological sites, these are described, along with a recommendation about what to do with them: do they need to be examined more closely, or even excavated? Finally, the job is summarised along with a list of sources and contact information.

If the job is an archaeological investigation or an archaeological excavation, then the report gives an account of the choices of areas and methods, the archaeological work process, how long it lasted and how many people were involved. The finds are listed, there is information about the need for conservation and other measures, as well as information about where the finds will be stored in the future.

The reports are filed with the County Administrative Board Archive under a specific code, code 431, which has been the code for Heritage Sites since 2002 (before that, the code for Heritage Sites was 220, but the content and function was the same). All reports from contract archaeology ought to be found under this code. However, as mentioned previously, some of the voluntary surveys can be difficult to locate since they are included in applications for construction projects, archived under a wide range of other codes. Another factor that makes it difficult to find contract archaeological reports, is the title of the file, which

might be formulated as “Question about...” or “Request for consultation about...” – not always indicating that the issue has ended up in a survey and a report. In my study, I have included all archaeological surveys filed under code 431 that I could find (with a lot of help from the knowledgeable staff of the archive). The study includes both the contracts that have been decided by the County Administrative Board, and the voluntary surveys. In presenting my results, I acknowledge that there may be additional surveys that I have not been able to track down for the reasons mentioned.

When I decided what years to examine, I first and foremost looked at the dates of the policies for indigenous archaeology. As shown in Chapter 4, the policies were mainly published during the first decade of the 21st Century. Therefore, it would be interesting to look at the conditions for indigenous contract archaeology before, during and after the introduction of the policies, to find out if the policies had any impact on archaeological work procedures.

I decided that the first year of my investigation would be the year 2000. After that, I looked at the reports from 2009, when most of the policies had been introduced. Finally, I included the year 2018 in my investigation, to cover the most recent events.

One file can contain many documents, covering several years. The developer may have contacted the County Administrative Board in year 1, the archaeological survey may have taken place year 2, and the report may have been delivered, and the file closed, year 3. I have chosen to look at files that have been *closed* in the years 2000, 2009 and 2018, since I required the information in the final report.

I ordered lists of all cases marked with 220/431 from these three years and selected the cases concerning contract archaeology. After that, I took a map and made a second selection, where I singled out the cases that concerned reindeer herding areas. Finally, I ordered the full reports from these cases and analysed them. The reports are all in Swedish. I translated their titles to allow English-speaking readers to see what they are about.

In References, the archaeological reports in the archive study are listed separately, and with the same numbering as in the tables, to facilitate cross referencing.

Analysed Reports from the Year 2000

In the year 2000, four contract archaeology surveys were conducted on land areas used by the Sámi villages (see Figure 8 for a map of the locations of the sites and Table 1 for text information). The surveys concerned two different Sámi villages. All four surveys were made by the County Museum, Jamtli.

One survey was ordered by the Swedish Road Administration. A road on Rödön affected hunting pits. A second survey, concerning a road leading up to Tossåsen, was initiated by a private road association. An archaeologist visited the area with instructions to inspect two hunting pits, which he did.

The third case was a bit different. It was a project, financed by the European Union, where the Forestry Agencies in Sweden and France had received money to survey mountain farms areas for biological heritage. The instructions given to the archaeologists responsible for the survey were to make notes of all kinds of human activities that had affected the mountain flora of Klövsjö throughout the centuries. In the final report, the archaeologists briefly mention that Klövsjö is a reindeer herding area, but that no Sámi remains have been registered in the survey.

All three contract archaeology surveys in 2000 were decided by the County Administrative Board. In none of the cases have the archaeologists been asked by the County Administrative Board to involve Sámi expertise, nor have the archaeologists contacted the Sámi on their own initiative – at least not from what is mentioned in the reports.

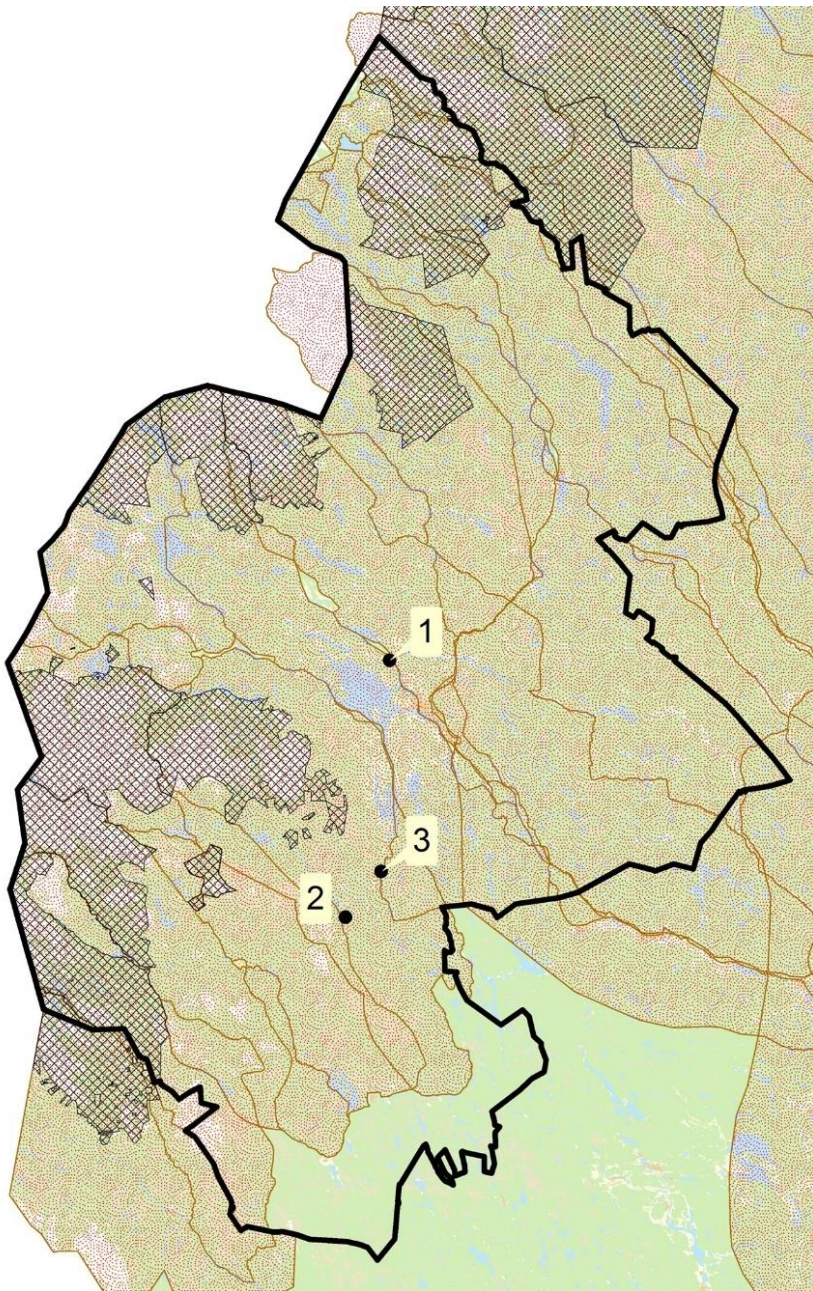


Figure 8. The contract archaeology sites from the year 2000 placed on a map of the county of Jämtland. Illustration: Anders Hansson.

Table 1. Analysed contract archaeology reports from Sámi villages in the county of Jämtland 2000. None of the projects met the expectations of national or international policies.

	File Number and Subject	Decided by County Adm Board	Client/ Contractor	Company	Sámi village
1.	05704-2000 Regarding an archaeological survey of road 339, Krokomporten-Utgård	Yes	Swedish Road Administration	Jamtli	Njaarke
2.	05853-2000 Cultural Historical survey of three mountain farms in Klövsjö	Yes	County Administrative Board of Jämtland	Jamtli	Tåssåsen
3.	09390-2000, Archaeological survey road 45 – Tossåsen	Yes	Tossåsen Road Association	Jamtli	Tåssåsen

	Information	Participation	Results	Interpretation	Ownership
1.	-	-	-	-	-
2.	-	-	-	-	-
3.	-	-	-	-	-

Analysed Reports from the Year 2009

In the year 2009, nine contract archaeology surveys were conducted on land areas used by the Sámi villages (see Figure 9 for a map of the locations of the sites and Table 2 for text information). Five of them were decided by the County Administrative Board. The other four were voluntary assignments. The surveys were all made by Jamtli. The nine surveys concerned a total of nine different Sámi villages.

Vemdalen, Sönnar-Sandtjärn, Bydalen, Lilltevedalen, Glötesvålen and Långnäset are all situated very close to the bare mountain area, where the terrain is clearly connected to Sámi culture and reindeer herding. Several of those reports also mention looking for Sámi heritage sites and traces of reindeer herding as central to the survey.

Raftsjöhöjden/Munkflohögen and Hammarstrand-Graninge are situated in the forest, but they are still on Sámi winter grazing grounds. In these two reports, nothing is written about Sámi or reindeer herding. This is an indication that the image of Sámi heritage as something connected to the bare mountain areas, is still very strong. The Håkansta survey is situated in an agricultural landscape with registered Iron Age sites and graves.

In none of the four contracts handed out by the County Administrative Board have the archaeologists been asked to involve Sámi expertise, nor have the archaeologists in any of the nine contracts contacted the Sámi on their own initiative.

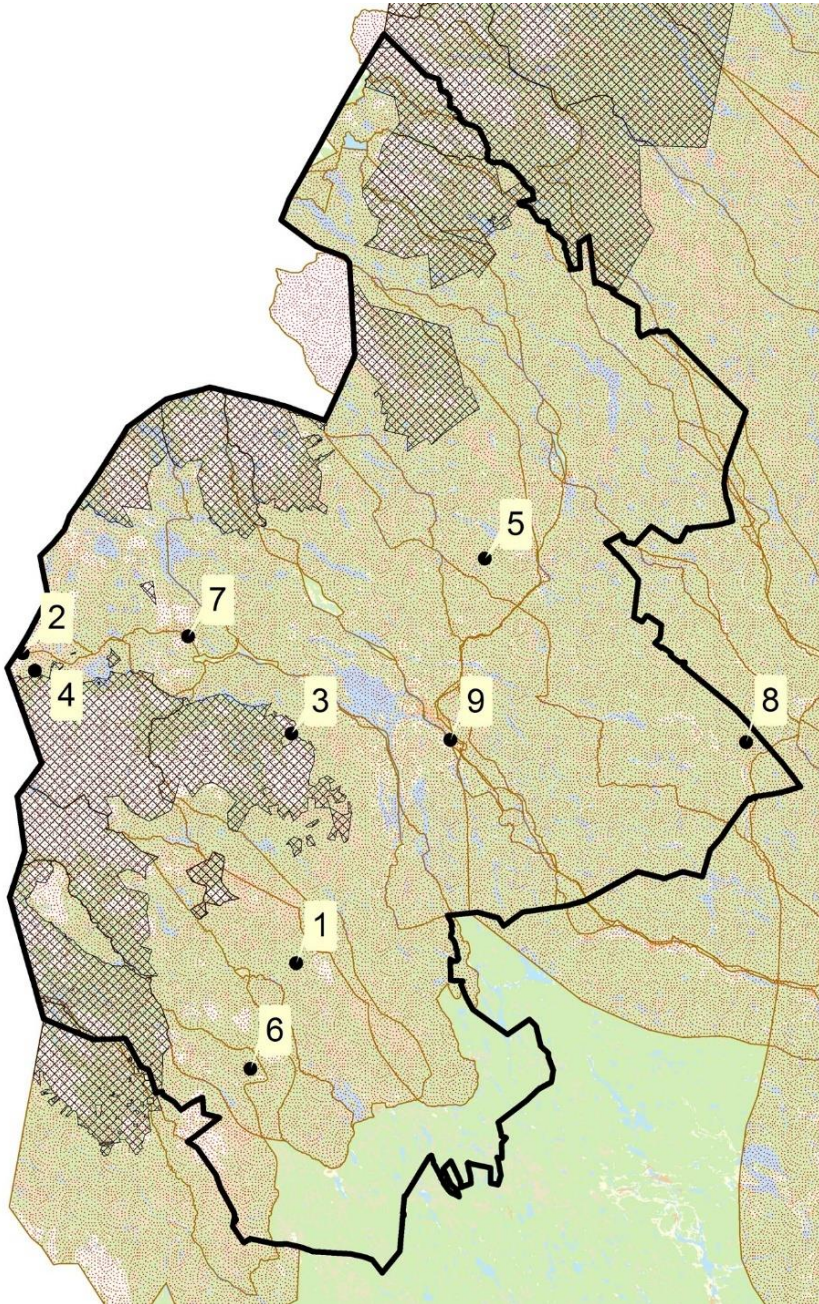


Figure 9. The contract archaeology sites from the year 2009 placed on a map of the county of Jämtland. Illustration: Anders Hansson.

Table 2. Analysed contract archaeology reports from Sámi villages in the county of Jämtland 2009. None of the projects met the expectations of national or international policies.

	File Number and Subject	Decided by County Adm Board	Client/ Contractor	Company	Sámi village
1.	01745-2009 Archaeological survey for part of Vemdalens Kyrkby 54:20, 69:1 and others, Härjedalens municipality	Yes	Gunnar Forss AB	Jamtli	Handölsdalen
2.	04021-2009 Sönnar-Sandtjärn archaeological survey for Storlien 1:41, Åre municipality	No, voluntary	Åre-Storlien AB	Jamtli	Handölsdalen
3.	04026-2009 Bydalen archaeological survey for Backen 1:38, Åre municipality	No, voluntary	SWECO Architects AB	Jamtli	Njaarke
4.	04028-2009 Lilltevedalen archaeological survey for Lilltevedalen 1:8, Åre municipality	No, voluntary	SWECO Infrastructure AB	Jamtli	Handölsdalen
5.	11153-2009 Concerning an Environmental Impact Assessment for a wind park in Raftsjöhöjden, Strömsund municipality, and Munkflohögen, Östersund municipality	No, voluntary	FemPer AB	Jamtli	Jijnjevaerie, Jovnevaerie
6.	15053-2009 Archaeological survey in Glötesvålen for a planned wind park, Härjedalen municipality	Yes	O2/Vind-kompaniet i Mörbylånga AB	Jamtli	Ruvhten sijte, Mittådalen
7.	13512-2009 New water well on Långnäset	Yes	SWECO Environment AB	Jamtli	Kall
8.	16896-2008/11165-2009 Planned 40kV power line between Hammarstrand and Graninge	Yes	SWECO Energuide AB/E.ON Elnät Sverige AB	Jamtli	Raedtievaerie, Jijnjevaerie, Ohredahke
9.	6132-2008 Letter on the archaeological survey in Håkansta 1:4, Östersund municipality	Yes	Private person	Jamtli	Jijnjevaerie

	Information	Participation	Results	Interpretation	Ownership
1.	-	-	-	-	-
2.	-	-	-	-	-
3.	-	-	-	-	-
4.	-	-	-	-	-
5.	-	-	-	-	-
6.	-	-	-	-	-
7.	-	-	-	-	-
8.	-	-	-	-	-
9.	-	-	-	-	-

Reports from the Year 2018

In the year 2018, ten contract archaeology surveys were conducted on land areas used by the Sámi villages (see Figure 10 for a map of the locations of the sites and Table 3 for text information). All of them were made after a decision by the County Administrative Board. Two different archaeological companies were involved, Jamtli and Arkeologikum AB. The ten surveys concerned a total of eight different Sámi villages.

The archaeological contracts in Stugun, Övsjö, Lillmyrsberget, Hoting and Tåsjö concern hunting pits and Stone Age sites in a forest landscape. Nederhögen is an archaeological investigation of an ironmaking site, and Rödön was an archaeological investigation of a relict field system. Bypass Brunflo is part of a series of surveys and investigations commissioned by the Swedish Transport Administration, prospecting for a new road. This one aimed at investigating an iron making site and a natural spring. The final two surveys both took place near Åre, and the surveys were inventory work for a coming road (Rännberg) and a private house (England).

The archaeologists had not been asked by the County Administrative Board to involve Sámi expertise, nor did the archaeologists contact the Sámi on their own initiative.

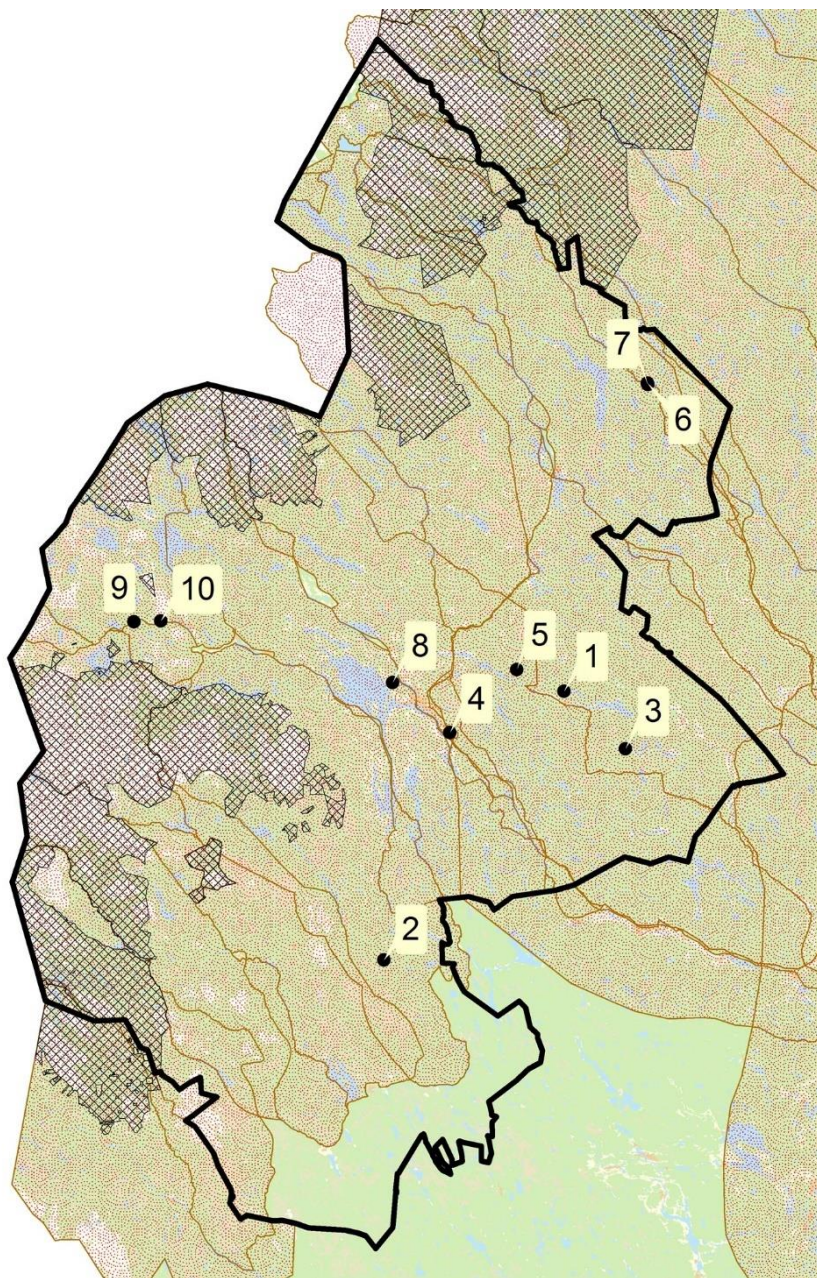


Figure 10. The contract archaeology sites from the year 2018 placed on a map of the county of Jämtland. Illustration: Anders Hansson.

Table 3. Analysed contract archaeology reports from Sámi villages in the county of Jämtland 2018. None of the projects met the expectations of national or international policies.

	File Number and Subject	Decided by County Adm Board	Client/ Contractor	Company	Sámi Village
1.	18-2018 Application for permit for intervention in ancient remains RAÅ Stugun 51:1	Yes	Gällö Skog AB	Arkeologi-centrum AB	Raedtievaerie, Jijnjevaerie
2.	1403-2018 Archaeological survey Step 2, Raå 107:1 Nederhögen, Råtan, Berg municipality	Yes	Iemthalandia AB	Jamtli	Tåssåsen
3.	2062-2017 Demand for archaeological survey, Övsjö, Bräcke municipality	Yes	ATS Kraftservice AB	Arkeologi-centrum AB	Raedtievaerie, Jijnjevaerie
4.	2332-2017 Archaeology Bypass Brunflo 2017, Östersund municipality	Yes	Trafikverket	Jamtli	Jijnjevaerie
5.	3622-2018 Unregistered hunting pits that might be affected by work on a power line, Lillmyrsberget, Fjällandet, Lit	Yes	Hifab AB	Arkeologi-centrum AB	Raedtievaerie, Jijnjevaerie, Jovnevaerie
6.	4532-2018 Archaeological survey, water treatment plant in Hoting, Strömsund municipality	Yes	Strömsund's municipality	Jamtli	Voernese
7.	248-2018 Archaeological survey of Stone Age sites and hunting pits, Tåsjö 135:1-2, 121:1 and 334	Yes	E.ON Energidistribution AB	Jamtli	Ohredahke
8.	5876-2017 Extension to a private house on an area with ancient remains, Vike, Rödön	Yes	Private person	Arkeologi-centrum AB	Njaarke
9.	6601-2017 Application for permit, archaeological survey Step 2, Rännberg. Åre 129:1 and 119:1	Yes	Swedish Transport Administration	Jamtli	Kall, Handölsdalen
10.	6739-2018 Applications for permit for intervention in ancient remains England 3:62, Åre	Yes	Åre municipality	Jamtli	Kall

	Information	Participation	Results	Interpretation	Ownership
1.	-	-	-	-	-
2.	-	-	-	-	-
3.	-	-	-	-	-
4.	-	-	-	-	-
5.	-	-	-	-	-
6.	-	-	-	-	-
7.	-	-	-	-	-
8.	-	-	-	-	-
9.	-	-	-	-	-
10.	-	-	-	-	-

Contract Archaeology and Research Archaeology – a Comparison

This archive study indicates that contract archaeologists in the County of Jämtland do not routinely cooperate with Sámi interests when conducting contract archaeology in reindeer herding districts. The introduction of international and national policies on indigenous archaeology has not affected the work methods of these archaeologists, nor has it affected the way the County Administrative Board formulates its contract documents. Sámi interaction is not asked for, therefore not conducted.

But work methods and practices are not dependent on individuals alone. The structure of a sector, such as the archaeological sector, is equally important. It creates the framework within which archaeologists operate. So, before drawing the conclusion that archaeologists and the County Administrative Board in Jämtland do not care about indigenous issues, it is necessary to consider other factors. One is to compare the reports from contract archaeology with the reports from other archaeological projects.

When looking for contract archaeological reports from Jämtland in the time span 2000–2018, I found other projects in the archive that seemed to have another structure. These other projects were not commercial assignments allocated to archaeologists by the County Administrative Board, and financed by private contractors, but projects funded by the European Union or Swedish authorities. The purpose was not to map or excavate heritage sites for a proposed development project, but to conduct research on the history and prehistory of Jämtland. I intend to give an overview of two of these projects: the Sámi winter settlement Stortjärn, and the survey of Oviksfjällen (see Figure 11 for a map of the locations of the projects and Table 4 for text information). I chose these two projects because they partly involved the same actors as represented in the contract archaeology projects. Differences in work procedures would therefore more likely be related to the structures of the project (economic and administrative) than to the stakeholders involved in the project.

“The Stortjärn project” (2013–2017) was a collaborative project between Gaaltije Foundation and the County Museum Jamtli, together with the Sámi village of Tåssåsen, funded by the County Administrative Board in Jämtland. The information about the project has been taken from the project report, which is in print.

Stortjärn, close to Börtnan, Berg municipality, has been the place for a Sámi winter settlement up until the 20th Century. The goals of the project were to investigate which types of buildings had been used on the site, to find out how long they had been in use, and to make a full description of the settlement and its surroundings. Since there are still visible remains of buildings above ground, the project involved both building conservation officers and archaeologists.

In Phase 1 of the project, the area was surveyed. Nine buildings (Sw. *kåtor*) were registered along with three Stone Age sites and other remains. In Phase 2, two of the buildings were excavated. The excavations were conducted by representatives from Jamtli, Gaaltije and the Sámi village together. A bone stash (Sw. *bengömma*) was also examined, and samples were collected and analysed. A bone stash is a crevice where the Sámi stored the bones of land animals, mainly reindeer. The purpose was to treat the animal with respect after exploiting it for both food and materials. There is a Sámi belief saying that keeping reindeer bones together also helps keeping the living reindeer herd together (see for example Andersen 2008).

In Phase 3 and 4, one of the buildings was reconstructed. In this work, the Sámi expertise was extremely important, as well as the transfer of knowledge from one builder to another. The *kåta* that had an unusual covering material of spruce spray, was erected not in Stortjärn but in Glen, a focal point for today's Sámi village. In that way the finished *kåta* could be easier to reach, discuss, and show to others.

In June 2017 I participated in the concluding conference of the Stortjärn project. It seemed that all three parties, Jamtli, Gaaltije and the Sámi village Tåssåsen, were pleased with the outcomes of the project.

The survey of Oviksfjällen in 2017 was conducted by Jamtli. For a long time, the archaeologists at the museum felt frustrated about the existing gaps in knowledge relating to heritage sites in the mountain areas (interview with Contract Archaeologist 09-01-2019). Large areas of Jämtland have only been surveyed once or have never been surveyed at all – in comparison to counties in the south of Sweden which have been surveyed three times or more. Jamtli regularly applies to the County Administrative Board in Jämtland for funding to supplement and upgrade the Swedish register of archaeological sites (Kulturmiljöregistret) with sites from the county of Jämtland.

In 2017, Jamtli received funding to survey the area of Oviksfjällen, in the municipalities of Åre and Berg. The money came from the Swedish National Heritage Board, through the County Administrative Board in Jämtland. The information about the survey in Oviksfjällen is taken from the report *2017 års fornminnesinventering i Jämtlands län*, available on Jamtli's website.

The area of the survey was the size of 450 square kilometres. Before the survey, the area had 76 registered sites. After the survey, another 264 sites could be added to the register.

The area has also been investigated with the help of another initiative. Gaaltije, the South-Sámi foundation, has, with help from Interreg-funding, encouraged the Sámi villages to search for South Sámi remains. The project has resulted in databases containing tangible and intangible heritage. The Sámi villages participating together with Gaaltije, have decided to keep this material to themselves, since it contains sensitive data about places and families. Therefore, the sites in the databases are not registered on the official national register for

heritage sites, Kulturmiljöregistret, or searchable through the public website Fornsök.

When Jamtli's archaeologists were preparing the survey in Oviksfjällen, they turned to Gaaltije and Tåssåsen Sámi village for suggestions. This way, the South Sámi community could decide which information to pass on to the museum, and which they preferred to keep to themselves. Jamtli's archaeologists were given access to most of the information in the Sámi databases.

During the survey, Jamtli maintained an ongoing dialogue with Tåssåsen Sámi village to ensure that the archaeologists did not disturb reindeer herding activities. The Sámi village also helped with transport and lodging, but they were not part of the archaeological survey.

The results from the survey were published in the above-mentioned report, accessible to all on Jamtli's website. The registered remains are searchable to the public in Fornsök. The results were presented at a forestry conference in Hammarstrand, Ragunda municipality, and at a lecture at the county archive in Östersund. Jamtli has offered to visit the Sámi village and present the results, and the Sámi village is positive, but the right occasion has not occurred yet.

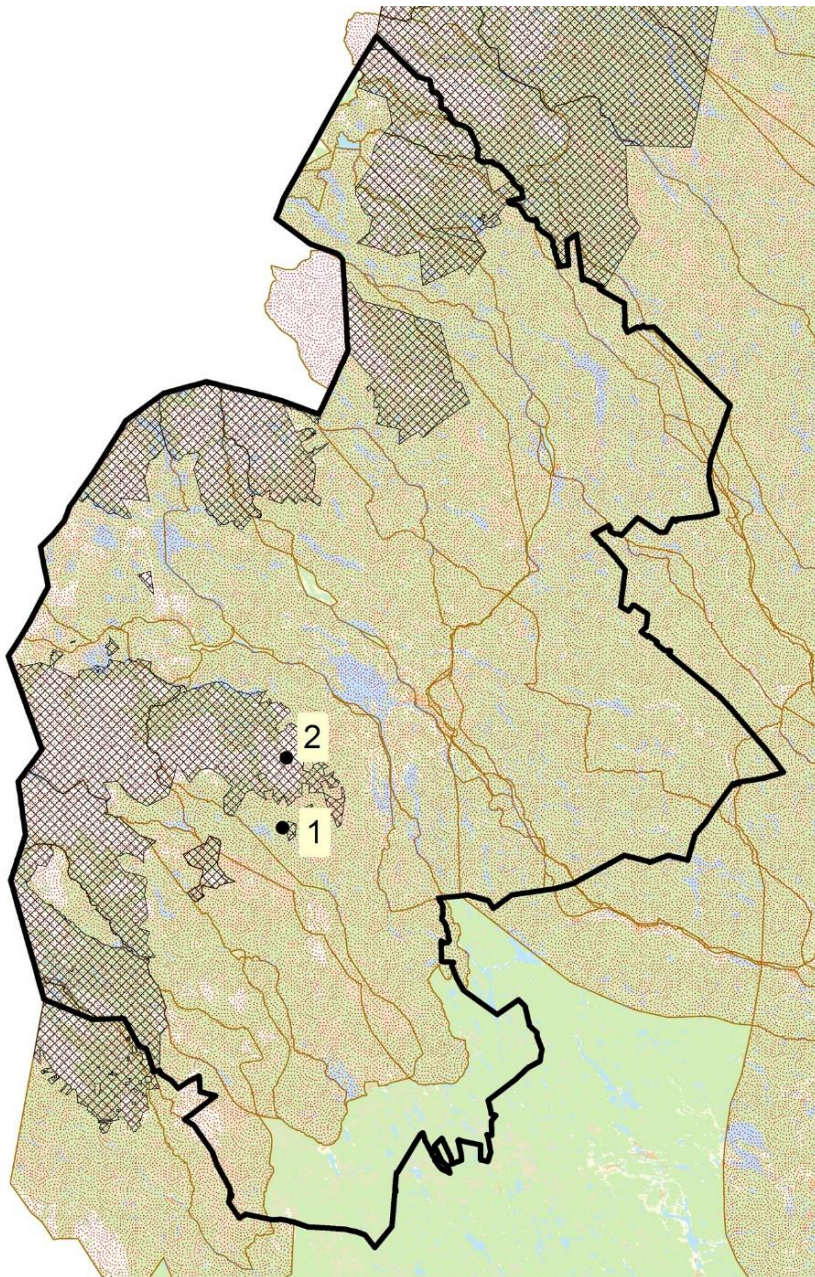


Figure 11. The research projects from 2013 and 2017 placed on a map of the county of Jämtland. Illustration: Anders Hansson.

Table 4. Two different research projects in Sámi village areas in the county of Jämtland 2013 and 2017.

	Subject	Financed by	Company	Sámi village	Other stakeholders
1.	Stortjärn	The County Administrative Board in Jämtland	Jamtli	Tåssåsen Sámi village	Gaaltije
2.	The survey of Oviksfjällen	The Swedish National Heritage Board through The County Administrative Board in Jämtland	Jamtli	Tåssåsen Sámi village	Gaaltije

	Information	Participation	Results	Interpretation	Ownership
1.	Yes, the Sámi Village was informed in advance	Yes, the Sámi were consulted as experts on their heritage	Yes, the results were presented at an open conference on-site in Glen, with many representatives from the Sámi Village of Tåssåsen and the Gaaltije foundation	Yes and no. The reconstructed <i>kåta</i> is placed in Glen to make it easy for the members of the Sámi Village to show and tell the story about it. But the report from the excavation and the bone analysis are still unpublished	Yes. The reconstructed <i>kåta</i> is owned by the Sámi Village. The archaeological reports will be handed over when they are finished
2.	Yes, the Sámi Village was informed in advance	Yes, in a passive way. The results from their own surveys were passed on as suggestions to the Jamtli archaeologists	The results are public on Jamtli's website and on the website of the Swedish National Heritage Board. Jamtli has offered to visit the Sámi village and give an account of the results	No, the Sámi Village has not been involved in the subsequent work of the survey	The Sámi, as with any citizen in Sweden, have access to the material since it is published on official websites. But they do not own or control it

Summary: Indigenous Archaeology in Jämtland County – an Archive Study

I analysed 22 contract archaeology reports from the county of Jämtland, three from 2000, nine from 2009 and ten from 2018. The reports together concern eleven out of eleven Sámi villages in the county of Jämtland.

Eighteen of the contracts were decided by the County Administrative Board and four were voluntary surveys.

The analysis of the reports was based on five questions, stemming from the Chapter 4 analysis of national and international policies for indigenous heritage.

- 1. Information in advance** – were the Sámi informed that contract archaeology activities were about to take place?
- 2. Indigenous participation** – were the Sámi consulted as experts on their heritage?
- 3. Information about the results** – were the Sámi informed about the outcomes of the survey?
- 4. Interpretation and impact analysis** – were the Sámi involved in the subsequent work of the survey, and consulted in how the project could affect their community?
- 5. Ownership and agency** – were the Sámi allowed ownership, or at least partnership, of the material and immaterial results?

In none of the 22 cases did the archaeologists cooperate with the Sámi village. The policies, mainly produced and introduced in the years 2000–2009, have not affected the work methods of the archaeologists nor the routines of the County Administrative Board.

When comparing the contract archaeology reports to reports from research projects, a more differentiated picture emerges. The research projects did not live up to all criteria either, but some. The archaeologists had communicated and cooperated with Sámi villages and a Sámi foundation in order to ensure Sámi participation, and to be able to respect and consider Sámi competence.

There are some suggested reasons why archaeologists in general do not follow existing policies for decolonisation. For professional ethics, such as the *First Code of Ethics* of the WAC, it does not matter how convinced the archaeologists are about the principles; they still work within a framework decided by a government controlling what kind of archaeology is conducted, how it is conducted and by whom. Secondly, archaeologists are not a homogenous group. Views on how colonial matters should be addressed can vary within the same country, region, or company (Patterson 2010:137).

When talking to a contract archaeologist about this (for example The Contract Archaeologist 09-01-2019), his opinion is that it all comes down to the instructions from the County Administrative Board. If contract documents state nothing about interaction with a Sámi village, and the archaeological company does not include it in its tender or plan, then costs for possible interaction will not be covered. In the end, the archaeologist doing the survey simply follows the instructions from the County Administrative Board – or, in voluntary surveys, the instructions from the developer. If the instructions contain no obligations to interact with the Sámi village, then no interaction takes place. One possible solution to this dilemma could be that the County Administrative Board make interaction a part of the contract documents. Nothing in the legislation hinders such a practice.

Interaction could also more often than today be suggested by the contract archaeologists themselves, for example when they are given a contract on direct award from the County Administration Board, or when they are contracted by a developer for a voluntary survey.

6. Voices on Indigenous Archaeology in Sweden

This chapter will explore the attitudes, expertise, responsibilities, preferences and worries of ten persons who in their daily life – to various extents – are involved in Sámi heritage. The results from the archive study show that there are gaps between the intentions in the policies for indigenous archaeology, and the practice of contract archaeology in the county of Jämtland in the north of Sweden. Why is that? And how do the results from Jämtland relate to management of indigenous heritage in Sweden at large? To find out, it was necessary to talk to people involved.

Purpose and Methods of the Interviews

I talked to interviewees with Sámi experience, as well as people working in museums, companies, and agencies with heritage responsibilities. I also wanted the perspective of land developers since they are the ones commissioning and paying for contract archaeology. The interviewees share an interest in the same field of work, but still exhibit many different points of view.

The purpose of the interviews was to answer question 2 and 3 in this licentiate thesis:

2. Which challenges do the actors in the heritage system experience, regarding Sámi heritage?

3. What kinds of solutions for the challenges do actors suggest, and are the proposed solutions compatible with each other?

As described in the subchapter on Method, I investigated these questions by interviewing ten persons in the heritage system. I conducted semi-structured interviews, where the conversation revolved around issues like power, knowledge, cooperation, and ethnicity. Some questions were specific and related to the occupation of the interviewees. There was also room for the participants to raise issues of their choice. The interviews were carried out in 2018 and 2019.

To analyse the interviews, I used Critical Thematic Analysis, CTA, as also described in the subchapter Method. I listened to the interviews and transcribed them, listening to the three key elements of repetition, recurrence, and forcefulness. The goal for my CTA has been to look for core issues, mentioned by many interviewees, and to put them in a social and historical context, where the power of institutions and the reproduction of this power are essential. There

will be many quotes in this chapter. To make everything transparent and easy to verify, each quote ends with the alias of the interviewee along with the minute and second in the interview where the quote starts, for example 45.53.

The Interviewees

I interviewed people with different perspectives on indigenous archaeology in Sweden. They have not asked to be made anonymous – on the contrary they all agreed to participate in their own names. The decision to still call them by an alias is mine. I did this for two reasons: to protect the interviewees from unmotivated publicity, and to keep the focus of the reader on the role of the interviewee, rather on who he or she is as a named person.

I interviewed the following persons:

The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator, interviewed at the Sámi Parliament in Kiruna on 19-02-2018. This man studied GIS and archaeology at Umeå University and is now responsible for the digital maps of reindeer herding areas. Even if the main purpose of the Sámi GIS-mapping is to keep track of grazing areas and reindeer migration routes, cultural heritage is an integrated component in the GIS-mapping as well. This makes sense to this interviewee, who has a holistic view of Sámi culture, nature, and heritage.

The Sámi Parliament Administrator, interviewed at her workplace, the Sámi Parliament local office in Jokkmokk on 20-02-2018. At the time, she worked mainly with the Rural Development Programme, which is funding from the European Union administrated by the Swedish Board of Agriculture, that the Sámi Parliament helps allocate. One part of the grant is earmarked for restoration and conservation of historical environments connected to reindeer herding, and this woman handled applications for and the administration of those projects. Today, she is still employed at the Sámi Parliament, but as a public official in the Cultural Department. She has a Master of Arts in Archaeology and Ethnology and has been working with archaeology and state administration for 25 years.

The Senior Expert, interviewed at his workplace, the Ájtte – Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum in Jokkmokk on 20-02-2018. The Senior Expert has been – among other things – the Director of Cultural Heritage at the County Administrative Board of Jämtland, and the manager for the Ájtte – Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum in Jokkmokk. He holds a PhD in Archaeology and wrote his dissertation on forest reindeer herding. He worked with Sámi heritage from many different perspectives, including doing significant fieldwork.

The World Heritage Archaeologist, interviewed in her workplace in Jokkmokk on 21-02-2018. She has been working as an archaeologist since 2001 – in a county museum, at a County Administrative Board and with her own contract archaeology company where she mostly worked with the forest industry with surveys and education. Today, she is responsible for the work on cultural environment within the World Heritage site of Lapponia.

The County Museum Archaeologist, interviewed in his workplace in Umeå on 22-02-2018. This man is the Head of the Department for Cultural Environment (archaeology and building conservation) at the County Museum of Västerbotten. He is a skilled archaeologist with more than 30 years in the profession. He has been successful in finding ways of cooperating with Sámi villages in Västerbotten and has inspired his museum to take significant steps in matters such as repatriation and indigenous influence.

The Director General of the Swedish National Heritage Board, (will be referred to as The Director General), interviewed at his workplace in Stockholm on 23-02-2018. He is the highest public official in the Swedish heritage sector. He manages 270 employees, with offices in Stockholm and Visby, but also at facilities in Tumba, Gamla Uppsala and Glimmingehus. The Director General worked as a field archaeologist before launching his administrative career. Before becoming Director General of the Swedish National Heritage Board, he was head of the Swedish History Museum in Stockholm.

The Contract Archaeologist, interviewed in his workplace in Östersund on 09-01-2019. The Contract Archaeologist is a male employee of Jamtli, the county museum of Jämtland. He is an experienced archaeologist with 25 years in the business, a skilled reader of the landscape with lots of surveys in his résumé, both in forest and mountain areas. He has an interest in computers and he is constantly trying out new ways of combining digital data (maps, satellite photos, et cetera) with observations in the terrain. Since I work at Jamtli too, he is a colleague of mine, and I know him as a very active, reflective person who is not afraid to speak his mind.

The County Administrative Board Official, interviewed in her workplace in Östersund on 29-03-2019. This woman has been working at the County Administrative Board of Jämtland since 1996. She started working with agricultural landscapes but became more and more involved in cultural heritage. My interviewee is the highest ranked heritage public official, but she needs to turn to a head of department for formal decisions.

The Sámi Village Chairman, interviewed at Åsarna Ski Center on 09-05-2019. This man has been in reindeer herding since he left school at the age of 16, which is 35 years ago. He is an active spokesman for his Sámi village, situated in the county of Jämtland. He has been involved in several projects where the Sámi village has worked together with Swedish authorities and institutions.

The Consultant, interviewed in her office in Östersund on 23-09-2019. The Consultant with a Master's Degree in Environmental Science graduated in 2008. Today she works at Sweco, one of Sweden's largest consulting companies, helping developers with the permit processes of their projects. She mainly works with businesses that are considered environmental hazardous, mostly power lines and other projects related to electricity grids. Her clients are the purchasers of contract archaeology.

The Five Themes

When I analysed the material according to the principles in Critical Thematic Analysis, five themes recurred repeatedly.

1. What is a Sámi heritage site? Can a site have an ethnicity?
2. Who should be responsible for the expertise in Sámi heritage?
3. Who should manage information about Sámi heritage sites?
4. What is a good process of contract archaeology?
5. Should Sámi and “Swedish” heritage be managed, interpreted, and mediated together or separately?

The discussion of the interviews will follow these five themes.

Theme No 1: What Is a Sámi Heritage Site? Can a Site Have an Ethnicity?

My subject in this licentiate thesis is indigenous archaeology, which – when I started off – did not seem like a problematic term. The international policies, for example the *United Nations Declarations on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, just speaks of the rights of indigenous peoples to “maintain, protect and develop” the “manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts.../” (The UNDRIP, Article 11). But quite soon I realised that there was no consensus about what indigenous archaeology was. One of my first conversations with an employee at the Swedish National Heritage Board (not one of the interviewees in this chapter) ended up in confusion. I asked her about the management of Sámi heritage, and she responded that the Swedish National Heritage Board did not wish to mark heritage sites as Sámi or not. “It would be very muddy and unsavoury if we started talking about certain sites as connected to a certain group of people”, she said.

This standpoint turned out to be the official stance, even though it has also been criticised (Salvesen 1980:22-23; Zachrisson 2007:154, 2017:64-65 – the main argument put forward is that heritage sites without an ethnic attribute tend to be interpreted as originating from the majority culture). In the national register of heritage sites, Kulturmiljöregistret, no site has the word “Sámi” connected to it. Archaeologists performing surveys will register “Hearth” or “*Kåta*” – not “Sámi Hearth” or “Sámi *Kåta*”. As a matter of fact, this stance is an integrated part of the perception of the Swedish National Heritage Board for historical environment work, that stretches to 2030. This perception stresses the risks rather than the advantages of designating indigenous heritage (in

addressing the five Swedish minorities, of which the Sámi are one). The document states:

In the striving for inclusiveness, the search for the heritage of certain groups might become exclusive, depending on how this is communicated and motivated. This happens when certain traces from history are tied to a certain group in society today, with the argument that all people have a right to their cultural heritage. In this lies the idea of cultural exclusiveness, where cultural groups are regarded as isolated islands that develop in parallel but separately from each other. When this is applied to the past, essentialism is amplified. Questions about identity and ethnicity in the past were discussed in heritage management, and in archaeology particularly, more than a decade ago. The scientific and ethical problems that this discussion entails, is the reason why we recommend that ethnicity or other identity markers ought not to be recorded in the register of heritage sites maintained by the Swedish National Heritage Board (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2017:20-21, my translation).

When discussing the relation of the state to the Sámi, one should bear in mind that many Sámi make a distinction between minorities and indigenous peoples, or as The County Museum Archaeologist puts it:

Of course, there is one thing you should consider. The Sámi do not see themselves as a minority. They see themselves as an indigenous people. We had many discussions about that when we put on our exhibition about minorities, multi-culture and culture. The Sámi participated in that exhibition, but under the heading of multi-culture, not as a minority. Words and what they signal are important. Because I mean, there is quite a big difference between a minority and an indigenous people. From many perspectives (The County Museum Archaeologist, 45.35).

When asked how his agency defines Sámi heritage, The Director General answers like this:

It's an exciting question. Really, if you get down to it, we don't think very much really. It is, it's not really our job to do that. We deal with legislation, for example the Heritage Conservation Act, second chapter on heritage sites and... it's not written from the point of view of ethnicity or anything (The Director General, 14.29).

The Contract Archaeologist, who works in a county with a Sámi population and works with Sámi heritage regularly, has a similar opinion. He thinks it is hard to point out what is a Sámi heritage site, because the definitions will change over time:

It's a process over time. What is considered "Sámi" is not the same today as 100 years ago, and definitely not the same as 1,000 years ago. And neither the things considered "Swedish" nor "Germanic" either. So why just split it into two categories? The "Sámi" and the "other" which we have no name for. In prehistory, how do we know there were only two categories, folk groups, ethnic groups? Look at North America, how many native groups were there that had totally different cultures? And people group them together as "Native Americans" (The Contract Archaeologist 05.15).

To the Director General, the reason not to connect a heritage site to an ethnic group is about law and equality – no group should be either discriminated or favoured – and it is also about positioning his agency in a political debate where the role of heritage in nationalism and essentialism have been keenly discussed for almost two decades.

The Contract Archaeologist's arguments are more about science and uncertainty. He is aware of the non-static nature of ethnicity and wishes not to judge how people identified themselves in the past. He sees his work as basic research. He finds a site and tries to describe it as neutrally as possible. Then it is up to others, and to the future, to interpret the context.

A heritage site in itself has no ethnicity. But the person who created the site had one. /.../ But the site, the physical site, I mean, it's me who imposes an ethnicity upon it, if I claim it's a Sámi site (The Contract Archaeologist 07:40).

His solution for the time being is to connect the site to a type of economic activity rather than to an ethnicity:

A way to get around it, for example in mountain surveys, is to be a bit of a coward and name a category of sites, like, "sites from reindeer herding" and base everything on economic factors. Some people would call that cowardly, I think it's more neutral. We do the same with other heritage sites too, we don't apply ethnicity to a farmer's house either (The Contract Archaeologist 08.35).

The stance of these two officials (The Director General and The Contract Archaeologist) can be compared to the results of a study from Finland, presented in an article with the title *Sámi Archaeology and the Fear of Political Involvement* (Harlin 2019). Harlin interviewed 13 Finnish archaeologists on their views of Sámi archaeology. A main issue among her interviewees was “where to draw the line with Sáminess”. They did not wish to define material heritage in terms of ethnicity or take a stance in questions of ethnicity – on the contrary, they did not want to discuss questions of origin at all (Harlin 2019:262-264). Instead they stressed the shared roots of northern cultures, and the equality in importance between them, aiming to be impartial and considering different viewpoints. The archaeologists expressed a fear of becoming involved in political discussions about Sámi rights, and wished to uphold a separation between science – in this case archaeology – and politics. Harlin does not observe the same concern for “pure science” in the general archaeological discourse in Finland, and draws the conclusion is that the argument serves as an excuse to avoid difficult topics of ethnicity, indigeneity, and politics (Harlin 2019:271).

This official stance on what a heritage site is may, to a Sámi, come across as bureaucratic. A site is something that is discovered and described based on hard facts such as GIS-positions, size, and measurements. The people working according to this principle – such as the heritage workers at the Swedish National Heritage Board, the County Administrative Board and in contract archaeology – find it logical and value-neutral.

To the Sámi on the other hand, the stance is perceived as somewhat diminishing and ignorant. First of all, heritage for a Sámi is something that needs to be understood in a holistic perspective. It covers both material and immaterial heritage, the biological heritage is inseparable from the human heritage, ancestors are present in everyday life (The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator 1.04.15). The Sámi Parliament Administrator answers as follows on the question about what Sámi heritage is:

I would like to say “everything”. But if I would try to define separate parts, it’s the lands where we have lived, and the buildings upon them, in the mountains AND in the forest lands. And it is the ecosystem, I mean, we have affected nature through reindeer herding; some plants have benefitted from it and others have not. It is the stories and the traditions, linked to the nature, the places where we have lived and the grounds that we still use. For the Sámi, many sites have a strong symbolic value in accordance with our traditions (The Sámi Parliament Administrator 12.45).

The Senior Expert, who among other things was the director of the Ájtte – Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum, consider Sámi ethnicity as traceable across some 2,000 years:

It's a complex issue, of course. The Sámi culture did not fall out of the sky, all ready and complete. It has been a long development over time. If you look at the field of archaeology, most archaeologists agree that what we recognise as Sámi culture goes back about 2,000 years in time. /.../ Then of course, there is a pre-history to all this. So in that sense, you could say that anything that happened after the latest Ice Age is interesting, even if we can't talk about a Sámi culture 8,000 years ago (The Senior Expert 03.07).

To The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator the Sámi are simply the indigenous inhabitants of northern Fennoscandia. He regards the Sámi cultural and historical landscape as more homogenous in the north, and a bit harder to define in the south, for example in Jämtland:

If you are further south, the border between cultivated land and reindeer herding land is a bit more diffuse. But if you get up here, like, to the inland areas of Norrbotten, there is no doubt that there has been a Sámi culture here up until... yes, of course, some Tornedalen farming culture for sure, but, like before the railroad and stuff were built, there have been only Sámi and reindeer herders and hunters and fishermen in this area (The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator 11:28).

At the same time, traces of Sámi culture have been discovered even further south than current Sámi villages. The project “Ohtsedidh – Sámi Cultural Presence in Mid-Sweden”, run by the County Museum of Dalarna, the County Museum of Gävleborg, the County Museum of Västmanland and the Gaaltije Foundation, sought to locate Sámi heritage sites in Mid-Sweden, which could roughly be described as down to the latitude of Stockholm. On the homepage of the project, they define “Sámi heritage sites” as things like hearths, caches of bones or antlers of reindeer, graves, places of sacrifice, and place names with “lapp” or “reindeer” in them (Ohtsedidh 2020b).

So much happens around these things right now. I mean, look at Sámi presence in Mid-Sweden, that recently has started to be explored and acknowledged. That “Wow, the Sámi have been living down in Närke, there are traces of reindeer herding, or, like, of Sámi culture”. And Sámi culture has always been broad,

everything from seal hunters to fishermen to reindeer herders to hunters, probably high in rank /.../ so the Sámi have always, we have probably gone in and out of many worlds (The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator.14.40).

The County Museum Archaeologist seems to have an opinion that combines or at least sympathises with both the others. He has no trouble talking about ethnicity, or at least cultural affiliation, in relation to a heritage site, but he does not want heritage sites to be used for political purposes:

Not to go into political issues – that has always been my principle. Instead I say: look at the culture. What kind of cultural traces are we looking at? Just observe them, describe them and make them visible. To everyone, so to say (The County Museum Archaeologist 42.51).

A factor of importance when it comes to Sámi heritage is time. In Sweden, a site has to be older than 1850 and considered “permanently abandoned” to be accepted as a heritage site in a legal sense. For a hearth in a Sámi area that means it is analysed from two angles: first it is hard to tell if it is old enough to be considered ancient in the sense of the law, secondly, whether the hearth is a Sámi hearth or if the people once sitting around it identified themselves as something totally different.

The County Administrative Board has the right to declare something a heritage site even if it is younger than 1850. The County Administrative Board Official argues that such a label might also bring disadvantages. On a Sámi site, old and “abandoned” stone constructions can exist side by side with current facilities still in use. The single object is older than 1850, but the site in itself is not permanently abandoned. In that case, declaring something a heritage site can rather create an obstacle for today’s reindeer herding. At the same time, the old hearth is worth the same legal protection as other sites. The County Administrative Board Official thinks there needs to be a dialogue and discussion about the objects (The County Administrative Board Official 21.04).

The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator does not appreciate the 1850-limit. To him, Sámi heritage is timeless, and the 1850-limit relates to a change in the nation-state that has nothing to do with Sámi culture:

It [the 1850-limit] doesn’t work, and I have pointed that out to the Swedish National Heritage Board on an earlier occasion. That, just that 1850, of course, industrialisation, yes, it is a great, significant change. But if you look at Sámi areas, within Sápmi, 1850 is not a year that matters at all. Since, I mean, a fireplace is a fireplace and it looks the same if I make it today, as if someone

made it 1,500 years ago (The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator 17.41).

The definition of a “Sámi heritage site” is therefore more complicated and complex than one might think. Still, national bodies need to relate to indigenous and minority heritage through appropriation directives, documents on goals and aims and legislation. The Director General informed me that the government increased his agency’s budget for historical environment projects and allocated 8 million SEK (about 780 000 Euro) to civic initiatives. The five minorities are specifically encouraged to apply. How does The Director General reconcile that instruction with the agency’s vision that no traces from history should be “tied to a certain group in society today”? One way is to tone down the prehistoric heritage and upgrade other forms of cultural expressions:

Well, the government emphasizes other aspects... they talked about intangible heritage for example. So, there are many heritage projects that do not necessarily concern heritage sites and cultural remains (The Director General 1.09.10).

The tendency to support immaterial heritage, together with more “modern” heritage (sites after the year 1850) is also notable at a county level. The County Administrative Board in Jämtland, together with other counties in the north of Sweden, currently run the project “Stories from Saepmie”. The project aims to collect Sámi histories that are at risk of soon being forgotten, and it also allocates funding for the restauration of *kåtor* (Länsstyrelsen i Jämtlands län 2020). These initiatives contribute to the preservation of Sámi culture, and are appreciated by The Sámi Village Chairman; when asked about which heritage projects he has found the most rewarding over the years, he talks warmly about the restoration of *kåtor*. In preserving them, he feels that he has taken care of the heritage of his forefathers and saved it for the next generation (The Sámi Village Chairman, 12.42).

Theme No 2: Who should be responsible for the expertise in Sámi heritage?

One thing that became obvious in the interviews was the confusion about expertise. Whose responsibility is it to be updated on Sámi prehistory, to have the expertise? Who can answer questions from the public or the professionals? Contract archaeologists working in the north of Sweden might have little or no experience of Sámi heritage sites – so who can they turn to for more information? The Sámi Parliament in Sweden has neither the responsibility nor the funding for archaeological work (as is the case in Norway).

On a formal level, the Swedish National Heritage Board is the highest institution for cultural heritage. They produce guidelines, make evaluations, and oversee other cultural institutions in the country, such as the County Administrative Boards. In the past, the Swedish National Heritage Board also maintained a broad expertise in heritage matters. They had experts on different types of artefacts, different periods in history, different types of buildings and so on. Over the past two decades, they have changed direction. The Director General several times emphasised the importance of the sharing of roles and responsibilities. In his opinion, the Swedish National Heritage Board cannot be an advisory body to all actors in the heritage sector, since at the same time it acts as the body to which the actors can appeal if they disagree about decisions made (The Director General 34.01).

The Director General thinks the expertise is, and should be, spread out across many different institutions:

You can notice today, there is more knowledge and more expertise in heritage issues than there has ever been before. It's just that it doesn't exist within these four walls but in many different places, in universities and academies and county museums and, well, all around. But there is an inability sometimes to build the networks and find the collaborations that could best respond to people's needs (The Director General 40.08).

The *Sámi Heritage Programme* (see Chapter 4) that was processed by the Swedish National Heritage Board, the County Administrative Boards and county museums of northern Sweden, the Sámi Parliament, Gaaltije, Ájtte, and others, could serve as an illustration of the Swedish National Heritage Board's practice concerning Sámi heritage. The first programme, 1998–2001, was a direct result of a project on Sámi heritage, initiated by the Swedish National Heritage Board. The programme has been updated three times since then, and a fourth revision is being initiated for the programme period 2020–2024. For every revision, the Swedish National Heritage Board has distanced itself from the process, letting actors in the counties take more responsibility. This could either be regarded as sensible delegation and an increase of regional influence, or as a lack of willingness and involvement from the Swedish National Heritage Board. As The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator put it:

I'm sure they are happy to hand it over. They like: "You know this best, we think you should do it". But THEY need to know this stuff too. And that's why it is important that they stay involved. Because then they have a chance to actually learn something. I mean, you can pick up a document and read it, but between each and every one of these lines there are four or five other sentences that

someone said, that might be good to hear too. /.../ The reality is far more subtle (The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator 43.29).

The main responsibility for archaeological matters in practice, on a day-to-day basis, lies with the County Administrative Boards. The Director General finds it relevant and democratic that decision making is delegated to the counties. A problem is when the expertise and the number of employees on the County Administrative Boards are pared down, at the same time as the workload increases. The Director General is aware of this problem and has pointed out to the government that the County Administrative Boards need more funding for cultural heritage work.

The County Administrative Board Official is aware of the change in strategy at the Swedish National Heritage Board, but she is not happy about it. She and her colleagues feel a bit abandoned by the state authority.

As I see things today, I don't think the Swedish National Heritage Board is really... right on track. I don't know what the Director General thinks, but... It's not like you can call them anymore and ask questions and get some advice... I think. When it comes to Sámi heritage, for example. /.../ I get it, they don't have the same role anymore. They had another kind of top-level expertise in factual knowledge some years ago. There is some expertise left, but their role, their remit from the Government involves more supervision and guiding now (The County Administrative Board Official 1.03.17)

We would very much still like the Swedish National Heritage Board to be an authority that can guide us, out in the counties, on various issues. And for the Sámi heritage they could help us with guidelines about how we should work and so on, absolutely. At the moment we are engaged in a dialogue with them about what we, in the counties, want them to help us with (The County Administrative Board Official 1.14.03).

The official stance of the Swedish National Heritage Board is that it is the County Administrative Boards who should hold the Sámi expertise, and that this matter has been delegated to the county level. The County Administrative Board Official thinks that this is to make things a bit too easy for themselves.

That's what they [the Swedish National Heritage Board] say about everything. We are the ones who should fix everything. But we can't fix everything. And... I mean, of course we will deal with heritage matters according to the law, we are the ones closest to

“reality”, if I put it that way. We must cope with all the issues; they don’t. But maybe, as a national authority, they could help us out with the guidelines we ask for (The County Administrative Board Official 1.17.50).

She admits that, recently, contact has been more intense for a while, during the introduction of the new digital system for registering heritage sites, which she thinks has been a job well done. But in many other cases, she and her colleagues feel that they need to try to attract the attention of the Swedish National Heritage Board a long while before they get any response.

The Contract Archaeologist does not rely on either the Swedish National Heritage Board or the County Administrative Board when it comes to Sámi expertise. He thinks that it is up to the archaeological companies to recruit and train their staff. He has taken responsibility for that himself, by bringing new colleagues into the terrain, teaching them to track the heritage sites of the county – including Sámi sites. He and his colleagues also have a network of Sámi representatives who accompany them in their job from time to time (The Contract Archaeologist 59.02).

Theme No. 3: Who Should Manage Information About Sámi Heritage Sites?

The knowledge about Sámi heritage sites and their location turned out to be a crucial question to many of the interviewees. The background to this is the surveys performed by the Swedish National Heritage Board, beginning in the 1930s. Starting off in Skåne in the south of Sweden, archaeologists worked their way up through the country. In the 1960s, when much of the country had been surveyed for heritage sites, the process started over again, from Skåne northwards, to revise and update the register.

The mountains were never surveyed on the same terms as the rest of the country. They were considered to be “wilderness”, not a cultural landscape, and the traces from the Sámi were considered too recent or too insubstantial. There is also the question about working methods. How do you define a survey? The Contract Archaeologist, who tried to the percentage of the county of Jämtland which has still not been surveyed, says:

The Swedish National Heritage Board says that “the entire country of Sweden has been surveyed”. /.../ The county of Jämtland has been surveyed once, they can claim that. But imagine having ten map sheets. “The survey consists of these ten map sheets.” And you prioritise eight of them... then the other two are also considered surveyed. That’s the way they thought about it in the 1960’s and 1970’s. So, the survey is considered as

conducted, even if not a single bloody archaeologist has set foot there. /.../ In the mountains, there are a lot of map sheets where no one has been (The Contract Archaeologist 34.42).

He argues that the mountain surveys have not been performed with the same accuracy as other surveys, if they have been conducted at all. After Sweden (except for large parts of Norrland) had been surveyed twice, in 1994, it was decided to stop the surveys for good.

They thought that it would, in relation to how much it would cost, it would not pay for itself. Moreover, Lantmäteriet (Swedish mapping, cadastral and land registration authority) decided not to make new maps of these areas which meant there were no aerial photos, much needed for the surveys. And then the national survey programme was closed. And then, then the idea was, that whatever needs to be done and supplemented, like the mountain areas but also other areas with old... or insufficient surveys, well, they would not be the responsibility of the Swedish National Heritage Board anymore. Because then we have the County Administrative Boards who carry the regional responsibility and they also have a better view over where we need to make surveys. That has to do with exploitation as well – in which areas do we need better basis for decisions? So, there are many considerations that need to be taken into account involving extensive local and regional knowledge (The Director General 58.10).

During the years 1997–2002, the Swedish National Heritage Board allocated funding specifically for mountain surveys. Museums and other bodies could apply for the money through the County Administrative Boards. After six years, the funding was withdrawn, even though the mountains had still not been fully investigated. This was deplored by several stakeholders (Ájtte & Gaaltije 2014:19, 27). From that point on, the surveys have been the responsibility of the County Administrative Boards alone. Several of them approved applications for further surveys, as was the case in the county of Jämtland.

The Sámi Parliament Administrator thinks it is regrettable that the Swedish National Heritage Board stopped conducting field work. She thinks that the management of Sámi heritage is fragmented and unambitious:

Quitting the field surveys... that was not good if we want to acquire more knowledge about Sámi heritage. I mean the physical heritage. And today, there is no clear strategy for how Sámi heritage should be managed in the future. That is a big inadequacy (The Sámi Parliament Administrator 18.11).

C: What would that strategy be, if you were the Director General of the Swedish National Heritage Board?

Well, I would... now I'm going to be a bit of a politician. I don't work with this really at the Sámi Parliament, no one does. We just have bits and pieces of Sámi culture and heritage. But no one is really responsible, because the parliament does not have a formal mandate to work with heritage. But the political will in the Sámi Parliament IS that we want to manage Sámi heritage. And within that mission, there are both the actual heritage sites and intangible heritage. /.../ The Swedish National Heritage Board could still have the national responsibility, like an umbrella organisation. But the day-to-day management would be controlled and conducted by the Sámi Parliament (The Sámi Parliament Administrator 27.31).

The Senior Expert is also disappointed that the Swedish National Heritage Board cancelled their field surveys. The opportunity to apply for funding through the County Administrative Boards does not impress him. The Senior Expert would have preferred it if the Swedish National Heritage Board had stayed in charge of the surveys, since regional autonomy easily becomes regional inequality:

This is just typical for the way the Swedish National Heritage Board behaves. The surveys were not considered interesting, so they just prioritised them away. "Enough of this crap." Then there have been smaller surveys after that. We [Ájtte] have even been encouraged by the Swedish National Heritage Board to apply for money to do mountain surveys. But then we asked our County Administrative Board here [Norrbotten]. And they said... It's like this, you see. That they think there should be no more surveys. So, we can't even apply for money. The initiative is dead (The Senior Expert 45.47).

The World Heritage Archaeologist experienced a range of different attitudes among the Sámi villages on the board of her organisation, Lapponia. Her impression is that many Sámi are curious about Sámi prehistory – but also that surprisingly many are content with what they already know.

To me, it has become apparent that not everybody thinks that they need to know more /.../ Of course, different individuals think differently. But some people want this predetermined history, like,

a paradigm that should not be questioned, you should leave certain stones unturned.

C: Why?

Well, because things might not be the way you have always believed them to be (The World Heritage Archaeologist 39:28).

She thinks that there is a romantic image of the Sámi “before” or “in the old days” and that people for nostalgic reasons want to hang on to that image. Her interpretation is that people can be sceptical about archaeological investigations that could reveal a more complex history (The World Heritage Archaeologist 44:01).

You cannot decide in advance what questions can be posed. You must be able to pose all questions. And the results need to be examined, they have to be scientifically reviewed. There has to be a discussion around them, and it must be possible to revise the results. There has to be a proper scientific process. We can't just say 'This is the way things were and no one can have another opinion'. /.../ But the resistance is based on a fear of finding things that don't fit the pattern. And I'm more like 'God, how exciting'. Isn't that good? That instead of cementing old beliefs, that Sámi culture has been static and limited, we can find out new things (The World Heritage Archaeologist 53:56).

In a follow-up conversation via e-mail in February 2020, The World Heritage Archaeologist wished to add more subtle to the picture she painted. Her opinion is that things are improving; the curiosity and positive attitudes towards heritage work in Lapponia is continuously increasing. Both Sámi and non-Sámi people are thankful for the growing knowledge about archaeology in northernmost Sweden. People in the area consider it important to show that the land is not a wilderness but a place where people have lived for thousands of years – and still do (The World Heritage Archaeologist, e-mail conversation 18-02-2020).

The Contract Archaeologist thinks that the people he meets are curious about the prehistory of the mountains. He feels bad that he cannot always meet people's expectations, due to the large gaps of knowledge on mountain prehistory. He considers it a democratic right that the whole country of Sweden should be investigated with similar ambitions and methods.

Why should only, what should I say... the farmers' history... [be told]? /.../ Regardless of ethnicity and everything else, I think that people in an area, no matter where it is in the country, should have the same opportunities to know the story of that area. And by not

investigating the mountains, we make that more difficult (The Contract Archaeologist 31.58).

The County Administrative Board Official thinks that the surveys of the county are outdated and need a revision. She confirms that many areas have not been investigated at all (The County Administrative Board Official 27.01). As a result, both of insufficient official surveys and of indigenous reawakening, several bottom-up initiatives started after 2000. Sámi villages have performed surveys of their own, and also kept control over the information from the surveys. They did not trust Swedish museums and authorities enough to give them access to the often delicate and personal information in notebooks and Excel documents. There are, however, informative publications about the projects and the work conducted, for example the book *Sydsamer – landskap och historia. Ett dokumentationsprojekt på sydsamiskt område under åren 2012–2014* (Norberg & Winka 2014).

The Sámi Village Chairman feels strongly about the information he and his village members have collected:

It's hard. In one way, I would like to have an important site registered in the national database but... what happens if the wrong person gets to know about it. That's what worries you. /.../ We have talked about it in the Sámi village and it's a really tough question. There are things you would like the whole of society to pay attention to. But WHAT happens if the wrong person gets to the site and maybe starts to loot an ancient children's grave or something like that. No, it's a tough, tough question. /.../ I prefer that the Sámi village controls the information and if someone outside the Sámi village asks for it, you may give it to them. But then again, everything that is delivered to the County Administrative Board becomes a public document and can be read by anyone. So, it's not easy (The Sámi Village Chairman 25.56)

The Director General would prefer if all heritage sites were registered in the official national register Kulturmiljöregistret. Only then are they visible to any developer or landowner who is planning land operations, and only then can they be visible to the rest of society:

We [the Swedish National Heritage Board] advocate the highest degree of accessibility possible, we think that is a good thing. It is valid for most cases, that if the heritage is well known, that is the best way to keep it protected. Everyone helps keeping an eye on it, people know about it and know it has a value (The Director General 1.29.26).

The Contract Archaeologist basically shares his opinion. He does not like the idea of many different or separate registers. He thinks it complicates his job if the Sámi villages keep their databases to themselves. When doing field work, he wants to be able to prepare his work at his desk, checking proper analogue files and digital resources, building a picture of the area before going out in the terrain.

It's bad that we can't have access to that material. I have had several explanations of why, but they don't make sense to me. There is something strange about that... I don't get it. /.../ (The Contract Archaeologist 41.06).

The County Museum Archaeologist, who works in another county, does not have the same problem with getting information about Sámi heritage sites. Within the atmosphere of trust of his Sámi network, the Sámi instead contact the museum whenever something exciting has been discovered:

There are many skilled people in the Sámi villages and Sámi associations in the network. They find lots of exciting heritage sites when they move around in the landscape. And they report it to the museum, they are almost like local agents. [NN] in Vilhelmina, he finds sites all the time, and calls to tell us about them (The County Museum Archaeologist 1.26.32).

The reason why many Sámi think differently, is that they have had bad experiences when making information public. The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator talked about a sacrificial site where the tourism industry has transformed the place into an attraction:

For example, the sacrificial site in Báddosdievvá has become a tourist attraction where people hang around and practice "sunshine yoga". Because they consider this site, like, "this is a good place to practice yoga". I mean, it breaks my heart every time you hear those stupid stories (The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator 25.20).

In a complementary telephone conversation 14-02-2020 The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator relates his reactions to the sacrificial site to Article 12 in the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, where it is explicitly expressed that an indigenous people have the right to maintain, protect, and have access in private to their religious and cultural sites. He is aware of the Swedish right of access that allows people to access private land

(Sw. *Allemansrätten*) but he thinks that exploiting religious and cultural sites for tourist purposes is something different. The tourism industry, he stresses, needs to have an ongoing dialogue with their Sámi counterparts and discuss which sites and routes are suitable for visitors.

Another reason for the Sámi to keep sites secret or non-public is the fear of things getting lost or stolen:

I know dozens of people who knows about old graves and sacrificial places and all sorts of stuff. They don't say a word to anyone. Because they don't want to. They have heard these old stories about scientists and are afraid the same thing will happen again. "Yeah, yeah, if I tell someone, then some tourist or anthropologist will come along and steal it all" (The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator 25:53).

Not only heritage sites but also buildings are being treated disrespectfully, according to the The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator. He has had experience of how Sámi peat huts (Sw. *torvkåtor*) were used by tourists without permission:

A lot of peat huts have met the same fate. As soon as something stands up, it seems like everyone thinks they are free to do whatever they like in there. My dad had to burn down three, four peat huts that the tourists had used as toilets and just thrown trash and garbage into them (The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator 1.03.24).

Another example of lack of respect is when The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator talks about old things and how the Sámi are raised to leave them where they are, while others seem to have no trouble moving them around. The drum he mentions below is a Sámi ceremonial instrument. It was used by the the shaman (Sw. *nåjd*, Sá. *noajdde*) to go into trance or to tell the future. Since the 17th century, drums have been confiscated by the Swedish church and/or taken to Swedish museums. A number of drums were saved and hidden away by the Sámi.

If you know where a drum is being kept, you can bet no one is telling. Because then someone will go there and then it's like... We ourselves, we have that tradition /.../ if a Sámi found a drum in the woods and picked it up, he or she would die instantly. We would be struck by every misery and misfortune available. While people coming from another culture, they seem to be unaffected. They can pick up old offerings and they are not affected at all. But

we have this enormous respect for old things (The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator 26.12).

There is a database called RenGIS (Reindeer GIS). It is a digital mapping system used by Sámi villages in planning the moving and grazing of reindeer, as well as the cooperation with landowners. It is also possible to set out GIS-points for other things, such as heritage sites. Sound files could be attached, so that a *jojk* could be pinned to a slope or creek (The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator 08.37). Another advantage with RenGIS is that it is easy to add information to the system. Stories from the past are often remembered in the moment – in the midst of a conversation or during work. It is then easy to record them or write them down and scan the piece of paper, and put them in the RenGIS, instead of waiting for the time and money for a research project (The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator 28.04).

There seem to be three important aspects of the management of information. One is the question about mountain surveys, and how they should be conducted. The second aspect concerns the outcomes of the surveys; whether the Sámi should keep the information in their own databases or make it public. Is having separate registers something that strengthens or weakens indigenous heritage? The third aspect is whether or not all information ought to be treated in the same way. The Director General talks about heritage sites as a collective asset and the information about them as public documents, which should, if available in analogue form, also be available in digital form (The Director General 1.24.02). This makes it difficult to handle sensitive information for example about graves and sacrificial sites.

There was a solution to that problem some time ago. The Senior Expert and The Contract Archaeologist talked about a former possibility to protect sensitive data from being public on the internet. An archaeologist could register a grave or a sacrificial site, and it was not automatically published on the web. It was in the register for heritage sites, but you had to be logged in to see it. It meant that public officials, or anyone coming to the office of a public official, could see it, but not just anyone visiting the webpage, Fornsök. The Contract Archaeologist thinks that this formed a sufficient threshold for people with bad intentions; they would not come to his office and risk being registered or recognised. He estimates that a maximum of 1% of the heritage sites had this kind of restrictions on them (The Contract Archaeologist 44.05).

That way, we could keep some things a bit aside. Because I understand perfectly well that, what is a good example... if there is a grave with bones, situated in an open crevice next to a hiking track, you don't want everybody to know about it, because you fear that people will go there and start picking and collecting bones. In the past, we could hide that information in the system;

now that possibility is gone all of a sudden! (The Contract Archaeologist 44.24).

In 2015, the Swedish National Heritage Board took a decision to make all information public (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015b). The decision declares that the official Swedish database for heritage sites has been available in two different versions, one with and the other without log in, and that this complicates the usage of the site. To hide information also contradicts laws and regulations regarding access to information about heritage sites in national and international collaborations, the decision says. In their justification for the decision (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015c) it also becomes clear that a decision was needed to proceed with the planning of a new database, taking shape within the project DAP (Sw. *Digital Arkeologisk Process*). According to my interviewees, the decision about making all information public seems not to have been fully communicated to the heritage sector.

The lost opportunity of hiding information in the database has forced new solutions and even some civil disobedience. The Contract Archaeologist tells me about a cave he and his colleague found in 2017, full of artefacts from a rather recent period. There was a great risk that the site would attract looters. Since he could not mask it in the register, he chose to put the GIS-point a bit on the side, writing “uncertain position” as a remark. It felt wrong in every sense, not least to his vocational pride, but still he prioritised the security of the site over providing the national database with correct information (The Contract Archaeologist 44.50). He really wants the function with hidden information back, both in his own job and when he meets people who want to share delicate information.

When asked about the possibility of re-introducing this practice – that the database Kulturmiljöregistret could have information visible to logged-on users but not to public viewers visiting the open website Fornsök – The Director General is cautiously positive.

The discussion about this may very well continue. We don't have to show everything digitally, we don't. We are not obliged to do that. Then again, if things are not on the web, we always risk that a forest company runs over a sacrificial site since it's not appearing on their GPS. /.../ But the new minority politics also mean we are obliged to consult the minorities more often, so that is something that we and the County Administrative Boards may have to re-evaluate (The Director General, 1.28.03).

Theme No. 4: What Is a Good Process of Contract Archaeology?

An important subject to raise in the interviews was the international and national policies on indigenous heritage. The archive study in Chapter 5 showed that contract archaeologists in Jämtland did not work according to the policies. Why is that?

When the County Administrative Board agrees a contract with an archaeological company, and the contract concerns a Sámi village area, there are no special instruction involved. For example, the company is not informed about the content of the County Administrative Board's "own" programme *The Sámi Heritage Programme*, and the tender documents do not include any instructions about involving the Sámi village or of initiating a dialogue on indigenous matters of some kind (The County Administrative Board Official 44.18).

In the light of this practice, the results from the archive study were not surprising. None of the 22 contract archaeology projects conducted in the county of Jämtland in the years 2000, 2009 and 2018, were conducted in collaboration with the Sámi village concerned. The Sámi villages were not asked to participate or contribute in any way and were maybe not even informed about the projects. The archive study was small and must not lead to the assumption that no contract archaeologist ever contacts a Sámi village in Jämtland, but the archive study indicates that collaboration is not mandatory. The archaeological companies are not instructed to collaborate with the Sámi villages, and with the (perhaps imagined) pressure of time and money, they refrain from collaboration. How do the Sámi feel about this?

The Sámi Village Chairman thinks that policies and official goals often are so abstract that it is hard for him to immediately see what they could mean for the Sámi village he represents. The policies on indigenous heritage though, summarised in the five points on page 88-89, sound reasonable to him. If the intentions of the policies were met, he would be satisfied (The Sámi Village Chairman 32.57). He participated in several non-commercial heritage projects, funded by the County Administrative Board or the European Union/Interreg. In these projects, cooperation has been a matter of course. The projects were conducted together with Jamtli and Gaaltije, and he was always pleased with the way they turned out. The work procedures of contract archaeology, though, leaves him more frustrated.

The problem with that is that if an archaeologist comes into our area and does a survey... and then gives it to the developer, whoever that is and wherever he is. Then you immediately feel that you have been neglected. They have not taken the Sámi village seriously. Besides, there can be cultural sites or heritage sites in

the area that we know about, that could be really important to include. Someone might know about a site that might affect the developer or the project in some way. /.../ I don't wish to accuse anyone or anything, but sometimes the dialogue with the Sámi villages, in certain matters, is too hasty and careless. All of a sudden, someone has gone into our reindeer herding areas and done something, and we never knew. It's actually really shitty the way things are today (The Sámi Village Chairman 34.56).

My archive study showed some indications that archaeologists tended to associate Sámi culture with the mountain area. This means the likelihood of cooperation between Sámi and archaeologists decreases the further away from the mountains a job is carried out. When the contract concerns an area in the forest landscape, maybe 300 kilometres away from the mountains, not all archaeologists think of the terrain as a cultural and historical landscape of the Sámi. But to The Sámi Village Chairman, it is equally important to be consulted no matter where the work takes place.

It's always of interest as long as the archaeology concerns our grazing areas. Year-round areas or winter grazing grounds, it does not matter as long as it is where we have our reindeer herding and grazing. I might just tell you... when we were searching for evidence of Sámi presence in the Rätan case, we searched for everything. Then we found a place in the winter grazing grounds, me and two others. It was called, it was a place called Benbacken (Bone Hill). And we found old documents proving that the Sámi went there a long time ago. /.../ You know, in a hundred years, 50–100 years you know, with forestry and climate change... It's not easy to find those things anymore (The Sámi Village Chairman 41.04).

To the Sámi Village Chairman, it goes without saying that the Sámi have left traces in the landscape around him for hundreds or thousands of years. Some traces are easier to see than others, but they all have a meaning to him, and if someone is surveying his traditional territories in order to map these traces, he wants to know. But the opportunities for the Sámi in Sweden in general to keep track of archaeological activities in their areas today are very few and all depend on the good will of the heritage sector. The Sámi Parliament has no official function in the archaeological system. The Sámi Parliament employees with archaeological expertise work at the departments for reindeer herding/reindeer economy, and culture. The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator thinks this makes it hard to create formal collaboration projects and networks with other actors in the system.

We have no real responsibility to talk to [for example] the county museums since we don't have a specified role, other than to work for Sámi culture. Since we have no real appointed role, these links to other actors tend to be a bit loose and sort of... more on an informal level. You write e-mails and consultation comments to remind the authorities such as "have you considered Sámi heritage sites in your project?" – urging them to let Sámi culture have a key role in what they do, and to involve the reindeer herding community in their decision making (The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator, 50.28).

In the following sentence he wishes that the Sámi Parliament could afford a handful of archaeologists to keep an eye on community planning and the compliance with existing regulations in the forestry sector:

We could easily employ eight new people just working with heritage, but then it could be regarded as a political strategy, as if we were trying to take over responsibilities from someone else. What is political activity, and what is something that a member of staff, would do? But there are things to do, like supervising community planning. Everything that is going on. Like, keeping an eye on landowners, forest companies, mining companies, municipalities – that they follow the regulations. I mean, I wish we had some people working full time just with that. OK, The Swedish Forest Agency have their check-ups, but from a Sámi perspective we are not informed much about what they do. I mean, is everything documented, and are the opinions of the reindeer herders being considered? (The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator, 51.30).

The Contract Archaeologist in this study has worked for many years with the same work routine. He thinks that calling the Sámi village, or starting a dialogue with them, is a bit unnecessary in contract archaeology. The way he sees it, is that dialogue should take place between the Sámi village and the developer, not the Sámi village and the archaeologist. His job is just to report what he knows about the heritage sites in the area:

That's what makes it... That's why I get back to talking about the Sámi databases again. If we just had them, we wouldn't have to ask anyone, we would just have them as a basis for our knowledge, and the information in them would automatically be included in the survey (The Contract Archaeologist 61.05).

The Sámi experience is that talking to the developer after the archaeological survey is done and the Environmental Impact Assessment is written, is often too late.

Of course we talk to the developer, but we all know how it works with the Environmental Impact Assessments... There are always things that they have missed. /.../ And it is always super hard to get stuff in there afterwards, when the Environmental Impact Assessment is already written (The Sámi Village Chairman 46.30).

I asked him if the Sámi village wants to know everything that happens in their areas or if it can get too much information. Do they wish to be consulted in every matter of contract archaeology?

We get consulted a lot already, so it doesn't matter if we get another 10–20 cases a year. It is of no consequence. [laughs] No, but that's the truth. If I get a case sent to me in the mail, I can say quite quickly that "Well, in this area I know there has been no Sámi activity." Then it is easy. But out of the 20 cases maybe one is really important. Like "OK, but here I know for sure that we have some material, history, anything." It may be that we know of an old place for a kâta where a family lived in the winter, or something like that. Because when it comes to consulting... sure, it can get busy sometimes but sooner or later you will come across a case that really matters (The Sámi Village Chairman, 43.23).

There are some indications that a change in work procedure might be at hand. In the County Administrative Board of Jämtland, the work procedure for non-commercial projects, in which the archaeologists cooperate with the Sámi villages and value their participation and competence, might start to affect contract archaeology. For example, a large survey in the area of Vålådalen, Jämtland, was out for tender in the spring of 2019. In talking about the tender documents, The County Administrative Board Official pointed out that they demanded that the winning company collaborate with the Sámi villages in the area (The County Administrative Board Official 45:21).

When asked about the lack of demand for collaboration in previous tender documents, and if the Vålådalen tender could be a model for the future, The County Administrative Board Official answers positively.

Absolutely. This is going to be much more important in the future. We need to improve this.

C: And you see no obstacles, legally or formally, to incorporating the demands in the tender documents?

No, really no (The County Administrative Board Official 49.52).

An important aspect of this process are the perspectives of the developers. They are the ones paying for the contract archaeology. Any increase in archaeological surveys and indigenous dialogue will affect the budgets of their projects. I asked The Consultant about the attitudes developers had towards archaeological surveys. If talking to the Sámi village, or maybe carry out an excursion together, would add a day to the contract archaeology survey, would that be a problem? The Consultant meets clients with large projects, mainly electricity companies building new powerlines. Her experience is that the developers most of all want a good basis for their decisions:

In the kinds of projects that I manage... they are so big, so a day extra... I think it would make such a small part in the overall context that it would not matter. And if you end up with more information, too? That's just a good thing. It's like with the consultative meetings that we always have with landowners, authorities, Sámi villages, and other stakeholders, before applying for permission to build something. They take a lot of time too, and evenings, but you get so much out of it, that... I can't imagine it would be a problem... (The Consultant 48:25).

And from my point of view... I just want to do a professional job, getting all the information on the table so that the client can make a good decision. I could easily say to the client that "this too is important". It's just a positive thing for us consultants if we can present even more knowledge and viewpoints for the client to consider (The Consultant 52.09).

But even if this procedure changes, there is another fact affecting the system. The archaeological undertakings that are decided by the County Administrative Board could include cooperation with the Sámi villages in the tender documents. But many of the jobs are handed out directly from the developer, maybe because the developer already knows or prefers a specific archaeological company. The job never passes the County Administrative Board. To complicate it even more, the developer sometimes demands secrecy from the archaeological company, since the results from the survey affect business plans and competition. In those cases, The Contract Archaeologist cannot suggest

turning to the Sámi village, or any local body, for dialogue. If he does, he will not get the job (The Contract Archaeologist 51.27).

The Consultant confirms that few of her clients go through the County Administrative Board for the hiring of an archaeological company. In a supplementary e-mail she stresses that this is not an active decision, or an attempt to take shortcuts, it is just not reflected upon (The Consultant, e-mail conversation 19-02-2020). A change in the working procedure at the County Administrative Board would not have an immediate impact on her and her clients. During her more than five years at the firm, she rarely experienced the County Administrative Board appointing a company to conduct the contract archaeology job. Almost all her, and her clients', contacts with archaeological companies have been with the company directly.

When it comes to these projects, I just realise that "I need these areas examined". Then we just call an archaeologist at for example Jamtli. In other areas of Sweden, our company has its own archaeologists, but they are quite busy. So normally it isn't the County Administrative Board which appoints the archaeological company for us. But of course, we all know that the County Administrative Board will read the report. So we still have to show them that the archaeologist who did the survey, knew what he or she was doing (The Consultant 23.49).

It's not that we or the client deliberately try to get past the County Administrative Board. I never heard anyone reflect about it, it's just like "OK, we also need to do an archaeological survey" and someone else say "OK, who can do it?". I think it's more like that (The Consultant 30.53).

This means the County Administrative Board does not always get a chance to request more dialogue with indigenous people. On the other hand, The Consultant reflects an ambition to encourage that dialogue herself.

Looking at it from my perspective, it's something that I could easily add to the investigation, I could bear it in mind through the whole process, it could be a part in the Environmental Impact Assessments and everything (The Consultant 53.55).

It doesn't make things much more expensive either. It will just be, I mean, it brings more quality into your report if you cover that aspect too (The Consultant 54.39)

The change could also come from within the archaeological companies themselves. The county museum of Västerbotten created a Sámi network about two decades ago, and it is still working (the importance of forming long-term relationships between heritage workers and indigenous communities has been acknowledged by for example Mizoguchi & Smith 2019:239). The Sámi network consists of the Sámi villages, Sámi associations, and The National Association of Swedish Sámi (SSR), which mainly organises and focuses on the reindeer herding community. The Sámi network is consulted in every activity the museum conducts that may include Sámi heritage.

It's about having a dialogue and working together, with a we-perspective, you know, when it comes to Sámi issues. And we have been doing this for so long it works also as a spur for the future. We have no difficulties in starting a discussion with the network if we, like, have a contract and want to make the most out of it, so that all parties can benefit from it. Not least the Sámi community (The County Museum Archaeologist 26:48).

These contacts and the network we have, it makes everything so easy. We can work very quickly. If you have met people in real life a couple of times before, I mean, then there is no trouble using Skype or the phone or mail or a text message or anything. We know where we have each other. And we all rejoice when someone in the network succeeds in getting funding or producing interesting results. Everyone knows that the museum is open and encouraging to them. And that's my point: the museum should not be putting a brake on things. It has to be a resource (The County Museum Archaeologist 58:07).

For the county museum of Västerbotten, the Sámi network is involved in every project. It does not matter whether it is a contract archaeology project, or a project funded by public money. The well-established network makes it easy to make a quick call and keep people updated and informed.

The work procedure is the same, actually, whether it concerns consultation, contract archaeology or publicly funded projects. We immediately make contact with the relevant people in the Sámi network (The County Museum Archaeologist 53.55).

To conclude this theme, Swedish contract archaeology today does not seem to meet the needs of the Sámi. The Sámi would like more information about and influence on contract archaeology projects. However, some of the problems of indigenous contract archaeology seem to be based on misunderstandings (such

as that the Sámi do not have the time to respond to or participate in contract archaeology projects, or that the developer would not be interested in financing a dialogue with the indigenous population), lack of communication or outdated workflows. Therefore, it should be possible to change them.

Theme No. 5: Should Sámi and “Swedish” Heritage be Managed, Interpreted, and Mediated Together or Separately?

The Swedish heritage system depends on one body – the Swedish National Heritage Board – having overall responsibility for cultural heritage work, with the County Administrative Boards as regionally responsible bodies. There are signs that the Sámi Parliament will come forward with demands for extended responsibility over Sámi heritage (see for example Sametinget 2018, a paper discussed with the Swedish minister for culture and democracy, where this ambition is expressed). This already works in Norway. Norway has a heritage system in many ways similar to the Swedish system, with the one national board, Riksantikvaren, and regionally responsible county administrations (No. *fylkeskommunerna*). But in addition, the Norwegian Sámi Parliament has a regional responsibility for the administration and management of Sámi heritage. The Norwegian Sámi Parliament has its own archaeologists. Any Sámi heritage site older than 1917 is protected by Norwegian law (Rikantikvaren 2020). However, Norway does not have commercial archaeology in the same way that Sweden does, so the systems are not fully comparable.

The County Administrative Board Official thinks that there could be pros and cons with transferring more responsibility to the Sámi Parliament. An advantage could be that it would help the accumulation and creation of skills and knowledge about Sámi heritage in one institution:

...because if we shall be honest, the staff at the County Administrative Boards do not have the top-level expertise in these matters. Especially when people quit and are being replaced all the time... People who have been working for a long time develop a expertise in the field, that's for sure. But when a new colleague arrives, you need to start from scratch. And that takes a lot of time. /.../ I don't know if the same thing would happen at the Sámi Parliament, but they might have better opportunities to transfer knowledge from one staff member to another, and also they could advertise for people who already have an expertise in Sámi heritage. Because that's not a requirement when you apply for a job here (The County Administrative Board Official 1.01.17).

On the other hand, the County Administrative Board Official also thinks that a split management demands smart solutions and communication between the County Administrative Boards and the Sámi Parliament, and also the Swedish National Heritage Board, to avoid duplicated work (The County Administrative Board Official 1.02.52). She fears that a separated heritage management can lead to two different narratives.

In a way I can think that it is not... a good way of working. Because I think that if you should work with historical environments and heritage, it should include everything. You should not exclude anything, so... well... the way to look upon things should be to think widely. But the risk, as I said, is of course that not everyone is the competent to do this, and you lose perspectives that you would get if you had the excellence (The County Administrative Board Official 1.09.41).

When asked if there was a third way, or a middle way, to work together, The County Administrative Board Official mentioned the possibility that the Sámi Parliament and/or Ájtte or Gaaltije could start a contract archaeology business. Considering the potential for those organisations to actually attract skilled staff in Sámi heritage, their competitiveness on the market would be high, she thinks (The County Administrative Board Official 1.12.41).

The Senior Expert sees a potential risk in handing over power from the County Administrative Board to the Sámi Parliament.

I foresee great difficulties with split management. It would create major conflicts. Let's say a landowner wants to do something in his forest. Then we first have to decide whether or not the heritage sites in the forest are older than 1850. Then we have to decide: are these Sámi or non-Sámi sites? The County Administrative Board comes along and says, "No, this is just rubbish, the Sámi Parliament must handle this". And then the Sámi Parliament comes along and says: "No, you cannot touch this site". /.../ It will create terrible conflicts. Because then it will always, in forestry, in mining... it will always be the Sámi who are sent into the frontline and who will be the ones to blame. It is better with legislation that works for all. Then Sámi heritage workers could focus on knowledge and science (The Senior Expert 15.37).

The Sámi Parliament Administrator thinks it would benefit Sámi heritage management if some of it was taken over by the Sámi Parliament. But it's not a question of either-or, she thinks:

To me, personally... I think everything is connected. We have influenced each other's cultures. And that is... in that way, I think it's OK to tell a common story about our past. But! There is also a special interest in this, for the Sámi. So, in that perspective, it is a good thing to look at heritage as a unity of diversities, and at the interaction between cultures (The Sámi Parliament Administrator 40.01).

In the World Heritage Site of Laponia, the Sámi community and Swedish institutions are, after a long process, working together to maintain a holistic view on nature and culture. Laponia was inscribed on the World Heritage list in 1996 on the basis of both natural and cultural criteria. But it was not until 2011 that Swedish and Sámi communities agreed on a management model that both sides could accept, and it took until 2013 before the management of the World Heritage Site was officially transferred from the Norrbotten County Administrative Board to the non-profit organisation Laponiatjuottjudus where the Sámi villages constitute the majority on the board (Reimerson 2016). The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator is pleased with the way things have worked out, the system was created “to have a comprehensive view on things and have the work procedures that we had asked for, for a long, long time” (The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator 41.26). The work procedures referred to mainly concern the Sámi majority on the board of Laponiatjuottjudus, and the use of consensus decisions instead of voting.

The World Heritage Archaeologist at Laponia thinks that the management of Laponia works well, but still believes in a heritage management that does not separate Sámi heritage from other heritages. She advocates “togetherness”.

I think the focus should be on diversity, and the landscape, and people's use of the landscape from different perspectives. /.../ Sámi heritage should not be a pseudo-science, something cute and cosy that people never dare to challenge. It should be treated with the same respect as other science, and it should not be reserved for people identifying as Sámi today. /.../ It is possible to believe in diversity and at the same time see a bigger picture. You should not exclude certain heritages from an entity and hide them away in order to protect it. I don't believe in that (The World Heritage Archaeologist 1.25.07).

In their interviews, The Director General and The Contract Archaeologist also spoke up for “togetherness”. The tendency is that the representatives of the official bodies of Sweden wish to “see a bigger picture”, they want to think in terms of inclusion and combine Sámi and “Swedish” narratives, while Sámi representatives feel the need to steer their own narrative.

The County Museum Archaeologist fears that a split management would weaken both the work procedures and the situation for Sámi heritage as a whole:

I can really understand that opinion [the Sámi wanting to manage Sámi heritage]. But I think we also should consider that... well, doesn't that contribute to an us-and-them thinking? I mean, right now we work in the exactly opposite direction [with the Sámi network where the Sámi and the museum help each other out] /.../ No one would benefit from us starting to divide up things more. Except perhaps the mining industry and the energy sector, who could start playing off interest groups against each other (The County Museum Archaeologist 1.00.00).

He also expects it to be a long and costly project to transfer responsibility and tasks from the Swedish National Heritage Board and the County Administrative Boards to a Sámi counterpart – it will take “at least a generation” – and that also the daily, ongoing work will be more expensive. His experience from Norway is that archaeological surveys take twice the time and cost twice the money when they are conducted in a Sámi landscape; first a Sámi Parliament archaeologist searches the area, then a county archaeologist (No. *fylkeskonservatorn*) searches the same area. They might end up registering the same sites, in the same database, Askeladden. And they might still not know if a registered site, for example a hearth, can be related to Sámi culture or not. The County Museum Archaeologist wonders if it is worth the trouble, or if the solution is to improve cooperation and mutual understanding between the existing bodies (The County Museum Archaeologist 1.23.23).

Summary: Views and Attitudes on Indigenous Archaeology in Sweden

The aim of this chapter has been to address the second and third question of this licentiate thesis:

2. Which challenges do the actors in the heritage system experience, regarding Sámi heritage?
3. What kinds of solutions for the challenges do actors suggest, and are the proposed solutions compatible with each other?

Question 2: Which challenges do the actors in the heritage system experience, regarding Sámi heritage?

As I have presented in this chapter, there are several challenges. A first challenge is that the actors have very different opinions on what Sámi heritage

is. Is it traces of a certain economic activity, or of people with certain genetics, or a certain ethnicity, and how would that ethnicity in that case be expressed, given that ethnicity is a dynamic phenomenon? The understanding of the complexity of Sámi prehistory is growing by the day, with new research results on where the Sámi have lived, and how they have made their living. The interviewees in this study are enthusiastic about this new research and do not wish to, at this point, limit the ideas of what Sámi prehistory and Sámi heritage could be. At the same time, if the Sámi Parliament were to desire more influence on Sámi heritage management, it would be necessary to define what they mean by Sámi heritage. For example, Sámi presence in central Sweden many hundreds of years ago can now be proven with the help of historical sources, which means it is time to start looking for the material remains of this Sámi presence. The remains could be sites such as fireplaces and foundations from dwellings, some of which will look very similar to non-Sámi dwellings – let us say a small foundation for a cottage in the mid-Sweden counties of Dalarna or Västmanland. Which sites would be of concern to the Sámi Parliament and which would not? This process would need further consideration, as well as inspiration from countries like Norway which already have a separate management structure for Sámi heritage.

A second challenge is about expertise, or rather about responsibility. There is no appointed body today which is responsible for knowledge about Sámi heritage. There are no given experts to turn to. The Swedish National Heritage Board has delegated the issue to the County Administrative Boards, which do not feel they are given the tools to build and maintain relevant expertise. The Sámi Parliament has expertise but no responsibility, and the archaeological companies strive to keep expertise to be able to get contracts.

A third challenge is about surveys and information. All interviewees agree that there need to be more surveys in the mountains and forest lands, and that much Sámi heritage is still unknown, unregistered, and unprotected. But who should do it? The Swedish National Heritage Board has handed over the responsibility for surveys to the County Administrative Boards, who have to prioritise and may choose other projects over surveys. The Sámi community has conducted surveys on their own, but the information often stays in the Sámi villages or the Sámi organisations that initiated the projects. Many members of the Sámi community mistrust representatives of the Swedish state, and they have good reason to do so. Besides the long history of archaeological looting and disrespectful handling of human remains, there is the very recent incident with the national register of heritage sites, Kulturmiljöregistret. Sites that had been reported to the register in trust, were all of a sudden made public on the internet. The Sámi are extremely sceptical of registering heritage sites in Kulturmiljöregistret, since they fear that the sites will be subject to the wear and tear of the tourism industry, or even worse, plundering. At the same time, not

registering them makes it harder for developers and others, such as the forest industry, to take them into account.

A fourth challenge is about the process of contract archaeology. Making the Sámi part of the process seems necessary, both for democratic reasons and for the risk of missing important information about Sámi heritage sites. But who is responsible for this? The County Administrative Board seems positively inclined to improving the tender procedure but given that many contracts are written without the involvement of the County Administrative Board, this is not a solution that can cover all cases.

A final challenge is about co-existence: building a society of inclusiveness and social cohesion, but at the same time embracing diversity and Sámi pursuits for autonomy. Many of the interviewees, not just the Sámi interviewees, think that it is problematic that the responsible authorities (the Swedish National Heritage Board and the County Administrative Boards) are not the ones with the highest expertise on Sámi heritage. The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator also expresses severe discontent with the ignorance and disrespect that he sometimes meets from non-Sámi people, and therefore wishes the Sámi Parliament to manage Sámi heritage. This is also the long-term goal of the Sámi Parliament. But how should this responsibility be divided between the relevant authorities in practice? The Senior Expert expresses the fear of never-ending workloads over large geographical areas, and the risk of the Sámi being pushed into unnecessary conflicts.

Question 3: What kinds of solutions for the challenges do actors suggest, and are the proposed solutions compatible with each other?

For the first challenge mentioned, there are no simple answers. The question “What is a Sámi heritage site?” will continue to be debated. For the members of a Sámi village, this question is illogical: Sámi heritage is all around them. They live on land the land of their ancestors and see their legacy every day. The other interviewees in this study expressed a wish to try to keep neutral and describe the sites only in terms of localisation, type, size, and shape. The Contract Archaeologist found it useful to talk about “economies” instead of “ethnicity”, and The County Museum Archaeologist went a bit further and wanted to examine heritage sites in terms of “culture”. The political dimension of this challenge is obvious. To the Sámi community, the heritage sites are proof of Sámi presence over hundreds or maybe thousands of years. This strengthens, in their opinion, their right to the land, or at least to the use of the land. The public officials wish to avoid the use of heritage for political purposes and prefer a to talk about the sites as just “hearths” or “fences” instead of Sámi hearths and reindeer fences. An academic point of view is sometimes added; that there needs to be an openness to future interpretations of the sites.

The second challenge, about expertise and responsibility, is complex. The Swedish National Heritage Board has handed over responsibility to the County

Administrative Boards, which do not feel they have the expertise and resources to fulfil the commitment. The transfer of responsibility could also have been better communicated and negotiated the Director General admits – but he also reminds the County Administrative Boards about the opportunities available, such as applying for grants from the Swedish National Heritage Board to conduct and supplement regional surveys. He acknowledges that the County Administrative Boards are under-funded and need more resources, a perceived need that he has also pointed out to the government. Regardless of this, according to my interviewees, the Swedish National Heritage Board still needs to stay involved in Sámi heritage if they want to be accepted and respected by the Sámi community, the County Administrative Boards and the county museums. They do not wish to feel abandoned or misunderstood by the national authority in these matters.

The Director General points out that the Sámi expertise is spread over a multitude of universities, authorities, companies, and communities, and that the missing link is the network between them. The County Museum of Västerbotten succeeded well in creating such a network on a regional level. The County Archaeologist also reached out to stakeholders in the other three counties of Norrland, to enlarge the network of expertise and inspire others to work similarly, but without much success. Regarding the fruitful communication and collaboration in the network, maybe they should give it another try, perhaps with some support from the Swedish National Heritage Board. It is a method that does not require major reorganisation or investments – it is just a matter of improved communication, and whatever the future holds, this improved communication will not be in vain.

The third challenge about surveys and information calls for funding, computer skills and flexibility. Surveys are ranked by the interviewees as one of the most important issues, both for Sámi and non-Sámi. The fact that large parts of Norrland are still blank spaces when it comes to heritage sites is disturbing to them. It is interpreted as if the history of their counties is less interesting and less valuable than the history of other counties, and as if they are not entitled to the same historical context as people elsewhere. Another question is what will happen to the information.

The Director General is open to a continued discussion about the legal and technical options to protect sensitive information about Sámi heritage sites in Kulturmiljöregistret. To be clear: it is not about keeping things secret, it is just about not putting them on the internet. To a heritage official with a login, the information would always be visible. That would build trust and cooperation, or at least mend what was broken when the system changed a couple of years ago. The surveys and databases made by the Sámi community stay within the Sámi community. The Sámi community cannot be forced to hand the information over to anybody else, and to the members of the community, it is important to control the information which they have trusted each other with.

The Sámi are well aware of the fact that the heritage sites that are not registered in Kulturmiljöregistret, are more at risk of being damaged, forgotten or neglected, but they still value confidentiality more.

The fourth challenge, about the contract archaeology process, seem to have several solutions. The County Administrative Board in Jämtland was positively inclined towards including dialogue with the Sámi and cooperation in the tender procedure, thereby encouraging archaeological companies to be creative in their outreach toward the Sámi villages. The openness from The Consultant was very hopeful as well. Her assumption was that the developers would not mind the additional cost of an extra day for the archaeologists to interact with the Sámi village, when required. Instead, she underlined the advantages of bringing in more expertise and knowledge into the developers' projects. The challenge needs to be addressed from different angles. The contract archaeology jobs handled by the County Administrative Board are the easiest to have an impact on. The County Administrative Boards are separate bodies but meet and discuss important matters to ensure that citizens in different counties are treated equally. If the heritage workers of northern Sweden discussed the national and international policies for indigenous heritage and agreed to include indigenous dialogue in their tender procedures, that would be a big step forward.

For the many construction companies doing their own voluntary surveys with an archaeological company of their choice, things are a bit more complicated. It is about informing the consultants and developers about the advantages of indigenous dialogue, and about informing the Sámi villages that they can expect and demand the dialogue. It is also a matter of attitudes and willingness among archaeologists; the archaeologist too can suggest or initiate an interaction with the Sámi village. This is much easier if there is an ongoing dialogue with the Sámi community already, as in Västerbotten.

The fifth challenge, about how Sámi and "Swedish" heritage should be managed, together or separately, mainly revolves around the distribution of responsibility and resources between the Swedish National Heritage Board, the County Administrative Boards, and the Sámi Parliament. The Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator and The Sámi Parliament Administrator were in favour of more powers to the Sámi Parliament, but the Senior Expert warned about the Sámi getting in the line of fire in community planning. The Senior Expert instead suggested another solution, with Sámi administrators in each of the northern counties. They would not be employed by the County Administrative Board but by another body, for example a museum. But the County Administrative Board would have to consult the Sámi administrators on any issue concerning Sámi heritage, asking for their opinion. This consultation process could be written into the Swedish *Heritage Conservation Act* and thereby be impossible to avoid (The Senior Expert 17.09).

The County Museum Archaeologist too was very solution orientated. He had cultivated a Sámi network for two decades and his most frequently recurring

words were “together”, “trust” and “cooperation”. By offering the Sámi actual power and influence, the museum and the Sámi community can work together within the current formal framework (Sámi villages, the county museum, the County Administrative Board and so on). The key to everything is communication. The only thing he warned about was working too fast, not thinking the processes through. If there is a group of people or an organisation that has an interest in a project but are not asked to join, there can be a serious backlash, and loss of trust. This can be very difficult to repair, and the project might slow down or collapse (The County Museum Archaeologist 56.47).

The question whether Sámi and “Swedish” heritage should be managed, interpreted, and mediated together or separately is really a crucial one. The balancing act calls for diplomacy and compassion. Maybe the solution here is not to choose either option, like The Sámi Parliament Administrator expressed when she said that it is OK to tell a shared story of the past, but that there is also a special need for the Sámi to tell their own.

The results of the interviews are summarised in Table 5.

Table 5. Interview results summarised.

Theme	Challenge	Suggested solutions
1. What is a Sámi heritage site? Can a site have an ethnicity?	The Sámi Parliament wishes to take over responsibility for Sámi heritage sites from the Swedish National Heritage Board. This would demand a change in legislation. It is sometimes difficult to connect an ethnicity with a heritage site. Splitting heritage in Sámi and “Swedish” can create new dichotomies instead of allowing approaches of multiethnicity and creolisation. The concept of what is a Sámi heritage site is	Looking to Norway for inspiration on how to define and separate Sámi heritage from other heritage is an option.

Theme	Challenge	Suggested solutions
	“growing”; far from everything is connected to reindeer herding.	
2. Who should be responsible for the expertise in Sámi heritage?	<p>The Swedish National Heritage Board has delegated expertise to the County Administrative Boards which do not have enough resources and feel slightly “abandoned” by the Swedish National Heritage Board. The Sámi Parliament has no official responsibility. Museums and companies do not coordinate knowledge. No one has an overall perspective.</p>	<p>More resources to the County Administrative Boards are a suggestion from both the County Administrative Boards and the Swedish National Heritage Board – but will it happen? Increased support and dialogue between the Swedish National Heritage Board and the County Administrative Boards can improve the situation. Cooperation between the County Administrative Boards in Norrland can create consensus and improve equal treatment of Sámi heritage regardless of county. A knowledge network between stakeholders can build expertise bottom-up and be supported/acknowledged by the Swedish National Heritage Board.</p>
3. Who should manage information about Sámi heritage sites?	<p>Mountain surveys are incomplete and current information on heritage sites split between different stakeholders with different agendas. All Swedish registered heritage sites are accessible on the</p>	<p>Coordinated efforts to supplement archaeological surveys in Norrland can be initiated by the Swedish National Heritage Board together with County Administrative Boards. The decision to publish all heritage sites openly on the internet can be reconsidered.</p>

Theme	Challenge	Suggested solutions
	internet, even though some of them were classified by the Sámi as sensitive information. The Sámi now compile their own registers and keep information to themselves which others think complicates knowledge production and the protection of sites.	Other stakeholders can accept and respect that the Sámi keep and control information on Sámi heritage sites, and that sharing that information with people outside the Sámi community is voluntary.
4. What is a good process of contract archaeology?	Cooperating with the Sámi community is not compulsory in Swedish contract archaeology. Interaction takes time and costs money. To not interact is perceived as offensive by the Sámi community, and archaeologists also risk missing out on valuable information. Currently, there is a deficit in trust between stakeholders, and not enough networks in all counties, to carry through a change in routines.	The County Administrative Boards can include demands for Sámi dialogue in their instructions to contract archaeology companies. Archaeologists, consultants, and developers can be informed on the benefits of indigenous participation. Archaeologists can be inspired by the County Museum of Västerbotten and their network of Sámi representatives which has been built up under a long time and allows rapid flows of information and collaboration.

Theme	Challenge	Suggested solutions
5. Should Sámi and “Swedish” heritage be managed, interpreted, and mediated together or separately?	The Sámi feel that their heritage is being managed and mediated by Swedish institutions that have less expertise than the Sámi themselves. Handing over power to the Sámi Parliament can on the other hand push the Sámi into conflict with landowners and developers as they become “neysayers”. Encapsulating the Sámi narrative and restraining intercultural dialogue can lead to Sámi nationalism.	More resources to, and delegations of, heritage management to the Sámi Parliament and other Sámi institutions can empower Sámi self-determination. Special advisors on Sámi heritage at the County Administration Boards can evaluate decisions from a Sámi perspective.

A final reflection: in the interviews with public officials and heritage workers in the sector, I often had the feeling that they suffered from some fatigue. When discussing indigenous issues, they automatically started referring to other groups that also call for their attention: immigrants, young people, elderly people, people in the LGBT community; many of them outnumber the Sámi as a group and call for representation and influence in a similar manner. To some public officials, academics, and archaeologists, being a member of an indigenous community was equal to being a member of any other community – right or wrong. This does not correlate with expectations the Sámi have of special consideration as an indigenous people. As The County Museum Archaeologist emphasised, the wish of the Sámi to distance themselves even from the “minority” identity, as they do not want to be measured by the same yardstick as groups with other challenges and preconditions. This gap between the attitudes of the authorities and the expectations of the Sámi needs to be addressed and negotiated.

7. Concluding discussion

The aim of this licentiate thesis was to show how it is possible to improve the practices of contract archaeology, using collaborative practices with the Sámi in northern Sweden as my focus. In particular, the aim was to show how in Sweden it is possible to improve compliance with international and national policies on indigenous archaeology.

My goals were to identify the challenges in current Swedish archaeology in relation to indigenous heritage and contribute to means of removing obstacles that have been hindering collaboration with the Sámi. In order to achieve these goals, my objective was to investigate and find answers to my research questions:

1. Does Swedish heritage management, notably contract archaeology, live up to the goals and demands formulated in national and international conventions, policies, and legislation, concerning indigenous peoples and their heritage?
2. Which challenges do the actors in the heritage system experience, regarding Sámi heritage?
3. What kinds of solutions for the challenges do actors suggest, and are the proposed solutions compatible with each other?

The study was conducted in three stages.

The first step was identifying policies and documents on indigenous heritage, relevant to Sweden. Six different documents were analysed. The documents had certain recurring elements that I summarised into five themes, or checkpoints, for indigenous archaeology: that the indigenous people receive **information in advance** about the heritage work conducted in their area, that **indigenous participation** in the project is made possible, that indigenous people are provided with **information about the results** of the project, that they are enabled to have influence on the **interpretation and impact analysis** of the project, and that the **ownership and agency** is negotiated, in terms of who will control the material and immaterial results of the archaeological project.

The second step was to conduct an archive-based study of contract archaeology in the county of Jämtland in Sweden. Reports from 22 archaeological projects were analysed. None of them mentioned indigenous interaction of the kind that was requested in the policies. To put this result in perspective, two reports from non-commercial archaeology were also analysed. The two publicly funded projects were managed differently; they included Sámi interaction, and Sámi expertise were considered important for the success of the project.

The third step was interviewing ten interviewees with different positions in the heritage system. The interviewees were two public officials of the Sámi Parliament, a senior expert, an archaeologist at the World Heritage Site of Laponia, a county museum archaeologist, the Director General of the Swedish National Heritage Board, a Sámi village chairman, a contract archaeologist, a public official at the County Administrative Board in Jämtland, and a consultant helping developers with their projects. The interviewees shared both their perceived problems regarding the management of Sámi heritage, and their solutions to the problems.

The results show that there are several suitable policies for indigenous heritage that are not always being followed by people in the Swedish heritage system. A reason for this could be that the policies are not well communicated or implemented in the Swedish heritage system. Concerning the *First Code of Ethics* of the WAC that is not surprising, since not many Swedish archaeologists are members of the WAC. The professional ethics of the European Association of Archaeologists and the Swedish Archaeological Society stress the need for information (EAA) and dialogue (SAS) with the local community, and the SAS code explicitly mentions indigenous peoples. This means that, in theory, there are both national and international professional ethics that address the matter of indigenous interaction. A shortcoming with the policies is that they do not directly relate to contract archaeology, and the ethical dilemmas that can emerge from acting as an archaeologist in a commercial situation. The *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* had no notable impact on the heritage sector. The *Sámi Heritage Programme* is, in contrast to the others, well known to most actors in the heritage sector in the north of Sweden. It points out important aspects of work on Sámi cultural heritage but includes no recommendations for commercial archaeology.

In sum, the policies that could affect indigenous archaeology are either unknown to heritage workers or written in such a way that they do not concern contract archaeology. Nevertheless, the policies reflect an international discussion on indigenous heritage and how it should be managed. The requirements for indigenous dialogue, expertise, and participation are the lowest common denominators.

The aim of the archive study was to answer the first research question, “Does Swedish heritage management, notably contract archaeology, live up to the goals and demands formulated in national and international conventions, policies, and legislation, concerning indigenous peoples and their heritage?”. The archive study of contract archaeology in Jämtland indicated that there is a difference between contract archaeology and publicly funded archaeology in this county. In contract archaeology projects, the archaeologists presume they do not have the time, money, or mandate to involve Sámi knowledge and expertise. The interviewed contract archaeologist is afraid his company will lose contracts if he includes time for interaction with the Sámi in the projects. The

County Administrative Board does not ask for Sámi interaction and knowledge, and neither do the developers, if the contracts are awarded directly by them. As a result, the contract archaeologist hesitates to consult the Sámi on his own behalf. He is afraid it will consume working hours that he cannot invoice.

This is just one archaeologist's opinion. There can be other reasons not to consult the Sámi in contract archaeology situations. The project may be taking place far from the mountains, in a forest area where the archaeologist is not aware there may be Sámi historical or prehistorical sites. The archaeologist may be under stress in his or her work and, therefore, chooses not to prioritise community interaction, whether it is with Sámi or other local populations. The archaeological company may have a work culture where indigenous issues are not recognized, making it difficult for a single archaeologist to challenge attitudes and routines. Finally, there can be certain degrees of indolence and resistance among heritage workers towards adopting new ways of thinking and working.

Whatever the reasons, something happens when an archaeological project is publicly funded. The archaeologist may still be unaware of the international policies on indigenous heritage, but he or she still follows the intentions of the documents. The Sámi are part of the project and are handed responsibility and stewardship, at least over parts of the project. Their knowledge and skills are considered valuable, and they are often offered ownership of the final outcomes of the project (for example a reconstructed building or a database over heritage sites).

This difference is hard to understand in any other way than that the system of commercial archaeology creates a – maybe imagined – pressure on the contract archaeologist to work with much speed and less interaction. In research projects, when there is time for reflection and networking, the contact with the Sámi comes in naturally, especially if the project aims at investigating something related to the Sámi landscape or Sámi heritage sites.

The interviews, finally, aimed to answer the second and third research questions: “Which challenges do the actors in the heritage system experience, regarding Sámi heritage?” and “What kinds of solutions for the challenges do actors suggest, and are the proposed solutions compatible with each other?”. The answers came to evolve around five themes: What is a Sámi heritage site, and can a site have an ethnicity? Who should be responsible for the expertise in Sámi heritage? Who should manage information about Sámi heritage sites? What is a good process of contract archaeology? And should Sámi and “Swedish” heritage be managed, interpreted, and mediated together or separately?

The answers showed that the challenges mainly revolve around responsibilities, resources, expertise, and trust. The Sámi seek more influence, or ownership, over Sámi heritage (as confirmed by the proposal from the Sámi Parliament) since they think Swedish society has failed to manage their heritage

respectfully. The Swedish National Heritage Board has delegated responsibility to the County Administrative Boards. The County Administrative Board Official interviewed feels that her agency falls short concerning the management of Sámi heritage, due to lack of resources. The knowledge about Sámi heritage sites is shared among many actors, not always willing to cooperate. There is sensitive information about graves and sacrificial sites, or places with close connections to family stories, that the Sámi community is not comfortable in sharing. Moreover, there is still much to be discovered in the North of Sweden. Large areas have still not been surveyed, and the perception of Sámi heritage is expanding with new understandings of Sámi economic activities, geographical spread, and ways of life. A divided stewardship for heritage in Sweden, where the Sámi Parliament takes over responsibilities for Sámi heritage, is a positive idea for some interviewees. Others fear that this would counteract a comprehensive understanding of Fennoscandian prehistory, where many cultures have interacted, or that a divided management would expose Sámi heritage officials to conflict, for example in development situations. In contract archaeology, consulting the Sámi community is today optional. Archaeologists report that they “do as they always do” and follow their regular work routine when conducting projects in Sámi areas. That routine does not always include a dialogue with the local community. As a result, the Sámi community feels disregarded, and archaeologists may miss out on valuable information.

The interviewees also suggest creative solutions to the challenges. The Sámi community is willing to step forward and take greater responsibility for Sámi heritage. An broader and improved dialogue between the Swedish National Heritage Boards and the County Administrative Boards in northern Sweden, and among the County Administrative Boards internally, can put Sámi heritage higher on the agenda, and create a more equal treatment of Sámi heritage in the different counties. All interviewees signal interest and curiosity in the growing field of Sámi and Norrland prehistory and look forward to future surveys. Developers, the County Administrative Boards, archaeologists, and Sámi alike want to find ways for the Sámi community to be part of contract archaeology. The County Administrative Board Official is willing to work for improving the instructions to archaeological companies, and to find ways to include Sámi participation in the contract archaeology process.

Sámi Heritage Management – Problems and Possibilities in a Postcolonial Context

This study does not intend to dwell on issue of ethnicity. Still, the Sámi are a group who invoke international rights based on their identity as an indigenous people, so ethnicity does play a part in the discussion. Fredrik Barth (1969) and Thomas Hylland Eriksen (2002) talk about ethnicity as a construction. Barth

formulated the idea that the ethnicity within a group is shaped when the group is confronted by other groups and needs to define itself in relation to something else. Eriksen stresses that ethnicity is dynamic, changing and constantly renegotiated. This constructivist way of looking at ethnicity complicates the world of the archaeologist. Bjørnar Olsen thinks Nordic archaeologists have established a form of “checklist archaeology” with a catalogue of expected Sámi material traces. The problem with the checklist is that it is based on ethnographic narratives from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. In the written sources of the time, it was established how the Sámi society “really” was, and what kinds of cultural traces to look for (Olsen 2007:219). This checklist archaeology conserves and limits our view of Sámi culture, a risk that is also pointed out by Carl-Gösta Ojala who stresses the need to avoid static and homogenous representations of Sámi pasts, and acknowledge that there are many Sámi histories and prehistories (Ojala 2017:267).

If we accept the constructivist way of perceiving ethnicity, and embrace the fact that Sámi culture was and is dynamic and in constant change, how does that relate to the intentions and demands in the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*? The Declaration calls for indigenous self-determination in cultural heritage issues – which in turn means that we have to define indigenous cultural heritage, in this case Sámi cultural heritage. If the Sámi people are to take responsibility for Sámi cultural heritage, we need to know what Sámi cultural heritage is and how it differs from other heritages.

Several interviewees in this study mentioned the Norwegian heritage system as a role model. In Norway, Sámi heritage management was separated from other heritage management already in 1990 to a body called *Samiskt kulturminneråd*, and in 2001 this administration became an official department of the Norwegian Sámi Parliament (Myrvoll 2012:51). The new organisation meant an “acknowledgement of Sámi culture, the significance of Sámi heritage sites and the Sámi right to manage their own heritage sites” (Myrvoll 2012:52). The Norwegian Sámi Parliament is responsible for the management of Sámi heritage sites, including supervision, conservation, and information. They are the official advisor concerning Sámi heritage to all other official authorities in Norway. According to the *Planning and Building Act* they are the ones mapping and securing Sámi heritage in development projects (commercial archaeology has not been introduced in Norway) (Berg & Gustafsson 2013:32).

However, committing responsibility for Sámi heritage sites to the Sámi Parliament does not answer the question of affiliation. How can it be determined what ethnicity the makers of a site or an artefact once had? In some cases, we are handed many clues. Sites can be located close to more modern remains signalling a continuous usage of a place or site (compare The County Administrative Board Official’s note on environments with remains of mixed age, where a registration of a heritage site in her experience can affect modern use of the site). There are also sites with a clear connection to reindeer herding

or hunting, which in most cases – but maybe not all, depending on the age and location of the site – indicate a Sámi origin. Sites can be supplemented with other sources of information, such as archive material, confirming Sámi affiliation (as in the case with the repatriation of a Sámi female in Gransjön, Jämtland, where written sources gave a context, Åhrén 2012). If we compare the Swedish situation with the discussion on NAGPRA in Chapter 3, we can see that the time factor is the same – it is easier to prove affiliation to something closer in time. When I talked to the Sámi Parliament GIS-coordinator in a follow-up phone call, he said something that stuck: “Well, let’s start there, then. It will keep us busy for a while” (The Sámi Parliament GIS-Coordinator, phone call 14-02-2020). What he meant was that Sámi self-determination over heritage does not have to start with academic fights over the affiliation of Stone Age hearths. There are enough historical environments and heritage sites with provable Sámi affiliation to begin trying out new and decolonising practices, in line with the intentions in the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen sees a built-in ambivalence in the Sámi endeavour for self-determination. There is a “double consciousness” where the Sámi want to define themselves on their own terms, but at the same time wants the recognition of the majority society. To achieve this recognition, they have to accept and play by the rules of others, thereby removing themselves from their legacy: “This is the paradox of autonomy: You can only achieve it somehow, by relinquishing some of the essentials of autonomy notably uniqueness and incommensurability, the fact that your world is here and only here, and cannot simply be taken away and transplanted somewhere else” (Eriksen 2019:77). However, even if Sámi self-determination over heritage is initiated, there seems to be good reason not to build a wall around it. The fifth theme in the interview chapter, “Should Sámi and “Swedish” heritage be managed, interpreted, and mediated together or separately?” may not be answered with “either-or”, but with “both”. As well as there are postcolonial gains of restitution to be won in the decolonisation of heritage, there are gains in keeping a vivid and openminded dialogue of what heritage is, and what role we want it to play in contemporary society.

Ania Loomba for example, warns us that postcolonial societies often idealise what was before colonisation, fuelling a nationalistic or romantic image of the past. This can create new, exclusive narratives that prevent other interpretations from being recognised (Loomba 2015:37-38). Nationalism has proven to be a powerful tool for decolonisation in Africa and Asia, but once institutionalised in the postcolonial state, postcolonial rule often tend to duplicate the exclusions and the coercive methods of the colonial power, also leaving out political perspectives such as gender equality or class-based dissent (Loomba 2015:192-199). A challenge for Swedish and Sámi heritage management can be to find

forms for Sámi self-determination that do not generate new myths, inequities, or hierarchies.

There is a risk of getting stuck in imagined dichotomies such as Sámi/Germanic. Instead, there seem to be a need to remain open to the fact that in between ethnicities could emerge creolisation and cultural hybrids where cultural expression is mixed. In graves and settlements, archaeologists sometimes find confusing combinations of artefacts. Maybe the desire of archaeologists to label them and put them in the “right” category is missing the point. It is also necessary to acknowledge that current groupings (such as “Sámi” and “Swedes”) have interacted for several centuries, negotiated space and identities, and influenced each other. The same interaction is likely to have taken place in centuries and millennia before that (Olsen 2007:221-222; Hillerdal, Karlström & Ojala 2017:9).

The World Heritage Archaeologist in this licentiate thesis is worried that encapsulating Sámi heritage and interpreting it based on its own standards will lower its status and make it a form of pseudo-science. This concern is shared by indigenous archaeologists who fear that separating indigenous archaeology from other archaeology would only cement its marginalisation and also constrain mainstream archaeology from developing in a more representative and responsible direction (see for example Nicholas 2010).

Bjørnar Olsen addresses the issue of “together or separately” under his heading “*Revir eller fellesrom?*” (“Private domain or shared space?”). He tells the story of his own university, the University of Tromsø, and how it initially separated Sámi archaeology from other archaeology in teaching and research. The purpose was to safeguard the representation and visibility of the Sámi. Later, the university realised that by setting up a “preserve” where the former marginalised group could be in focus, the contents could not interact with other disciplines. The wished-for effect of historical reparation defaulted. Sámi prehistory remained a matter for the already converted. The new strategy meant incorporating Sámi prehistory in the general syllabus. Instead of being an exotic add-on for students, it became mandatory for anyone wishing to work with Nordic archaeology (Olsen 2007:217).

An example of a “fellesrom”, a shared space, that turned into a conflict is the case with the Swedish database for heritage sites, Kulturmiljöregistret. The database is managed by the Swedish National Heritage Board. In 2015 they decided to open all heritage sites on the public version Fornsök – including sensitive information on Sámi graves and sacrificial sites. The Sámi interviewed in this study have their doubts about this system. They, and others they know, hesitate to report Sámi heritage sites to the database. The reason is mainly that they do not want the public to know about the sites, since they fear that the sites will be violated. At the same time, registering the sites in Kulturmiljöregistret would make them official heritage sites which would gain them more visibility and, thereby, protection. The Sámi in this study often argue that they are willing

to abstain from this visibility. They think the heritage sites may be better protected if they stay unknown to the public. The official stance of the Swedish National Heritage Board is that heritage belongs to everybody and that making the information about heritage sites public is a question of democracy. The citizens of Sweden pay for the heritage management through tax; hence the knowledge produced by heritage workers should be an open source.

The two examples of shared space or “fellesrom”, the archaeological programme in Tromsø, and the Swedish database Kulturmiljöregistret, show that a “fellesrom” for heritage can be both beneficial and disadvantageous to an indigenous people. Incorporating Sámi archaeology in the training of all archaeologists gives a signal that Sámi cultural heritage is equally important as other cultural heritage, and not a special interest or an “add-on”. But a “fellesrom” that is forced upon an indigenous people, such as exposing sensitive information in a database, becomes offensive. The two examples indicate that there is no right or wrong answer to the question “together or separately”. It must be negotiated with respect to indigenous needs, and with an understanding that what seems fair to one party appears unjust or hazardous to the other. Laurajane Smith formulates it like this: “Archaeology assumes that the past is inherently open to study, and that as experts archaeologists have an inherent right to access that past. Indigenous people on the other hand question this ‘right’ and argue that this archaeological belief will only result in an appropriation of a community’s past” (Smith 2004:27).

Indigenous heritage and the access to digital heritage information is a matter discussed internationally. In New Zealand the government and its agencies have worked by bicultural policies since the early 1990s, including training, recruitment and retention of Maori staff in cultural heritage institutions. The state is responsible for the sensitive management of indigenous digital cultural heritage, through indigenous co-workers (Brown 2007:88). Sarah Colley studies the significance of digital communication technologies for archaeology focusing on Australian conditions. She concludes that there are ethical technologies that for example allow users to view but not download, copy or redistribute digital assets, and other technologies to “/.../ restrict access to online information deemed culturally sensitive by Aboriginal people. In this case it is ethical to restrict access to information” (Colley 2015:17).

So, what could be done to solve the Swedish database conflict? Many actors in the heritage system, Sámi and Swedish interviewees alike, really wish the Swedish National Heritage Board would make an effort and reverse their decision, again making it possible to demand a login for users to see sensitive information.

Another way forward, if the goal is to decolonise Sámi archaeology and simultaneously interact with the existing heritage system, could be to turn to community archaeology practice. As described in Chapter 3, there is an immanent risk that a community archaeology project led by the majority ends

up being “emblematic”, conducted to win political points or gain credit from the society as a whole, or lock indigenous communities into colonial structures (Ledman 2012:40-41; Lindroth 2014:353-355). It would be interesting to see what happened if power structures were reversed, by ensuring that the Sámi Parliament was given funding to arrange community archaeology projects – maybe based on the information in the databases controlled by the Sámi community - where Swedish archaeologists or private persons were invited.

In the subchapter on Community Archaeology (this licentiate thesis pp. 68-69) I refer to a project in North Carolina where residents of a suburban neighbourhood became involved in a community archaeology project not based on their ethnicity but on their attachment to the place. The project examined the concepts of place attachment, place interaction, and place identity. The result was that all participants expressed a new-found connection to the ancient Cherokee community just by realising they were all humans who had lived their lives in the same site. This model could serve as a fruitful approach in a Swedish-Sámi community archaeology project as well, as it could make participants with mixed backgrounds interact and join in a shared engagement with the cultural landscape, its history and future. However, the stewardship and design of such a project would have to be thoroughly thought-out. If it only aimed at making Swedish non-Sámi residents more at home and connected to the land, it could easily be perceived as “colonial”. As Nick Shepherd pointed out (this licentiate thesis pp. 62-63), and as recently emphasised by Mizoguchi & Smith (2019:146-147) the research agendas must be aligned with local interests and re-think the ways archaeological knowledge can be produced. Replacing current power structures within heritage management does not mean accepting bad science. Instead all parties can gain from a more equal and collaborative archaeology, as the reversing of power dynamics can lead to new narratives and mutual empowerment.

To this licentiate thesis the processes of contract archaeology is especially important. The level of participation from the Sámi community, for example the Sámi villages, in Swedish contract archaeology is low. The Sámi are at risk of being excluded or feeling aggrieved when projects are conducted without their knowledge or participation. The problem is not only a democratic one, that members of the indigenous people feel neglected and disrespectfully treated by representatives of the majority. The archaeological survey or excavation also risks missing out on valuable information that the Sámi could provide. A complicating factor is that not all contract archaeology projects are the result of a tender agreement administrated by the County Administrative Board. Instead, when it concerns surveys, many jobs are an affair directly between the developer and the archaeological company. This means the County Administrative Board never gets the opportunity to ask for Sámi participation as one of the project criteria. There are reasons for involving the Sámi in the projects. Their knowledge about an area, if seen as of equal value to that of the

archaeologist and the developer, could bring new and unconsidered aspects to the project. The consultation would not be only for show, but Sámi participation would add value and the Sámi would, if they chose to participate, appreciate being part of a process.

In the case with the Sámi in Jämtland, the study points to three major opportunities to do something about the situation.

1. The County Administrative Boards can work actively with the contract procedures and include demands for Sámi dialogue in their instructions to the contract archaeology companies, making sure that Sámi perspectives are part of the work procedure.
2. The developers and consultants from the commercial side of the projects can be trained to ask for Sámi participation in the archaeological survey.
3. Finally, the archaeologists can be inspired by museums like the County Museum of Västerbotten, which has a routine of calling the Sámi village in question whether the project concerns contract archaeology or research-based archaeology. Västerbottens museum has worked together with the Sámi community for so long that the communication runs smoothly and with mutual trust.

The post-colonial approach of a host-guest-model (see p. 73) could initially be of help (McNiven & Russell 2005:235-242; Brady & Crouch 2010:417) since it concerns attitudes more than legislation. What would happen if contract archaeologists started thinking about going to work in Sámi areas as “going to visit someone”? The job could be performed in the same way as before, but as a good guest the archaeologist would announce his or her visit in advance, show respect and consideration during the stay, and have a follow-up conversation afterwards.

This host-guest-model still does not solve the problem with Sámi representation – that interaction and communication with the Sámi villages still means that only one out of ten Sámi are included in the conversation. The problem is not related to percentage. The members of Sámi villages are the true experts on the cultural landscape in which they live and work, and they are representative of a large group. The problem is that the other nine-out-of-ten could contribute with valuable perspectives as well. How does a Sámi in Östersund, who may have documented roots in a specific Sámi village but has lost the connection to it one or two generations ago, relate to Sámi ancestry and heritage? How do these community members make their voices heard, and how are their experiences captured and forged into the Sámi narrative? During the 20th century, the Swedish state had an enormous impact on the

disenfranchisement and assimilation of the Sámi into Swedish society, limiting their ability to stay connected to Sámi language, culture, and heritage. This means there are ethical reasons for the state and its representatives to facilitate the reconnection of the Sámi population to Sámi heritage.

However, the matter of increased self-determination for the Sámi in relation to Sámi heritage is to some extent already settled. The policies for indigenous heritage are already there – signed by governments or approved by archaeological societies and organisations. The international community has taken steps towards a decolonised heritage management for indigenous peoples. With my study I have contributed to the understanding how the Swedish implementation of these good intentions is progressing on a national and regional level, and as implementation is not advancing, why that is, and what could be done about it. There is so much more to accomplish – the Swedish heritage sector is only just starting.

Questions for the Future

This study analysed the current situation of indigenous heritage management in Jämtland, a county in northern Sweden. The study also includes voices from actors in the heritage sector working in other parts of Sweden. The licentiate thesis points to several issues that could and should be further investigated.

This study only analyses one county, and at the same time the study acknowledges that other counties (through museums, County Administrative Boards, archaeological businesses) handle indigenous archaeology differently. This is problematic since it means Sámi heritage is unequally valued and managed in Sweden, depending on its location. It also makes it difficult to draw clear conclusions on how Sweden, as a country, is managing Sámi heritage. To address these questions would require further studies of all counties with Sámi heritage sites in Sweden, and of the government agencies involved.

Also, I have only interviewed a very limited number of Sámi spokespersons. Their opinions are hopefully significant to many Sámi, but most certainly not to all; the diversity of opinions within the Sámi community needs to be further investigated.

Indigenous heritage management is an international field. Good and bad examples of indigenous heritage management and decolonising practices could, in future research, be addressed and compared to Swedish/Sámi conditions and problems. This could give Swedish and Sámi authorities inspiration and support in the work towards a Sámi heritage management in line with existing national and international policies.

Swedish Summary (Sammanfattning)

Den här licentiatuppsatsen handlar om urfolk och kulturarv – om det svenska urfolket, samerna, och om huruvida den svenska kulturarvssektorn hörsammar innehållet i de måldokument som finns upprättade kring urfolk och kulturarv, exempelvis the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP). Forskningen genomförs inom ramen för GRASCA, Graduate School in Contract Archaeology, en företagsforsarskola för svensk uppdragsarkeologi. Uppdragsarkeologin svarar för 90% av all arkeologi i Sverige och det är därför av betydelse hur den fungerar och vilka effekter den får.

Uppsatsens mål är att visa på vilka möjligheter som finns för svenskt kulturarvsarbete i allmänhet, och uppdragsarkeologi i synnerhet, att bättre efterleva de ambitioner som ställs upp i nationella och internationella policies för urfolk och kulturarv. Inspiration hämtas bland annat från postkolonial arkeologi och *community archaeology*, där arkeologer och lokalbefolkning experimenterar med nya sätt att samarbeta.

Ett annat mål är att identifiera vilka hinder som finns för utökat samarbete mellan samiska intressenter, såsom Sametinget och samebyarna, och den svenska kulturarvssektorn med myndigheter, museer och uppdragsarkeologiska företag, och komma med förslag på hur hindren ska kunna övervinnas.

Frågeställningar och metod

Uppsatsen kretsar kring tre frågeställningar.

1. Lever den svenska kulturarvssektorn, med fokus på uppdragsarkeologin, upp till de mål som finns uppställda i nationella och internationella policydokument rörande urfolk och kulturarv?
2. Vilka utmaningar kring hanterandet av samiskt kulturarv upplever de personer som på olika sätt arbetar med samiskt kulturarv?
3. Vilka förslag till lösningar av utmaningarna ser personerna, och är de olika lösningarna kompatibla med varandra?

För att svara på frågorna gjordes en undersökning i tre steg.

Det första steget innebar att identifiera vilka policydokument som var relevanta för relationen mellan svenskt kulturarvs- och kulturmiljöarbete och den samiska befolkningen. Sex dokument identifierades. Förutom the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (United Nations

2007:a) och den svenska *Lag (2009:724) om nationella minoriteter och minoritetsspråk* ingick tre dokument med yrkesetiska regler för arkeologer: the World Archaeological Congress (WAC) *First Code of Ethics*, The European Association of Archaeologists (EAA) *Code of Practice* och Svenska Arkeologiska Samfundets (SAA) *Riktlinjer för god arkeologisk praxis*. Slutligen inkluderades programmet *Det samiska kulturlandskapet. Program för att bevara, bruka och utveckla samiska kulturlandskap* där ett stort antal svenska aktörer inom kulturarvssektorn gått samman för att enas kring målbilder för bland annat samisk arkeologi. Dokumenten, eller relevanta delar därav, återfinns i appendix 2–8.

En analys av dokumenten visade att de kretsade kring likartade teman. Dokumentförfattarna ansåg att det var viktigt att urfolken gjordes mer delaktiga i kulturarvsarbetet, och i förlängningen också att mer ansvar för förvaltningen av det egna kulturarvet fördes över till de berörda urfolken. Beträffande arkeologiskt arbete och hur det bör utföras när ett urfolk berörs, sammanfattade jag dokumentens innehåll i följande fem punkter:

- 1. Information i förväg** – det anses generellt viktigt att ett urfolk får information om att ett arkeologiskt arbete ska utföras i ett område med urfolk eller kulturhistoriska lämningar efter urfolk,
- 2. Deltagande** – dokumenten förespråkar att arkeologerna gör urfolket delaktigt i undersökningen,
- 3. Information om resultaten** – när undersökningen är genomförd ska urfolket få veta vad som framkom, utan att uttryckligen fråga eller leta efter informationen,
- 4. Tolkning och konsekvensanalys** – urfolket ska också göras delaktigt i efterarbetet av det arkeologiska projektet, det vill säga i tolkningen av resultaten och också i den analys som ska göras beträffande vilka konsekvenser resultaten kan få, exempelvis socialt, ekonomiskt eller kunskapsmässigt,
- 5. Äganderätten** till det materiella och immateriella kulturarv som framkommer vid det arkeologiska projektet ska förhandlas och urfolkens rätt att **själva bestämma** över vad som ska hända med resultaten måste respekteras.

En viss skala kan skönjas i de fem punkterna, där de förstnämnda är något enklare att uppnå, exempelvis genom förändrade arbetsrutiner, medan punkt fyra och fem kräver mera av de inblandade aktörerna, såsom ändringar i administrativa strukturer eller ny lagstiftning.

Det andra steget i forskningen var en arkivstudie, där jag analyserade uppdragsarkeologiska rapporter från Jämtlands län för att se om målsättningarna i dokumenten uppfylldes. Jag valde att undersöka åren 2000, 2009 och 2018. I arkivet hos Länsstyrelsen i Jämtlands län sorterade jag ut de arkeologiska uppdrag som ägt rum på samebyarnas marker under dessa år, totalt 22 uppdrag. Inget av uppdragen uppfyllde någon av målsättningarna i policydokumenten. Som jämförelse analyserades också två arkeologiska projekt som utförts av samma aktörer som de uppdragsarkeologiska uppdragen, men där finansieringen kom från Riksantikvarieämbetet och Länsstyrelsen i Jämtland. Där framträdde en annan bild. Projekten hade förankrats i berörd sameby och den samiska kompetensen ansågs viktig och togs tillvara.

Det tredje steget i undersökningen var att intervjua personer som kunde ge sin syn på dels resultaten från arkivundersökningen, dels hur samiskt kulturarv förvaltas i dag och på vilka sätt förvaltandet kan förbättras. Jag intervjuade tio personer: en uppdragsarkeolog, två tjänstemän vid Sametinget, en ordförande i en sameby, en arkeolog vid världsarvet Laponia, en avdelningschef på ett länsmuseum, riksantikvarien, en tjänsteman vid Länsstyrelsen i Jämtlands län, en före detta länsstyrelsetjänsteman och chef för Åjtte – Svenskt Fjäll- och Samemuseum, samt en konsult vid Sweco som kunde bidra med ett kundperspektiv i uppdragsarkeologin.

Intervjuerna, som var semistrukturerade, innehöll vissa gemensamma frågor men lämnade också utrymme för informanterna att lyfta de frågor som kändes angelägna just för dem. Vid en analys av samtalen visade det sig att några återkommande ämnen som väckte engagemang var dessa fem:

1. Vad är en samisk fornlämning? Kan en fornlämning ha en etnicitet?
2. Vilken institution eller myndighet ska ansvara för samiskt kulturarv/samisk kulturmiljövård?
3. Vem ska ansvara för informationen om samiska fornlämningar?
4. Vad är en ”bra” uppdragsarkeologisk process?
5. Ska samiskt och ”svenskt” kulturarv förvaltas, tolkas och förmedlas tillsammans eller var för sig?

Resultat

Uppsatsens första fråga, ”Lever den svenska kulturarvssektorn, med fokus på uppdragsarkeologin, upp till de mål som finns uppställda i nationella och internationella policydokument rörande urfolk och kulturarv?”, besvarades med hjälp av arkivstudien. Arkivstudien behandlade ett begränsat geografiskt område, Jämtlands län, och ett begränsat antal uppdragsarkeologiska rapporter. Resultatet kan ändå sägas peka mot att det finns utrymme för att vidareutveckla dialogen och samarbetet mellan uppdragsarkeologer och samebyar.

Uppsatsens andra och tredje fråga, ”Vilka utmaningar kring hanterandet av samiskt kulturarv upplever de personer som på olika sätt arbetar med samiskt kulturarv?” och ”Vilka förslag till lösningar av utmaningarna ser personerna, och är de olika lösningarna kompatibla med varandra?” besvarades med hjälp av intervjuerna. Resultaten från intervjustudien har sammanfattats i en tabell (Tabell 6). Informanterna pekade på ett flertal utmaningar som många av dem bygger på brist på förtroende och kommunikation. Inom uppdragsarkeologin finns en föreställning om att samarbete med samebyar tar tid och därigenom fördyrar projekten, något som de föreställer sig att uppdragsgivaren eller exploitören inte vill medverka till. De uppdragsarkeologiska företagen befinner sig på en kommersiell marknad och vill framstå som konkurrenskraftiga. Vid samtal med konsulten framkom att hon inte upplevt en sådan motsättning hos sina kunder, utan att markexploatörernas huvudfokus var att få ett så bra beslutsunderlag som möjligt. Om samisk medverkan skulle bidra till mer kunskap om platsen skulle detta betraktas som positivt. Den ekonomiska faktorn förefaller därför inte vara avgörande, åtminstone inte som regel.

Många informanter talar också om länsstyrelsernas nyckelroll i det arkeologiska uppdragssystemet. I länsstyrelsernas förfrågningsunderlag till de arkeologiska företagen nämns inte alltid förväntningar på att företaget ska ha en dialog med berörd sameby. Dialogen uteblir därför. Det finns inga lagliga hinder för länsstyrelsen att efterfråga dialog i upphandlingen eller uppdraget, och en sådan praxis skulle därför kunna vara en väg framåt. I detta ingår också en önskan från många av informanterna att länsstyrelsen kunde få ökade resurser för kulturmiljöfrågor generellt, samt att länsstyrelserna skulle öka dialogen också länsstyrelserna emellan, för att frågor om samisk kulturmiljövård skulle kunna få en likartad behandling i alla berörda län. Flera informanter upplevde att samiskt kulturarv i dag behandlas olika beroende på enskilda tjänstemäns personliga engagemang, kompetensbortfall i samband med hög personalomsättning och liknande.

Att ta in tankar från postkolonial arkeologi och *community archaeology* låter sig inte göras i alla uppdragsarkeologiska sammanhang. Samtidigt visar sig i undersökningen en klyfta mellan de akademiska resonemang som förs kring dekolonisering av kulturarv på nationell och internationell nivå, och den arkeologiska praxis som utspelar sig på en mängd platser runt om i Sverige varje

dag. Det finns utrymme för nya former av dialog och samarbete även i det svenska uppdragsarkeologiska systemet, exempelvis genom nätverkande eller gemensamma projekt. Vissa förändringar i attityder och förhållningssätt skulle också kunna bidra till bättre relationer mellan samer och uppdragsarkeologer – till exempel genom att erkänna och uppmärksamma samernas kompetens beträffande det egna geografiska området och de egna fornlämningarna. En ”host-guest-model”, där arkeologerna vid sina uppdrag tänker på sig själva som gäster på samiskt område, skulle kunna vara ett steg i rätt riktning.

Tabell 6. Resultaten från intervjuerna sammanfattade i tabellform.

Tema	Utmaning	Föreslagna lösningar
Vad är en samisk fornlämning? Kan en fornlämning ha en etnicitet?	Sametinget vill ta över ansvaret för samiska fornlämningar från Riksantikvarieämbetet. Detta skulle kräva förändringar i lagen. Det är inte alltid lätt att bedöma vilka fornlämningar som ska betraktas som samiska. Att dela upp kulturarv i samiskt och svenskt kan skapa falska dikotomier och hindra tolkningar som inkluderar mångkultur och blandkultur. Kunskapen om vad som ska räknas som ”samiskt kulturarv” har fortfarande många luckor – långt ifrån allt handlar om fjäll och renskötsel.	Norge har ett annat system för samisk kulturmiljövård som Sverige kan inspireras av. Det norska Sametinget har tagit över förvaltandet av samiska fornlämningar.

Tema	Utmaning	Föreslagna lösningar
<p>Vilken institution eller myndighet ska ansvara för kompetens beträffande samiskt kulturarv/samisk kulturmiljövård?</p>	<p>Riksantikvarieämbetet har delegerat ansvaret för sakfrågor till länsstyrelserna, som upplever att de inte har tillräckliga resurser och känner sig ensamma i arbetet. Sametinget har inget offentligt uppdrag att ansvara för fornlämningar. Museer och företag inom uppdragsarkeologin samordnar inte den kunskap som byggs upp.</p>	<p>Mer resurser till länsstyrelserna och en ökad dialog mellan Riksantikvarieämbetet och länsstyrelserna kan hjälpa länsstyrelserna i deras arbete. Ett samarbete kring samiska frågor mellan de berörda länsstyrelserna kan skapa konsensus och möjliggöra att samiskt kulturarv behandlas lika oavsett län. Ett nätverk för samiska frågor kan bygga kompetens nerifrån och upp, istället för att en myndighet utpekas som ansvarigt för expertisen. Nätverket kan stödjas av, och på olika sätt samarbeta med, Riksantikvarieämbetet.</p>
<p>Vem ska ansvara för informationen om samiska fornlämningar?</p>	<p>Fjällinventeringarna är bristfälliga och information beträffande samiska fornlämningar är spridda över många olika databaser. Förutom Kulturmiljöregistret finns också RenGIS och flera regionala och lokala databaser upprättade av samiska organisationer. Alla</p>	<p>Fortsatta satsningar på att komplettera inventeringar av fornlämningar – inte bara i fjällen utan i Norrland i stort – kan göras av Riksantikvarieämbetet i samarbete med länsstyrelserna. Många samiska fornlämningar finns ju också i skogslandskapen. Riksantikvarieämbetets</p>

Tema	Utmaning	Föreslagna lösningar
	<p>fornlämningar i Kulturmiljöregistret görs offentliga på internet, även om samer ibland lämnat känslig information mot löfte om diskretion.</p> <p>De databaser som samerna själva upprättat görs av samma anledning inte offentliga, vilket andra aktörer i kulturarvssystemet, till exempel uppdragsarkeologer, tycker försvårar kunskapsuppbyggnad och skydd av fornlämningarna.</p>	<p>beslut att publicera uppgifter också om särskilt känsliga fornlämningar, som samiska gravar och offerplatser, kan omprövas. Samernas önskan att behålla kontrollen över de databaser de själva upprättat, och kunna kontrollera till vilka de lämnar ut uppgifter, kan respekteras.</p>
<p>Vad är en "bra" uppdragsarkeologisk process?</p>	<p>Att samråda eller samarbeta med den berörda samebyn är inte obligatoriskt i svensk uppdragsarkeologi. Dialog tar tid och kostar pengar. Att inte kommunicera med samebyn utan bara åka ut och utföra det arkeologiska uppdraget ändå, kan uppfattas som respektlöst av samebyn.</p> <p>Arkeologerna riskerar också att gå miste om värdefull information. Det finns viss brist på förtroende mellan olika</p>	<p>Länsstyrelserna kan börja inkludera krav på dialog med berörd sameby i sina förfrågningsunderlag till de uppdragsarkeologiska företagen. Arkeologer och exploatörer kan informeras om fördelarna med att inkludera samerna i den arkeologiska processen. Arkeologerna kan inspireras av Västerbottens museum som över lång tid har byggt upp ett samiskt nätverk där information kan spridas och</p>

Tema	Utmaning	Föreslagna lösningar
	<p>aktörer i det uppdragsarkeologiska systemet, och inte tillräckliga nätverk som driver på för att skapa nya arbetssätt.</p>	<p>samarbeten upprättas med kort varsel.</p>
<p>Ska samiskt och "svenskt" kulturarv förvaltas, tolkas och förmedlas tillsammans eller var för sig?</p>	<p>Samerna upplever att deras kulturarv förvaltas av svenska myndigheter och museer som har lägre kompetens än de själva. Att lämna över ansvar till Sametinget kan orsaka ytterligare konflikter mellan samer och markägare, när besluten inte längre fattas av en gemensam myndighet. Att skilja ut samiskt kulturarv från annat kulturarv kan i värsta fall försvåra mångkulturella förhållningssätt och underblåsa samisk nationalism.</p>	<p>Delegerande av ansvar och resurser för samiskt kulturarv kan föras över till Sametinget eller andra samiska institutioner och bidra till samiskt självbestämmande. Särskilda samiska rådgivare på länsstyrelser och kommuner kan bevaka samiska intressen i samhällsplaneringen.</p>

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Appendix 1. Information for Interviewees: Conditions for Participating in the Study

Information till dig som blir intervjuad

Doktorand: Charina Knutson

charina.knutson.extern@lnu.se eller charina.knutson@jamtli.com

Handledare: Cornelius Holtorf Biträdande handledare: Björnars Olsen

Mitt forskningsprojekt har arbetsnamnet **Archaeology in Sápmi – Policies, Implementations and Challenges in a Postcolonial Context**. Det handlar om utmaningar och möjligheter i samband med uppdragsarkeologi och forskningsfinansierad arkeologi på områden som nyttjas av samebyar i Sverige. Jag jämför de ambitioner som finns i olika internationella policydokument, där avsändarna ofta vill att kulturarvet ska dekoloniseras, med utfallet i verkligheten. Jag vill ringa in problem och också föreslå lösningar. Mina metoder är arkivstudier, intervjuer och internationella jämförelser.

Jag är tacksam för att du tar dig tid att prata med mig!

- Eftersom jag intervjuar dig i din yrkesroll hoppas jag att jag du kan medverka med ditt namn i studien.

- Du har rätt att läsa dina uttalanden i studien innan den går till tryck. Du får gärna korrigera ordval och förtydliga synpunkter i dina citat, men jag måste få dra slutsatser som vi kanske inte är överens om.

- Du kan när som helst välja att dra tillbaka din medverkan i studien.

Datum och ort:

Jag som blir intervjuad är införstådd med ovanstående:

Namnförtydligande: _____

Linnéuniversitetet 
GRASCA
graduate school in contract archaeology

Appendix 2. The *First Code of Ethics* of the World Archaeological Congress

First Code of Ethics

Adopted by WAC Council in 1990 at WAC-2, Barquisimeto, Venezuela

Principles to Abide By:

Members agree that they have obligations to indigenous peoples and that they shall abide by the following principles:

1. To acknowledge the importance of indigenous cultural heritage, including sites, places, objects, artefacts, human remains, to the survival of indigenous cultures.
2. To acknowledge the importance of protecting indigenous cultural heritage to the well-being of indigenous peoples.
3. To acknowledge the special importance of indigenous ancestral human remains, and sites containing and/or associated with such remains, to indigenous peoples.
4. To acknowledge that the important relationship between indigenous peoples and their cultural heritage exists irrespective of legal ownership.
5. To acknowledge that the indigenous cultural heritage rightfully belongs to the indigenous descendants of that heritage.
6. To acknowledge and recognise indigenous methodologies for interpreting, curating, managing and protecting indigenous cultural heritage.
7. To establish equitable partnerships and relationships between Members and indigenous peoples whose cultural heritage is being investigated.
8. To seek, whenever possible, representation of indigenous peoples in agencies funding or authorising research to be certain their view is considered as critically important in setting research standards, questions, priorities and goals.

Rules to Adhere to:

Members agree that they will adhere to the following rules prior to, during and after their investigations:

1. Prior to conducting any investigation and/or examination, Members shall with rigorous endeavour seek to define the indigenous peoples whose cultural heritage is the subject of investigation.
2. Members shall negotiate with and obtain the informed consent of representatives authorized by the indigenous peoples whose cultural heritage is the subject of investigation.
3. Members shall ensure that the authorised representatives of the indigenous peoples whose culture is being investigated are kept informed during all stages of the investigation.

4. Members shall ensure that the results of their work are presented with deference and respect to the identified indigenous peoples.

5. Members shall not interfere with and/or remove human remains of indigenous peoples without the express consent of those concerned.

6. Members shall not interfere with and/or remove artefacts or objects of special cultural significance, as defined by associated indigenous peoples, without their express consent.

7. Members shall recognise their obligation to employ and/or train indigenous peoples in proper techniques as part of their projects, and utilise indigenous peoples to monitor the projects.

The new Code should not be taken in isolation; it was seen by Council as following on from WAC's adoption of the Vermillion Accord passed in 1989 at the South Dakota Inter-Congress.

Appendix 3. The Vermillion Accord on Human Remains

The Vermillion Accord on Human Remains

Adopted in 1989 at WAC Inter-Congress, South Dakota, USA.

1. Respect for the mortal remains of the dead shall be accorded to all, irrespective of origin, race, religion, nationality, custom and tradition.
2. Respect for the wishes of the dead concerning disposition shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful, when they are known or can be reasonably inferred.
3. Respect for the wishes of the local community and of relatives or guardians of the dead shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful.
4. Respect for the scientific research value of skeletal, mummified and other human remains (including fossil hominids) shall be accorded when such value is demonstrated to exist.
5. Agreement on the disposition of fossil, skeletal, mummified and other remains shall be reached by negotiation on the basis of mutual respect for the legitimate concerns of communities for the proper disposition of their ancestors, as well as the legitimate concerns of science and education.
6. The express recognition that the concerns of various ethnic groups, as well as those of science are legitimate and to be respected, will permit acceptable agreements to be reached and honoured.

Appendix 4. The *Code of Practice* of the European Association of Archaeologists

EAA CODE OF PRACTICE

The following text was approved by the members of the Association at the Annual Business Meeting, held in Ravenna (Italy) on 27 September 1997, and amended at the Annual Business Meeting in Riva del Garda (Italy) on 19 September 2009.

Preamble

The archaeological heritage, as defined in Article 1 of the 1992 European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage, is the heritage of all humankind. Archaeology is the study and interpretation of that heritage for the benefit of society as a whole. Archaeologists are the interpreters and stewards of that heritage on behalf of their fellow men and women. The object of this Code is to establish standards of conduct for the members of the European Association of Archaeologists to follow in fulfilling their responsibilities, both to the community and to their professional colleagues.

General

Members of the Association must adhere to high standards of ethical and professional conduct in their work, and must refrain from conduct which could bring the archaeological profession into disrepute.

Archaeologists and society

1. All archaeological work should be carried out in the spirit of the *Charter for the management of the archaeological heritage* approved by ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) in 1990.
2. It is the duty of every archaeologist to ensure the preservation of the archaeological heritage by every legal means.
3. In achieving that end archaeologists will take active steps to inform the general public at all levels of the objectives and methods of archaeology in general and of individual projects in particular, using all the communication techniques at their disposal.
4. Where preservation is impossible, archaeologists will ensure that investigations are carried out to the highest professional standards.
5. In carrying out such projects, archaeologists will wherever possible, and in accordance with any contractual obligations that they may have entered into, carry out prior evaluations of the ecological and social implications of their work for local communities.

6. Archaeologists will not engage in, or allow their names to be associated with, any form of activity relating to the illicit trade in antiquities and works of art, covered by the 1970 UNESCO *Convention on the means of prohibiting and preventing the illicit import, export, and transfer of ownership of cultural property*.
7. Archaeologists will not engage in, or allow their names to be associated with, any activity that impacts the archaeological heritage which is carried out for commercial profit which derives directly from or exploits the archaeological heritage itself.
8. It is the responsibility of archaeologists to draw the attention of the competent authorities to threats to the archaeological heritage, including the plundering of sites and monuments and illicit trade in antiquities, and to use all the means at their disposal to ensure that action is taken in such cases by the competent authorities.

Archaeologists and the Profession

1. Archaeologists will carry out their work to the highest standards recognised by their professional peers.
2. Archaeologists have a duty to keep themselves informed of developments in knowledge and methodology relating to their field of specialisation and to techniques of fieldwork, conservation, information dissemination, and related areas.
3. Archaeologists should not undertake projects for which they are not adequately trained or prepared.
4. A research design should be formulated as an essential prelude to all projects. Arrangements should also be made before starting projects for the subsequent storage and curation of finds, samples, and records in accessible public repositories (museums, archive collections, etc).
5. Proper records, prepared in a comprehensible and durable form, should be made of all archaeological projects.
6. Adequate reports on all projects should be prepared and made accessible to the archaeological community as a whole with the minimum delay through appropriate conventional and/or electronic publishing media, following an initial period of confidentiality not exceeding six calendar months.
7. Archaeologists will have prior rights of publication in respect of projects for which they are responsible for a reasonable period, not exceeding ten years. During this period they will make their results as widely accessible as possible and will give sympathetic consideration to requests for information from colleagues and students, provided that these do not conflict with the primary right of publication. When the ten-year period has expired, the records should be freely available for analysis and publication by others.

8. Written permission must be obtained for the use of original material and acknowledgement to the source included in any publication.
9. In recruiting staff for projects, archaeologists shall not practise any form of discrimination based on sex, religion, age, race, disability, or sexual orientation.
10. The management of all projects must respect national standards relating to conditions of employment and safety.

Note

Questions of professional ethics and professional conduct may be raised by contacting the Secretariat, which will put the matter to the Board if necessary. The Board may convene a group, composed of past EAA presidents, to advise on particular issues which may arise.

Appendix 5. The Guidelines for Good Archaeological Practice of the Swedish Archaeological Society

SVENSKA ARKEOLOGISKA SAMFUNDETS RIKTLINJER FÖR GOD ARKEOLOGISK PRAXIS

Inledning

Arkeologerna har ett samhällsansvar beträffande de kulturella arven och kulturmiljövården. I likhet med andra professionella grupper behövs klara och uttalade värderingar som vi kan hänvisa till som yrkesmän och – kvinnor och som kan framföras till allmänheten. Följande riktlinjer kan tillämpas i till exempel kravspecifikationer, inom forskning och i offentliga debatter. De kan också vara ett rättesnöre vid konflikter och ge moralisk styrka vad gäller arkeologisk praxis. Riktlinjerna uttrycker också en önskvärd uppfattning inom det arkeologiska samhället både i Sverige och internationellt. Riktlinjerna vänder sig till alla kategorier av arkeologer i landet från yrkesverksamma till amatörer, jämte svenska arkeologer som är verksamma i utlandet. Texten baseras till stor del på EAA:s ”Code of Practice” (www.molas.org.uk/eaacode.html). EAA:s etiska principer för arkeologer som antogs i Göteborg 1998 hänvisar mer i detalj till uppdragsarkeologisk verksamhet (se Fornvännen 1999/2:108-110). Dessa riktlinjer är endast en inledning till en ständigt återkommande diskussion och bör kontinuerligt omprövas för att hålla den etiska och vetenskapliga standarden bland landets arkeologer på en fortsatt hög nivå. De definierar således god arkeologisk praxis och definierar därmed oss som arkeologer. Dialog med det omgivande samhället är en förutsättning för ett fördjupat historiemedvetande med perspektiv på dåtid, nutid och framtid.

1. Arkeologerna och samhället

1.1. Arkeologer bör verka för att bevara och medvetandegöra de arkeologiska kulturarven.

1.2. För att uppnå detta mål bör arkeologerna aktivt förmedla arkeologiska kunskaper till allmänheten och därvid eftersträva en hög pedagogisk standard. Arkeologiska kunskaper är mångskiftande och bör ses som sådana (inkluderande kunskap om arkeologiska tolkningar av det förflutna, kunskap om dagens fornlämningar i sin befintliga kulturmiljö, kunskap om hur denna kunskap skapas och används i nutiden). En ömsesidig dialog med samhället i stort bör kontinuerligt äga rum.

1.3. Arkeologer skall ge akt på diskriminerande eller rasistiska budskap som deras forskning kan tänkas förmedla, vilka kan medföra negativa moraliska och

ideologiska konsekvenser i samhället. Därför är det viktigt att uppmana till eftertänksamhet vid undervisning och förmedling av arkeologi och eftersträva god kvalitet vid arkeologisk forskning. Etiska frågor bör vara en självklar del av undervisningen i arkeologi på universiteten/högskolor.

1.4. Arkeologer skall inte medverka i någon form av aktivitet som relaterar till olaglig handel med arkeologiska föremål och konstverk.

1.5. Arkeologer skall inte medverka i någon form av oetisk aktivitet som påverkar de arkeologiska kulturarven.

1.6. Varje arkeolog bör verka för att lagarna efterlevs och att relevant myndighet informeras om hot mot de arkeologiska kulturarven, plundring eller olaglig handel.

1.7. Vid planeringen och genomförande av arkeologiska projekt bör arkeologer, i enlighet med ingångna kontrakt, ta hänsyn till de ekologiska och sociala konsekvenserna av undersökningen, i synnerhet för den lokala befolkningen. Forskning som berör ett lands ursprungsbefolkning kräver särskild omtanke. Alla sådana projekt skall genomföras i kontakt och dialog med den lokala befolkningen eller ursprungsbefolkningen, inklusive ömsesidigt utbyte av erfarenheter.

1.8. Liksom i samhället i övrigt, skall ingen diskrimineras på grund av kön, religion, ålder, hudfärg, nationalitet, etnicitet, sexuell läggning eller handikapp inom det arkeologiska samhället.

2. Arkeologerna och det arkeologiska yrket

2.1. Arkeologer skall utföra sitt arbete i enlighet med aktuell kunskap och eftersträva högsta möjliga vetenskapliga standard.

2.2. Arkeologer bör orientera sig om och pröva nya tankar och metoder i syfte att vidareutveckla den arkeologiska kunskapen inom olika områden.

2.3. Om det inte är möjligt att bevara en fornlämning bör den undersökas utifrån ett explicit formulerat vetenskapligt syfte.

2.4. Arkeologer bör undvika att genomföra projekt inom områden som de inte har adekvata kunskaper för. 2.5. En strategi skall formuleras i inledningen till varje projekt för magasinering och handhavande av fynd och prover, samt för förmedling och kontakt med samhället.

2.6. Dokumentation i begriplig och varaktig form skall vara en given del av varje arkeologiskt projekt. En kritisk värdering av det vetenskapliga resultatet bör även ingå i varje projekt.

2.7. Rapporter över alla projekt skall skrivas och göras tillgängliga genom lämpliga media.

2.8. Arkeologer som företräder ett specifikt projekt bör inom rimlig tid göra materialet tillgängligt för vidare forskning.

(Riktlinjerna för god arkeologisk praxis antogs vid Svenska Arkeologiska Samfundets årsmöte i Lund, 2005-04-19)

Appendix 6. United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ON THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

(Selected Articles on Cultural Heritage)

Article 5. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State.

Article 11. 1. Indigenous peoples have the right to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature.

2. States shall provide redress through effective mechanisms, which may include restitution, developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples, with respect to their cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs.

Article 12. 1. Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practise, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of their ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of their human remains.

2. States shall seek to enable the access and/or repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains in their possession through fair, transparent and effective mechanisms developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned.

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

2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also to ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means.

Article 25. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard.

Article 31. 1. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions.

Appendix 7. *National Minorities and Minority Languages Act (2009:724)*

LAG (2009:724) OM NATIONELLA MINORITETER OCH MINORITETSSPRÅK

Allmänna bestämmelser

1 § Denna lag innehåller bestämmelser om nationella minoriteter, nationella minoritetsspråk, förvaltningsområden och rätten att använda minoritetsspråk hos förvaltningsmyndigheter och domstolar samt bestämmelser om äldreomsorg. Lagen innehåller också bestämmelser om uppföljning av tillämpningen av lagen. *Lag (2018:1367)*.

2 § Nationella minoriteter är judar, romer, samer, sverigefinnar och tornedalingar i enlighet med Sveriges åtaganden enligt Europarådets ramkonvention om skydd för nationella minoriteter (SÖ 2000:2) och den europeiska stadgan om landsdels- eller minoritetsspråk (SÖ 2000:3).

I språklagen (2009:600) anges att de nationella minoritetsspråken är finska, jiddisch, meänkieli, romani chib och samiska.

3 § Kommuner och regioner ska informera de nationella minoriteterna om deras rättigheter och det allmännas ansvar enligt denna lag och de föreskrifter som denna lag hänvisar till. Detsamma gäller statliga förvaltningsmyndigheter vars verksamhet är av betydelse för de nationella minoriteterna eller minoritetsspråken. *Lag (2019:938)*.

4 § I språklagen (2009:600) anges att det allmänna har ett särskilt ansvar för att skydda och främja de nationella minoritetsspråken.

Det allmänna ska även i övrigt främja de nationella minoriteternas möjligheter att behålla och utveckla sin kultur i Sverige. Barns utveckling av en kulturell identitet och användning av det egna minoritetsspråket ska främjas särskilt.

5 § Förvaltningsmyndigheter ska ge de nationella minoriteterna möjlighet till inflytande i frågor som berör dem och så långt det är möjligt samråda med minoriteterna i sådana frågor.

Samråd enligt första stycket ska ske genom att förvaltningsmyndigheten för en strukturerad dialog med de nationella minoriteterna i syfte att kunna beakta deras synpunkter och behov i myndighetens beslutsfattande. *Lag (2018:1367)*.

5 a § Förvaltningsmyndigheter ska särskilt främja barns och ungas möjligheter till inflytande och samråd i frågor som berör dem och anpassa formerna för detta till deras förutsättningar. *Lag (2018:1367)*.

5 b § Kommuner och regioner ska anta mål och riktlinjer för sitt minoritetspolitiska arbete.

Uppgifter om mål och riktlinjer som har antagits enligt första stycket ska på begäran lämnas till den myndighet som har uppföljningsansvar enligt 20 §. *Lag (2019:938)*.

Förvaltningsområden

6 § Med förvaltningsområdet för finska avses kommunerna Botkyrka, Eskilstuna, Gällivare, Hallstahammar, Haninge, Haparanda, Huddinge, Håbo, Kiruna, Köping, Pajala, Sigtuna, Solna, Stockholm, Södertälje, Tierp, Upplands Väsby, Upplands-Bro, Uppsala, Älvkarleby, Österåker, Östhammar och Övertorneå.

Med förvaltningsområdet för meänkieli avses kommunerna Gällivare, Haparanda, Kiruna, Pajala och Övertorneå.

Med förvaltningsområdet för samiska avses kommunerna Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur, Berg, Gällivare, Härjedalen, Jokkmokk, Kiruna, Lycksele, Malå, Sorsele, Storuman, Strömsund, Umeå, Vilhelmina, Åre, Älvdalen och Östersund.

7 § Andra kommuner än de som anges i 6 § kan efter ansökan få ingå i förvaltningsområdet för finska, meänkieli eller samiska. Beslut att en kommun ska få ingå i ett förvaltningsområde fattas av regeringen.

En kommun som ingår i ett förvaltningsområde efter beslut av regeringen kan ansöka hos regeringen om utträde ur förvaltningsområdet. Regeringen får besluta om utträde endast om det finns synnerliga skäl.

Regeringen får meddela föreskrifter om anslutning till och utträde ur ett förvaltningsområde. *Lag (2018:1367)*.

Rätten att använda finska, meänkieli och samiska hos myndigheter

8 § Enskilda har rätt att använda finska, meänkieli respektive samiska vid sina muntliga och skriftliga kontakter med en förvaltningsmyndighet vars geografiska verksamhetsområde helt eller delvis sammanfaller med minoritetsspråkets förvaltningsområde. Detta gäller i ärenden i vilka den enskilde är part eller ställföreträdare för part, om ärendet har anknytning till förvaltningsområdet.

Om den enskilde använder finska, meänkieli eller samiska i ett sådant ärende, är myndigheten skyldig att ge muntligt svar på samma språk. Enskilda som saknar juridiskt biträde har dessutom rätt att på begäran få en skriftlig översättning av beslut och beslutsmotivering i ärendet på finska, meänkieli respektive samiska.

Myndigheten ska även i övrigt sträva efter att bemöta de enskilda på dessa språk.

9 § Utanför ett förvaltningsområde har enskilda rätt att använda finska, meänkieli respektive samiska vid muntliga och skriftliga kontakter i förvaltningsmyndigheters ärenden i vilka den enskilde är part eller ställföreträdare för part, om ärendet kan handläggas av personal som behärskar minoritetsspråket.

10 § Enskilda har alltid rätt att använda finska, meänkieli och samiska vid sina skriftliga kontakter med Riksdagens ombudsmän och Diskrimineringsombudsmannen. Detsamma gäller vid enskildas skriftliga kontakter med Justitiekanslern, Försäkringskassan, Skatteverket och Arbetsförmedlingen i ärenden i vilka den enskilde är part eller ställföreträdare för part. *Lag (2018:1367)*.

11 § Förvaltningsmyndigheter ska verka för att det finns tillgång till personal med kunskaper i finska, meänkieli respektive samiska där detta behövs i enskildas kontakter med myndigheten.

12 § Förvaltningsmyndigheter får bestämma särskilda tider och särskild plats för att ta emot besök av enskilda som talar finska, meänkieli respektive samiska, samt ha särskilda telefontider.

Rätten att använda finska, meänkieli och samiska hos domstolar

13 § Den som är part eller ställföreträdare för part i ett mål eller ett ärende hos en förvaltningsrätt, tingsrätt, mark- och miljödomstol eller sjörättsdomstol med en domkrets som helt eller delvis sammanfaller med kommunerna Gällivare, Haparanda, Kiruna, Pajala och Övertorneå har rätt att använda finska eller meänkieli under målets eller ärendets handläggning, om målet eller ärendet har anknytning till någon av dessa kommuner. Detsamma gäller samiska hos en sådan domstol med en domkrets som helt eller delvis sammanfaller med kommunerna Arjeplog, Gällivare, Jokkmokk eller Kiruna, om målet eller ärendet har anknytning till någon av dessa kommuner.

Rätten att använda finska, meänkieli respektive samiska omfattar också de domstolar dit en dom eller ett beslut i ett mål eller ärende som avses i första stycket överklagas. *Lag (2010:943)*.

14 § Rätten att använda finska, meänkieli eller samiska i mål eller ärenden hos domstolar enligt 13 § omfattar rätt att ge in handlingar och skriftlig bevisning på detta språk, rätt att få de handlingar som hör till målet eller ärendet muntligen översätta till detta språk och rätt att vid muntlig förhandling inför domstolen tala detta språk. Domstolen ska översätta handlingar och skriftlig bevisning till svenska, om det inte är uppenbart onödigt.

Även i övrigt ska domstolen sträva efter att använda minoritetsspråket i sina kontakter med parten eller dennes ställföreträdare.

I alla mål och ärenden som omfattas av rätten att använda finska, meänkieli eller samiska hos domstolar enligt 13 § har en part eller ställföreträdare för part som saknar juridiskt biträde rätt att på begäran få domslut och domskäl eller beslut och beslutsmotivering skriftligen översätta till detta språk.

15 § Den som vill använda finska, meänkieli eller samiska under ett måls eller ett ärendes handläggning i domstol enligt 13 § ska begära detta i samband med att målet eller ärendet inleds eller första gången parten ska yttra sig i målet eller ärendet.

En begäran om att få en översättning enligt 14 § tredje stycket ska framställas inom en vecka från det att domen eller beslutet meddelats, om en sådan begäran inte har framställts tidigare under handläggningen av målet eller ärendet.

Om en begäran om att använda minoritetsspråk eller om att få en översättning framställs senare än vad som anges i första och andra styckena får den avslås. En sådan begäran får även avslås om det är uppenbart att den har ett otillbörligt syfte.

16 § Om en part eller ställföreträdare för part har rätt att använda finska, meänkieli eller samiska i rättegång, ska tolk anlitas i enlighet med bestämmelserna i 5 kap. 6-8 §§ och 33 kap. 9 § rättegångsbalken och 50-52 §§ förvaltningsprocesslagen (1971:291).

Finska, meänkieli och samiska i förskola, viss annan pedagogisk verksamhet och äldreomsorg

17 § Rätten för enskilda att i vissa fall erbjudas förskola och viss annan pedagogisk verksamhet på finska, meänkieli eller samiska regleras i 8 kap. 12 a § och 25 kap. 5 a § skollagen (2010:800). *Lag (2018:1367).*

18 § En kommun som ingår i ett förvaltningsområde ska erbjuda den som begär det möjlighet att få hela eller en väsentlig del av den service och omvårdnad som erbjuds inom ramen för äldreomsorgen av personal som behärskar finska, meänkieli respektive samiska. *Lag (2018:1367).*

18 a § En kommun som inte ingår i något förvaltningsområde ska erbjuda den som begär det möjlighet att få hela eller en väsentlig del av den service och omvårdnad som erbjuds inom ramen för äldreomsorgen av personal som behärskar finska, jiddisch, meänkieli, romani chib eller samiska, om kommunen har tillgång till personal med sådana språkkunskaper. Detsamma gäller för en kommun som ingår i ett förvaltningsområde för ett visst språk vad gäller övriga språk. *Lag (2018:1367).*

18 b § Kommunen ska inom ramen för sådan omsorg som erbjuds enligt 18 och 18 a §§ beakta de äldres behov av att upprätthålla sin kulturella identitet. *Lag (2018:1367).*

18 c § Kommunen ska informera den som ansöker om bistånd inom ramen för äldreomsorgen om möjligheterna till sådan service och omvårdnad som anges i 18 och 18a §§. *Lag (2018:1367).*

Undantag

19 § Om det finns särskilda skäl får regeringen meddela föreskrifter om att en viss myndighet som lyder under regeringen ska undantas från tillämpningen av 8 §. Motsvarande gäller efter regeringens bemyndigande för region och kommun i fråga om kommunala myndigheter. *Lag (2019:938).*

Uppföljning m.m.

20 § Förvaltningsmyndigheters tillämpning av denna lag ska följas upp. Regeringen meddelar föreskrifter om vilken eller vilka myndigheter som ska ansvara för uppföljningen. Detta uppföljningsansvar innebär ingen inskränkning i det tillsynsansvar som vilar på andra myndigheter.

21 § En myndighet med uppföljningsansvar ska dessutom genom rådgivning, information och liknande verksamhet bistå andra förvaltningsmyndigheter vid tillämpningen av lagen.

Appendix 8. The *Sámi Heritage Programme*

DET SAMISKA KULTURLANDSKAPET. PROGRAM FÖR ATT BEVARA, BRUKA OCH UTVECKLA SAMISKA KULTURLANDSKAP 2015–2020

(Chapter 5, “Proposals in Summary”)

5. SAMLAT PROGRAMFÖRSLAG

Redan i det första programmet för bevarande av det samiska kulturarvet 1998 formulerades några övergripande målsättningar som fortfarande är aktuella. Grundläggande för att uppnå framgång vad gäller samiskt kulturmiljöarbete är att det finns ekonomiskt långsiktiga förutsättningar för att bedriva och utveckla arbetet. Samiska organisationer måste ges förutsättningar att utveckla arbetet efter sina egna förutsättningar och prioriteringar. Fortfarande finns behov av samordning kring information, rådgivning och uppföljning av insatser inom det samiska kulturmiljöområdet liksom samverkan mellan olika aktörer. Likaså kvarstår behovet av utbildningar och seminarier som motsvarar både intresserade privatpersoners, samebyars, sameföreningars och yrkesverksamma inom kulturmiljövårdens varierande behov. Det finns idag ingen myndighet eller institution som har ett nationellt uppdrag att ha en överblick över samiska kulturmiljöfrågor. Även om RAÄ har ett nationellt överinseende för kulturmiljövården saknar myndigheten expertkunskap inom det samiska kulturområdet. Därför är det angeläget och nödvändigt att det finns aktuella nationella och regionala program för det samiska kulturarvs- och kulturmiljöarbetet. Programmen ska uppdateras kontinuerligt. Lika viktigt är det att det finns väl fungerande nätverk för alla som arbetar med samiska kulturmiljöfrågor. Förutom dessa övergripande frågor har vi valt att samla behoven i ett antal aktuella fokusområden; kunskapsunderlag, information, konsekvenser av klimatförändringar, den europeiska landskapskonventionen, miljö kvalitetsmålen samt vård och skydd. De olika fokusområdena överlappar delvis varandra.

5.1 Kunskapsunderlag

Ett allvarligt hot är bristen på kunskapsunderlag vad gäller bland annat yttäckande fornminnesinventeringar och byggnadsinventeringar. Stora delar av fjällområdet har aldrig fornminnesinventerats och byggnadsinventeringar har endast genomförts i västerbottensfjällen. Stora delar av skogslandet i Norrbottens län är inte heller fornminnesinventerade. Kraven från både

samebyar och myndigheter på kunskapsunderlag är idag akut eftersom det samiska området utsätts för nya storskaliga exploateringar samtidigt som klimatförändringar innebär att viktiga kulturmiljöer växer igen. En annan anledning till att det är bråttom att dokumentera övergivna samiska kulturmiljöer är att det endast finns ett fåtal äldre samer som kommer ihåg och kan berätta om platserna och de samiska ortnamnen. Det finns ett växande behov av kunskap om de samer som har levt utanför dagens renskötselområde. Fortfarande finns det muntliga traditioner och berättelser från till exempel Hälsingland och södra Dalarna om samisk närvaro som måste tas tillvara.

5.1.1 Målsättning

Det finns tillgång till aktuellt kunskapsunderlag om samiska kulturlandskap hos berörda myndigheter, organisationer och allmänhet.

5.1.2 Behov och prioriterade områden

- Fornminnesinventering i områden där det råder exploateringsstryck.
- Fornminnesinventering i vinterbetesområden i skogslandet.
- Vidareutveckla metoder för att söka fornlämningar i det samiska landskapet, till exempel med laserscanning.
- Dokumentera samisk närvaro utanför dagens renskötselområde.
- Dokumentera samiska ortnamn, framför allt utifrån muntlig kunskap.
- Dokumentera den äldre generationens samers muntliga kunskap om markanvändning, renskötsel, traditionell kunskap, äldre bosättningsmönster med mera.
- Dokumentera muntlig kunskap om dagens renskötsel.
- Dokumentation kring samer som lever långt från traditionellt samiskt levnadssätt, till exempel i storstäder.
- Samebyarna lägger in sina kulturhistoriskt intressanta platser i renbruksplaner och RenGIS.
- En samlad överblick över samiskt byggnadsskick, lokala byggnadstraditioner och byggnadsbestånd inklusive samiska nybyggen.
- Sammanställning av befintliga fornminnesinventeringar och dokumentationer.
- Vetenskaplig bearbetning och analys av inventeringsmaterial och dokumentationer som finns insamlat hos institutioner och samebyar.

5.2 Information

Behovet av information om samisk närvaro, kulturarv och historia i olika former är stort, alltifrån informativa utställningar till undervisningsmaterial. Information behövs inom det samiska samhället men framför allt till myndigheter, skolor och allmänhet.

5.2.1 Målsättning

Kunskapen om samiska kulturlandskap är god hos myndigheter, organisationer och allmänhet.

5.2.2. Behov och prioriterade områden

- Öka medvetenheten om den samiska historien och kulturmiljöerna genom projekt, kurser och olika utbildningsinsatser vad gäller till exempel kulturminnesregistrering, byggnadsteknik.
- Produktion av informative vandringsutställningar om samisk historia, kultur och vardagsliv.
- Produktion av läromedel för olika målgrupper
- Bearbeta det kunskapsmaterial som samlas in i olika projekt m.m. så att det blir tillgängligt som informationsmaterial på olika nivåer.
- Produktion av informationsbroschyrer, appar, skyltar med mera.
- Samnordiska konferenser som belyser de samiska kulturlandskapsfrågorna.

5.3 Klimatförändringar

Klimatförändringarna med bland annat stigande temperatur medför stora utmaningar för kulturmiljövården. Igenväxning av gamla samiska kulturmiljöer, snabbare nedbrytning av arkeologiskt material och att material som har varit infruset i snölegor tinar fram är några konsekvenser. Forskning kring hur klimatförändringarna påverkar miljön är därmed ett angeläget forskningsområde. Vad gäller organiskt material som tinar fram krävs särskilda insatser för att tillvarata detta nästan helt okända kulturarv. I förhållande till jämförbara länder med liknande klimat är detta arbete mycket eftersatt i Sverige. I till exempel Norge är detta sedan länge ett etablerat eget forskningsfält.

5.3.1. Målsättning

Kunskapen om hur klimatförändringarna påverkar samiska kulturlandskap har ökat och det finns strategier för att möta dessa hot.

5.3.2. Behov och prioriterade områden

- Forskning och projekt som visar hur klimatförändringar med stigande temperaturer påverkar det samiska kulturlandskapet, både vad gäller igenväxning samt snö- och isavsmältning.
- Forskning kring hur organiskt material som tinar fram ur snölegor och glaciärer ska tas tillvara och behandlas.
- Hitta metoder för att mäta klimatförändringens påverkan på samiska kulturmiljöer.

5.4 Europeiska landskapskonventionen

För att få förståelse för det samiska kulturlandskapet, dess förändring och betydelse måste kunskapen ökas hos myndigheter och samhället i övrigt. Även hos samerna själva behövs kunskap och medvetenhet om det egna kulturlandskapet och dess historia. I enlighet med konventionens målsättning ska det vara samiskt deltagande och inflytande i beslut och processer som rör

det samiska landskapet både lokalt och regionalt. Samisk förvaltning av de egna markerna som i exemplet Laponia stämmer väl överens med konventionens intentioner. En viktig fråga blir hur förändringar i landskapet, till exempel på grund av exploateringar eller klimatförändringar, ska hanteras.

5.4.1 Målsättning Landskapskonventionens intentioner är implementerade

5.5 Miljökvalitetsmålen

Storslagen fjällmiljö

Riksdagens definition: "Fjällen ska ha en hög grad av ursprunglighet vad gäller biologisk mångfald, upplevelsevärden samt natur- och kulturvärden. Verksamheter i fjällen ska bedrivas med hänsyn till dessa värden och så att en hållbar utveckling främjas. Särskilt värdefulla områden ska skyddas mot ingrepp och andra störningar".

Levande skogar

Riksdagens definition: "Skogens och skogsmarkens värde för biologisk produktion ska skyddas samtidigt som den biologiska mångfalden bevaras samt kulturmiljövärden och sociala värden värnas."

Myllrande våtmarker

Riksdagens definition: "Våtmarkernas ekologiska och vattenhushållande funktion i landskapet ska bibehållas och värdefulla våtmarker bevaras för framtiden".

2012 gjorde Naturvårdsverket en fördjupad utvärdering av miljömålsarbetet. Bedömningen var att 14 av de 16 miljökvalitetsmål som riksdagen beslutat om inte kommer att nås till mållåret 2020. Bland målen som inte nås ingår Storslagen fjällmiljö, Levande skogar och Myllrande våtmarker. I fjällmiljön är kunskapen om kulturmiljövärden fortfarande bristfällig. Merparten har inte heller inventerats. Hotbilden har ökat genom bland annat mineralprospekteringar och etablering av vindkraftsparker. Detta i kombination med ökande turism och fler terrängfordon påverkar rennäringen negativt och kan vara förödande för möjligheterna att behålla ett betespräglad fjällandskap. I våtmarkerna förstörs kulturhistoriska värden genom torvbrytning och skogsbruk samt upphörd hävd. I skogsmarken skadas fortfarande ungefär 50 % av fornlämningarna i samband med avverkningar. Beträffande miljökvalitetsmålet Storslagen fjällmiljö så genomför Naturvårdsverket en särskild satsning på forskning som kan vara ett stöd för arbetet med att uppnå målet. Satsningen vill uppmuntra ett helhetsperspektiv på fjällandskapet och bygger på nära samverkan med berörda fjällaktörer. Tillsammans med RAÄ har det gjorts en speciell utlysning för medel till forskning om integrerad natur- och kulturmiljövård. Även medel för att implementera forskningsresultaten har avsatts. Hela satsningen pågår 2013–2017. Forskningssatsningen följs av en arbetsgrupp där bland annat

representanter från Sametinget, SSR och Ájtte ingår. Även länsstyrelser och turismorganisationer är representerade i arbetsgruppen.

5.5.1. Målsättning

Resurser är avsatta så att de nationella miljökvalitetsmålen kan uppnås.

5.5.2 Behov och prioriterade områden

- Dokumentation av lämningar och miljöer i fjällandskap.
- Uppföljning av skador på fornlämningar i skogslandet.
- Dokumentation av samiska miljöer i våtmarker.

5.6 Vård och skydd

Utifrån den mångfacetterade hotbild som är aktuell för åtskilliga samiska kulturmiljöer finns det ett växande behov av skydd i olika former. Kommunerna har stora möjligheter att skydda och vårda samiska kulturmiljöer genom sina planinstrument detaljplan, översiktsplan och områdesbestämmelser. Det finns även möjligheter för staten att skydda värdefulla kulturmiljöer genom att till exempel inrätta kulturresevat eller besluta om byggnadsminne. Även kommuner kan inrätta kulturresevat. Särskilt två planeringsinstrument känns extra viktiga att arbeta vidare med. Dels riksintressena för kulturmiljövärden och dels de kommunala kulturmiljöprogrammen. Riksintresse för kulturmiljövärden: Riksintressen är geografiska områden med värden av nationell betydelse. Områdena ska enligt Miljöbalken så långt som möjligt skyddas mot åtgärder som påtagligt kan skada dessa värden. RAÄ har en nationell överblick över landets riksintressen för kulturmiljövärden. Boverket har uppsikt över hur systemet med riksintressen tillämpas. Riksintressen för kulturmiljövärden upprättades i samband med den fysiska riksplaneringen på 1970-talet som en del i en strategi för att integrera kulturmiljövärdens intressen i samhällsplaneringen. Krav ställdes på att ha en helhetssyn med utgångspunkt från de kulturhistoriska värdena i samlade miljöer, jämfört med tidigare då utgångspunkten var äldre objekt som unika eller synnerligen märkvärdiga. Översyn av riksintresseområdena sker med viss oregelbundenhet och många områden har fortfarande samma motivering som de gavs på 1970-talet. Ny kunskap har inte alltid inarbetats i urval och beskrivningar. Kommunala kulturmiljöprogram: Det är kommunerna själva som svarar för innehållet i de kommunala kulturmiljöprogrammen. Kommunerna har också ett stort ansvar och befogenheter gällande olika åtgärder som skydd för miljöerna eller objekten. De kulturhistoriska värden som lyfts fram i programmet bör inarbetas i den kommunala översiktsplanen. Ett av problemen med de kommunala kulturmiljöprogrammen är att det har saknats en tydlig och enhetlig definition av vad ett kulturmiljöprogram är, samt att de ofta bygger på äldre inventeringsmaterial som byggnads- eller fornminnesinventeringar från 1970- och 1980-talen. Några kommuner har därför valt, eller står inför att, revidera

sina kulturmiljöprogram. Inför kommande översyner av riksintressen och kommunala kulturmiljöprogram är det viktigt att samiska värden inarbetas och att värdefulla landskapselement ges en tydlig plats. Förutom att arbetet ska ske i samarbete med samebyar, föreningar och andra samiska institutioner bör även vikt läggas vid att de samiska samordnarna involveras i arbetet. Sverige har i dag 19 samiska förvaltningskommuner. I språklagen, som ligger till grund för inrättandet av förvaltningskommunerna, anges att ”det allmänna har ett särskilt ansvar för att skydda och främja de nationella minoritetsspråken. Det allmänna ska även i övrigt främja de nationella minoriteternas möjligheter att behålla och utveckla sin kultur i Sverige. Barns utveckling av en kulturell identitet och användning av det egna minoritetsspråket ska främjas särskilt.” (Språklagen 2009:600, 4 §). Översyn av kommunala kulturmiljöprogram skall alltså även ses som ett sätt att tydliggöra och utveckla de samiska förvaltningskommunernas ansvar och möjligheter.

5.6.1. Målsättningar

Vid programtidens slut är kommunala kulturmiljöprogram och riksintressen för kulturmiljövården inom det samiska området reviderade utifrån ett samiskt perspektiv. Det finns ett representativt urval av samiska lämningar och kulturmiljöer som är skyddade och vårdade.

5.6.2. Behov och prioriterade områden

- Samebyarna arbetar fram kulturmiljöplaner där de väljer ut kulturmiljöer som de anser vara värdefulla att vårda, skydda respektive lyfta fram. Kulturmiljöplanerna ska uppdateras med jämna mellanrum så att de är levande dokument.
- Kommunerna upprättar kulturmiljöprogram och strategier där samiska miljöer är ett självklart inslag. Arbetet ska göras i samarbete med samiska institutioner, samebyar och föreningar.
- De statliga markägarna har strategier för arbetet med samiska kulturmiljöer.
- Kommunerna har anställda kommunantikvarier, eller flera kommuner ”delar” på en kommunantikvarie med samisk kompetens. Även berörda myndigheter har egna antikvarier med samisk kompetens.
- Initiera uppföljning av skötsel av skyddade och vårdade samiska kulturmiljöer (gällande skadegörelse, nedskräpning, erosion etc.).
- Ökat antal skyddade samiska kulturmiljöer som byggnadsminnen, kulturresevat eller riksintressen
- Ökat skydd och vård av samiska kulturmiljöer i skogslandet.

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