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AN EDUCATIONAL COMPARISON OF SELECTED GROUPS OF NORWEGIAN SAAMI AND NORTH AMERINDIANS

By

Grete Roland

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June

1988

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VITA

The author, Grete Roland, is the daughter of Ingrid J. Schoening and Sverre Roland. She was born on 15 September 1937 in Chicago, Illinois in a Norwegian ethnic neighborhood.

Her elementary and secondary education was obtained in Chicago public schools, except for one year in Norway. She graduated from Tuley High School in 1955 and attended Northwestern University until 1958 when she received the B.S. degree through the School of Speech. She majored in Theatre Arts and English and actively participated in stage productions. She pursued the studies of history, anthropology, psychology, and French as well.

From 1959 to 1964, she lived in Norway, Germany, and Turkey. In Norway, she studied language and literature at the University of Oslo. At Goethe Institute in Brilon Stadt and at the University of Munich, Germany, she studied German language, philology, and literature. Also in Munich, she taught English (EFL) at the Cambridge Institute. In 1963-64 she taught English (EFL) at Amerikan Lisan ve Dersanesi, a language and arts academy in Istanbul, Turkey and took Turkish instruction privately.

She was an instructor of English as a Second Language, English, and Speech at Central YMCA Community College in Chicago from 1965 to 1981. In 1981 she helped to bring its English Language Institute to MacCormac College where she remained as an instructor until 1987.

In the meantime, she was awarded a Sabbatical Leave of Absence to pursue Linguistics at Illinois Institute of Technology and received the M.S. degree in Linguistics in 1971. In 1978 she graduated from Loyola University of Chicago with the M.S. degree in Multicultural Education. She continued her studies in the Comparative-International Education program for the Doctor of Philosophy degree. In 1981 she studied Scandinavian Education, Comparative-International Education Systems, and Special Education at the University of Oslo's International Summer School. For her dissertation, she conducted field research in Chicago, Illinois from 1985 to 1987 and in Finnmark and Oslo, Norway in 1987-88. The author translated and interpreted the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian sources used in the Ph.D. dissertation.

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INTRODUCTION

This study in comparative education examines northern indigenous peoples, in Norway and portions of the United States, who have used higher education for their cultural preservation and development. The study also provides a perspective on the modern trend of indigenous peoples toward self-initiative and self-determination. To gain rights to traditional territories and free enjoyment of culture and language, their efforts have entailed the cooperation of numerous groups at international, national, and local levels. They achieved some success in the 1970s and 1980s. Certain groups of Saami and Amerindians are identified, and their respective institutions of higher education are described and compared as instrumental toward reaching their goals. The focus of this study is on two higher educational institutions: Alta Teachers' College, especially the Saami Department, in Finnmark, Norway and its relationship to the development of an autonomous Norwegian Saami university; and NAES College (Native American Educational Services, Inc.) in Chicago, Illinois (the United States) along with its affiliations. Historical-documentary and qualitative interview methods have been employed to describe and interpret the evolving relationship between northern Europeans, Euroamericans, and indigenous peoples.

Several technicalities of translation from the Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish orthographical styles to that of American-English used by the author need clarification. The Norwegian and Swedish umlauts

have been anglicized. For example, the Norwegian umlauts ø å æ have been been changed to "oe aa ae" respectively. In the Norwegian style of writing, a book and or periodical title begins with a capital letter but is followed by words with small letters. The author has faithfully footnoted according to the style clearly given in the original source; otherwise, the American style is used. Certain Norwegian and Saami terms have been included (and explained in English) with respect to an international and/or internationally minded readership. Their inclusion helps to avoid the repetition of explanations as well as to remind the reader of the fact that special concepts and terms often do not have exact equivalents in another language. The pronunciation of these terms are generally similar to that of German and other Indo-European languages, although Saami or Lappish does not belong to this language family. For example, the above umlauts roughly correspond to the Eng-English: "u(r) aw a," as in the pronunciation of the words "purse," "pawn," and "pan." The Norwegian vowel sound "y" is a combination of the English consonant sound "y" and vowel sound "u(r)." The remaining vowel sounds, however, generally follow the pronunciation of Indo-European languages other than English. Except for the consonant sound "j" which is pronounced as the English consonant "y," the Norwegian and Saami consonants are similar to those of English. A knowledge of German, French, Spanish, or a Slavic language will serve the reader in pronouncing the foreign terms fairly well.

The interview questionnaire (in appendix A) has been used for the principal organizers, faculty, and alumni of the two higher educational institutions described in chapters 1 and 6. The interviews have

been interpreted in these chapters for further clarification and updating. Of special interest to this researcher has been the development of an indigenous leadership and how it has attempted to resolve differences between dominant and minority cultures through education. For this purpose, the interviews have been insightful. The final intention (and conclusion) of the study is to compare the specialized higher educational institutions and their development by the selected indigenous groups and to comment on future directions.

International indigenous organizations have encouraged the indigenous peoples in the northern democracies to demand their rights. These organizations have adhered to the United Nations conventions on indigenous and minority peoples and human rights elaborated upon in chapter 1. Therefore this introduction will include a description of indigenous peoples' efforts at organization on an international level. It will also provide a definition of "indigenousness" made by indigenous peoples and a list of their demands. Finally it will render a perspective of Amerindian and Saami self-determination in the postwar era that will be discussed further in the conclusion.

Douglas E. Sanders, a main legal advisor for International Work Group of Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), described the formation of World Council of Indigenous People (WCIP), organized in 1975, and its conference achievements. According to Sanders, it marked the beginning of collaboration between indigenous peoples on an international scale. George Manuel, a member of the Shushwap tribe in British Columbia, traveled as head of National Indian Brotherhood of Canada (1970-1976) to New Zealand and Australia. In 1972 he was as advisor with the

Canadian delegation to "The United Nations Conference on the Environment," a conference held in Stockholm. He received an invitation to visit the Saami areas in northern Sweden and thereby opened contacts with Saami indigenous people. After the United Nations Stockholm conference, he visited International Labour Organization (ILO), World Council of Churches in Geneva, IWGIA in Copenhagen, Survival International, and Anti-Slavery Society in London. Then at a press conference in Copenhagen, Manuel announced his plan for a world conference of indigenous peoples. He initiated a working relationship with the National Congress of American Indians in the United States and set the plans for the conference. In Sanders' view, Manuel was committed to the principle that indigenous peoples had to organize and control the conference.[1]

In August 1972 the general assembly of the National Indian Brotherhood (NAIB) endorsed the idea of an indigenous international conference and authorized NAIB to apply for "Non-Governmental Organization status" at the United Nations. Eventually, the World Council accepted the status of NAIB as a nongovernmental agency which gave it recognition from the United Nations. Under Manuel's leadership, the World Council became the definitive body of encouragement and guidance for indigenous peoples with the full approval and support of the Canadian government. The initial organizing meeting was hosted by the government of Guyana and its Prime Minister Forbes Burnham. At this 1974 meeting, a social and political definition of "indigenous people" was formulated for the purpose of delegate status at the proposed conference:

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[1]Douglas E. Sanders, The Formation of the World Conference of Indigenous People 29, (Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), 1977), 10-11.

> The term indigenous people refers to people living in countries which have a population composed of differing ethnic or racial groups who are descendants of the earliest populations living in the area and who do not as a group control the national government of the countries within which they live.[2]

The second organizational meeting was held in Copenhagen during 16-18 June 1975. There Secretary of State Hugh Faulkner of Canada welcomed the delegates to the Port Alberni conference which was to take place from 27 to 31 October of the same year. By no means a radical endeavor, the leaders who worked for the formation of the World Council received approval and support from governments, church groups, and others. Financial support came from the governments of Canada, Guyana, Norway, and Denmark. Additional funds came from World Council of Churches, IWGIA, Swedish IWGIA, the United Nations Association of Denmark, the Faculty of Humanities at Copenhagen University, the Anglican church of Canada, Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace, and Oxfam Canada.

The international conference at Port Alberni, British Columbia was hosted by the Sheshaht band of Nootka Indians, among the most prosperous of the Canadian bands. Gathered together to meet on this Indian soil on the west coast of Vancouver Island were 260 persons, fifty-two delegates and representatives of nineteen countries. The Nootka provided a lavish seafood banquet for the Saami, Inuit, Maori, Australian aborigine, and Indian people who attended. In the evenings, they all

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[2]Ibid., 12; In April 1981 the concept of "before the colonizers came and a nation-state existed" was added, by Noel Dyck, ed., Indigenous Peoples and the Nation-State, (Canada: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1985).

celebrated by wearing native costumes and performing traditional songs and dances in a ceremonial display of multi-indigenous cultures.

The conference was opened by George Clutesi, an elder of the Sheshaht people, who chanted a traditional prayer. Speeches of welcome were made by the three Canadian delegates and by the Honourable Hugh Faulkner. On the first afternoon, there was a presentation by Sam Deloria of the United States concerning United Nations activity and the study underway by "the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Indigenous Minorities of the Commission on Human Rights," which was under the United Nations Economic and Social Council. Subsequently, the delegates were divided into groups which took part in five workshops for the three ensuing days. The workshops were on the following themes: (1) representation at the United Nations; (2) the charter of the World Council of Indigenous People; (3) social, economic and political justice; (4) retention of cultural indentity; and (5) retention of land and natural resources.[3]

Sanders further noted that all of the delegates realized they shared common experiences of oppression, yet this varied from "mild" racial discrimination to ethnocide and genocide. On the final two days, the charter of the new organization was approved. George Manuel was elected chairman. Sam Deloria was elected secretary general, responsible for the work at the United Nations. A board was elected consisting of representatives from the South Pacific (Neil Watene of New Zealand), Europe-Greenland (Aslak Nils Sara of Norway), and Central and South America. Finally the "Solemn Declaration" was adopted:

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[3]Ibid., 16.

We the Indigenous Peoples of the world, united in this corner of our Mother the Earth in a great assembly of men of wisdom, declare to all nations:

We glory in our proud past:
when the earth was our nurturing mother,
when the night sky formed our common roof,
when Sun and Moon were our parents,
when all were brothers and sisters,
when our great civilizations grew under the sun,
when our chiefs and elders were great leaders,
when justice ruled the Law and its execution.

Then other peoples arrived:
thirsting for blood, for gold, for land and all its wealth,
carrying the cross and the sword, one in each hand,
without knowing or waiting to learn the ways of our worlds,
they considered us to be lower than the animals,
they stole our lands from us and took us from our lands,
they made slaves of the Sons of the sun

However, they have never been able to eliminate us,
nor to erase our memories of what we were,
because we are the culture of the earth and the sky,
we are of ancient descent and we are millions,
and although our whole universe may be ravaged,
our people will live on
for longer than even the kingdom of death.

Now we have come from the four corners of the earth,
we protest before the concert of nations
that, "we are the Indigenous peoples, we who have a consciousness of culture and peoplehood
on the edge of each country's borders and marginal to each country's citizenship."

And rising up after centuries of oppression,
evoking the greatness of our ancestors,
in the memory of our Indigenous martyrs,
and in homage to the counsel of our wise elders:

We vow to control again our own destiny and
recover our complete humanity and
pride in being Indigenous People.[4]

With great resolve, the conference undertook a study of discrimination against the indigenous peoples to submit to a United Nations study

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[4]Ibid., 17-18.

already in progress. (The government of Brazil was specifically criticized for policies of genocide and ethnocide.) Resolutions for economic, cultural, political, and social rights and for the retention of lands and natural resources were approved. The goals of the conference had been achieved and World Council of Indigenous Peoples was formed.

In 1976 George Manuel traveled to Scandinavia to attend the biennial Saami conference in Finland. He visited Greenland, Denmark, and Norway with a Canadian government delegation headed by Faulkner. When Manuel retired as president of NAIB in September 1976, the World Council's files were transferred to the University of Lethbridge from the NAIB offices in Ottawa. They were overseen by Marie Marule, the primary organizer along with Manuel of the Port Alberni conference and a faculty member of the Department of Native American Studies at the university. In February 1977 a regional meeting in Panama led to the creation of the Central American Indigenous Organization to function as a regional constituent organization within the World Council. There the World Council executive board held its first meeting since the Port Alberni conference. They accepted the Saami peoples' invitation to host the next international conference in Kiruna in northern Sweden.[5]

It would be well to reflect on the conclusions drawn from these historically and internationally significant occurrences of the mid-1970s. First of all, the pattern of politically autonomous indigenous peoples' organizations with governmental support was to become common among democratic nations. In the United States, funding has usually come from semipublic foundations instead of from direct government

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[5]Ibid., passim.

grants. Also government programs for Indian people have shown recognition of the fact that the indigenous population has not achieved equal social status. Indeed, they have not adequately participated in the political life of the nation-state. The former policies of social and political integration have seemingly failed. Democratic nations have found that consistent political accomodation cannot be achieved without the existence of indigenous leaders, willing and able to participate in the political practices of the nation. As a result funding programs have been designed to make that leadership possible. The faulty view that integration and assimilation are the only possible solutions to the "indigenous or minority peoples' problem" has been discarded. It has been replaced by governmental support of indigenous leaders who have learned from the path set by indigenous pioneers, such as Manuel.

The epoch of international concern with internal human rights questions began after World War II and affected some countries. In 1977 the Norwegian minister of foreign affairs in Prime Minister Odvar Nordli's cabinet presented a report in the Norwegian Parliament on the international protection of human rights which referred to:

> ...the increasing concern and attention in the last few years about the vulnerable situation in which many indigenous people live. It is a question of minorities that are not in control of sufficient resources to protect their interests and maintain their traditional forms of life.[6]

The report commended the World Council and IWGIA's activities. Scandinavian governments were to become increasingly sensitized to their international image, especially by their treatment of indigenous peoples.

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[6]Ibid., 23-25.

At the beginning of the 1974 meeting in Guyana, Angmalortok Olsen of Greenland stated the following for the indigenous people:

> It had dawned upon us that even though we sit in the far corner of the world, there is a movement through the whole world of ideas and of peoples and it seems to us that maybe we could do our little bit to humanise the present world as it is.[7]

In this study, special attention will be given to the preservation of Amerindian and Saami cultures and concepts of cultural identity. Most deservedly it will fall upon the indigenous leaders who have particularly been energized toward the qualitative nurturing of their peoples' cultural identity through organizations and institutions. The indigenous leaders who have acquired a worldview have not only facilitated improving conditions for their own people but have also contributed invaluably to the movement of ideas in the Northern Hemisphere. Indigenous peoples have possessed an oral communicatory heritage, which now has been turned to advantage by utilizing the media on national and global levels. Advanced technology, once used against them, has recently enabled them to meet and organize from great distances as well as to inform the public and gain support. The indigenous leaders' advocacy of human rights and preservation of natural resources will continue to activate other leaders in the same direction. It may force others to rethink the human adjustments demanded by an age of dynamic technology and modernization or in "the present world as it is." It has become apparent that indigenous leaders representing about 35 million people must be allowed to take part in decision making that invariably will effect the whole planet.

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[7]Ibid., 26.

CHAPTER I

THE SAAMI PEOPLE: ORIGIN, CULTURE, AND LOSS: A PREHISTORIC AND HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The Saami of the northern cap are identified, along with selected North American Indians, in this comparative educational study. The premise for such a comparison of the different cultural groups is similarity of their indigenousness, their domination by aggressive and colonizing powers, and the effects of domination. Accordingly, these dominated groups have had in common the resultant loss of culture and language as well as disadvantaged social conditions. Also, they have utilized certain tactics to retrieve and develop their cultures through the laws and education. Certain Amerindians living in the United States have established specialized a higher educational institution with the mission of cultural retrieval and preservation. Likewise, certain Norwegian Saami have chosen education to ensure cultural protection. The enfolding overview on the Saami will focus on the Norwegian Saami in the second halves of both chapters 1 and 2. Chapter 2 will describe international and national efforts toward raising Saami social status, and chapter 3 will describe Norwegian Saami organizations and education, especially the formation of Saami college or university.

That Amerindians, once identified as such, were the first inhabitants of the North American continent has been substantiated by the laws of the United States and Canada and by the academic disciplines of

archaeology, anthropology, and history. This has not been the case with the Saami. As a matter of fact Saami status has long been debated legally and professionally. Whether or not the Saami are indigenous has been an important issue for determining Saami rights to their homelands in Norway. For this reason certain questions have been posed regarding the Saami. The criteria suggested are the following:

1. Historical background: Who lived on the land before the conquering and/or colonizing people came?
2. Cultural background: How were the people, already inhabiting the area under dispute, different from the latecomers?
3. Economic background: What was the means of subsistence? Was it similar to that of indigenous people the world over?
4. Technological state: Were the "original people" less effective in technology? Did they blend in with nature or did they seek to control it?
5. Political background: Were the "original people" organized on a basis of power and control? Did they possess a political "machinery?" Were they in the thick of decision making over their destiny ie. their rights to the use of the natural resources, especially land?[1]

An attempt to answer these questions has necessitated a prehistoric and an historical overview of the Saami. The immediate answer to the questions of criterion five is "no." The ways in which the Saami did not have control over their own lives, nor have rights to natural resources among other lack of rights, and the reasons for this will be explained in this chapter and the next. Chapter 2 will treat the period after World War II until the present. How the Saami organized to achieve more rights will be covered in chapter 3.

The aforementioned comparative themes will echo throughout this half of the study in three chapters on the Saami. The reoccurring themes of domination, exploitation, assimilation, compensation, and

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[1]Einhart Lorenz, Samefolket i historien, (Oslo: Pax Forlag A.s, 1981).

others in the span of time have been true in the minority/majority relationship in Norway and in the United States. Also comparing the historical overviews of the two groups will reveal some stark differences between the Saami and Amerindians. Despite these differences, the selected groups developed similar goals in their quest for heightened social status. An historical perspective of the Saami people will reveal the change in their reactions to social and cultural domination after World War II. These reactions will be shown to nearly parallel those of the Amerindian people in the United States in the postwar decades. Likewise such an overview will reveal the change in official attitudes and actions toward these indigenous and minority peoples. The conclusions reached will bring to light certain universal themes in human relationship between majority and minority groups.

Saami Origin and Habitation

This section responds to criteria one and two and the questions: who lived on the land before the conquering and/or colonizing people came and how the people, already inhabiting the area under dispute, were different from the latecomers. The answers to these questions have come from the academic disciplines of archaeology, linguistics, and anthropology. A description of the Saami inhabited land mass further clarifies Saami recent claims to land based on prehistoric and historical use.

Certain evidence has led to the scholarly conclusion that the Saami inhabited the northern cap in prehistoric times. The earliest known remains of human habitation have been found along the coast of northern Norway. By the age of the Alta rock carvings, the Komsa

culture originated in about 7200-2500 B.C. or the Early Stone Age. The carvings were made on broad, flat coastal boulders and showed scenes of reindeer herding with the practice of corraling. They depicted fishing and hunting scenes which included the bear hunt. Also shown were human figures, sod houses, boats, weapons, and patterns open to various interpretations. Some of the figures ressembled gods, spirits, and shamans performing according to a ritualistic belief. Who the artists were has been supposition. Yet, many Saami and non-Saami have found the similarities to traditional Saami culture inescapable.[2]

The rock carvings were first discovered at the bottom of Alta Fjord in 1973. Since then, many more have been discovered so that today they can be seen in four different regions. The major find was the expansive Hjemmeluft/Jiebmaluokta in Alta. The Komsa culture has been generally believed to have had contacts with the Fosna culture of the Norwegian coast and the Kamkeramikk, comb-pottery culture, in the south. The transition from the Stone Age to the beginning of the Saami Iron Age has pointed to the Kjelmoey (Saami) culture. The discovery of the Alta carvings in 1973 at the time of the Saami's quest for equal rights in Norway was significant, because it rekindled the debate of Saami indigenousness and rights to land and natural resources.

A theory based on linguistic research has come from Konrad Nielsen. He claimed the early inhabitants of the northern cap were a Samoyed tribe that emigrated from central parts of northern Europe more than ten thousand years ago. They followed two routes, one west of the

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[2]Knut Helskog, "The Rock Carvings in Hjemmeluft/Jiebmaluokta," (Alta: tourist brochure, 1986), and author's observations.

glacier along the Norwegian coast and the other east of the glacier. Their emigration continued throughout the Stone Age. These people met with a Proto-Finnish-speaking people and acquired their language. Together they developed the Kamkeramikk culture which lasted from 3400 to 2500 or 4200 B.C.[3]

Few of the scientists and researchers have doubted the existence of Saami habitation before the millenium. The regions inland of the northern cap have revealed the early age of metal around 1600 B.C. as an extension of the Bronze Age to the east. This culture has often been referred to as Saami or Proto-Saami or by the Swedish-Finnish term of "Lappish," which has had a derogatory connotation in Norway. The people that carried this culture spoke a Finno-Ugric language and apparently came from the East. Linguistically, a clear relationship has been shown between the two language groups, the Saami and the Baltic Finns, so they have most likely shared common ancestors who spoke a Proto-Finnic language. It has been concluded that this culture originated in the Ural mountains during the early metal era or about the year 2000 B.C. by the use of copper. The Saami Iron Age that continued to the early 1500s B.C. held a comparably uniform culture throughout the land mass of the northern cap inhabited by the Saami.[4]

The above speculations regarding the origin of the Saami have been intriguing but countered with objections. As an example, if the Saami's ancestors were the mesolithic Komsa people, then they were on

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[3]Lorenz, Samefolket i historien, 11; Asbjoern Nesheim, Samene og deres kultur, (Oslo: Tanum-Norli, 1979), 10-11.

[4]Samuli Aikio, "The History of the Saami" (Kautokeino: The Nordic Saami Institute), photocopied.

the northern coast of Scandinavia before the ancestors of the Finns arrived. It has been asserted that the Finno-Ugric speaking population came from the East much later. A favored hypothesis, therefore, has been that the Saami were originally a Samoyed tribe who migrated northwestward in about 500 B.C. Linguistic research has offered the greatest support for this. Undoubtedly the Saami were among the very early inhabitants of Finno-Scandinavia. Various areas of Finland definitely have revealed an older Saami place name stratum than any other that has yet been found.[5]

Nearing the turn of the millenium, about 300 to 400 B.C., archaeological discoveries have clearly pointed to a Saami culture with the housing types, burial customs, and living patterns typical of Saami culture today. In fact, a "cultural border" has been discovered. On one side were the farmers who lived along the coast from southern Troms and northward. On the other side were the hunters who were inland as far south as Oesterdalen and along the coastline starting at Troms and going northward to Finnmark and the Kola Peninsula. The former were indications of Norse ancestors whereas the latter were the ancestors of the Saami.

Additional indications of early Saami habitation on the northern cap have come from the archaeological find dating about A.D. 300 to 400 in Kjelmoeya, south Varanger. It had signs and artifacts of the Saami culture which pointed to a seminomadic hunting and trapping people. It was here the Saami as a distinct people originated. The discoveries

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[5]Karl Nikkul, The Lappish Nation: Citizens of Four Nations, vol. 122, (Bloomington: Indiana University Publications, 1977).

were indisputably Saami. They also revealed early exchanges with the Norse farming people which found linguistic support from the Old Norse loan words for house pets and farming terminology in the Saami language. There were exchanges between Saami and non-Saami seafaring people as well. These were disclosed by the seafaring Saami's use of a Proto-Finnish word for "sail," but the words for the many details of a boat were in Proto-Norse. An Old Saami (Lappish) word has been used for the light weight Saami river boats of today. In summary, the Saami acquired some of their boat making skill for seaworthy ships from the Vikings, of whom the Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes are descendants. Moreover in prehistoric times both the Saami and non-Saami Scandinavians shared certain areas of the northern cap while other areas were inhabited by either group exclusively.[6]

The enigma of the Saami, of what kind of people they were, has found no solution in investigations made by physical anthropologists. In a study of blood and serum types in addition to enzyme polymorphisms, the conclusions reached were generally the same. The most common Saami blood type, A/2, was characteristic to Europeans. The frequency of this blood type was found to increase toward the north in Sweden and Finland.[7] Other factors gleaned the same results: that the Saami were of European "race;" definitely, many ressembled Scandinavians but for a general tendency toward shorter and finer stature. Centuries of contacts with non-Saami Scandinavians, Russians, Samoyeds, and others

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[6]Nesheim, Samene og deres kultur, 16-21.

[7]According to United States sources, A/2 is a subgroup of A. For example, A/1 occurs in 80 percent and A/2 in 20 percent of the Caucasian population in the United States.

converged into a variety of Nordic "racial" types. Clearly, the question of how the Saami evolved as a culturally distinct people in prehistoric and historical times has been easier to answer than what race or type of people they originally were. Therefore the Saami's cultural uniqueness has been used to define "a Saami" in Scandinavian legal terms. This has contrasted to United States official definitions that distinguish an American Indian by his/her having "Indian blood."[8]

Saami Cultural Groups, Land, and Foreign Domination

The oldest known reliable and most informative record of the Saami has come from Ottar, a merchant and farmer from Haalogaland. Haalogaland was the name for the extensive coastal area settled by Norsemen. Ottar related information about the northern part of Norway to King Alfred of England at the end of 800 A.D. He bragged that he lived the farthest north of all Norsemen. He had sailed to and all the way around the Kola Peninsula. The entire area was uninhabited except for a few Saami fishermen, bird trappers, and hunters. Ottar himself was very rich. He owned six hundred tame reindeer; six of them were lures which, he said, were quite valuable to the Saami. In his possession were twenty head of cattle, twenty sheep and twenty swine. What little he plowed, he plowed with horses. Most of his income came from the taxes the Saami paid him. The taxes were paid in furs, feathers, walrus tusks, whale bone, and rope for ships made from the skins of whale and seal. The Saami paid according to their means. The richest

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[8]Nikkul, The Lappish Nation, xii, and chapter 4 of this study on Amerindians.

paid in reindeer, bear skins, and various kinds of furs. It has been assumed that Ottar lived in Lenvik or the Malangen area, a bit north of an old Saami farming territory. Above all, these Saami were hunters; however, at the same time they kept tame reindeer. Ottar enlightened us about the Saami's seminomadic lifestyle with the statement that the Saami hunted in the winter and fished in the summer (as did the Kjelmoey Saami). The Saami dialect spoken east of the Kola has shown Norse influence as early as the ninth century. This has established the fact that the Saami and the Norsemen had frequent contacts and lived closely to one another during this time.[9]

The land of the northern cap including the Kola peninsula was called Finnmork which meant the land of the "Finns" or the Saami. The Norsemen had always referred to the Saami as finner. In order to fish the Norsemen moved farther up along the northern coast and in the fjords where the Saami were; nevertheless, the inland territory remained exclusively Saami. The Saami occupied three main areas: the Kjoelen or Koelen mountain ridge in the west; the Finnmark coast; eastern Finland; and Karelia. The duration of time spent in these areas has generally been inferred at almost one thousand years, up to the early Middle Ages.[10] Place names have indicated that Saami lived as far south as Namsen in northern Troendelag before the Viking Age. In Sweden Saami lived as far south as Vilhelmina, parallel to the northernmost part of northern Troendelag. According to Harald the Fairhair's saga, there were Saami in the Dovre regions, and by the mid-sixteenth

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[9]Nesheim, Samene og deres kultur, 22-25.

[10]Aikio, "The Saami in History," 11-12.

century an area of seventeen thousand square kilometers in western Finnmark was at the disposition of the Saami. Thus they can claim indigenousness based on the fact that they have inhabited the land in both prehistoric and historical times.[11]

In the early Middle Ages, the northern cap was sparsely populated by approximately ten thousand people, half of whom were Saami. For the most part the Saami were a hunting, trapping, and pastoral rather than an agricultural people. By Ottar's account, they lived by trading eiderdown, furs, and sealskins and by some reindeer pastorialism. They might have kept small herds that included burden carriers and lures or lokkedyr to attract wild reindeer. The most coveted Saami goods were furs, rope for ships, walrus tusks, eider down, and feathers. The coastal Saami, with whom Ottar had interchanges, had a reputation for being skilled boat builders, carpenters, and handicraft specialists. A distinct folk trait was the Saami's means of subsistence which was almost entirely dependent on nature. This has corresponded to criteria three and four above that the Saami were similar to other indigenous peoples, such as Amerindians, by their means of subsistence and adjustments to nature.[12]

Economic exploitation and domination of the Saami were apparent, according to the Old Norse sagas, probably during Harold the Fairhair's time (about A.D. 850-933). The Egil saga told about Thorolf Kveldulfsson from Sandnes, Norway and his dealings with the Saami to collect

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[11]Nesheim, Samene og deres kultur, 13-14.

[12]Reidar Hirsti, Samisk Fortid, Naatid og Framtid, (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1980), 17-19; Bjoern Aarseth, "Samisk Folkekultur," lecture, University of Oslo, 11 February 1988.

taxes for the great king (Harold the Fairhair). Thorolf also helped the Swedish tax-collectors against the Finnish-speaking Karelians, who traded for the kingdom of Novgorod-Russia. Before 1100 A.D. the Norwegian king demanded taxes from the Ter-Saami on the Kola Peninsula. In 1251 King Haakon Haakonsson made an agreement with Novgorod-Russia for peace in the North, but no border agreements have been found.[13] Inland from the coast, there were no clear-cut boundaries. In 1340 a statement was issued by King Magnus Eriksson of Sweden declaring that those who believed in Christ and became converted were allowed hereditary property in Lapland. Other proclamations of this sort followed. Generally in the 1300s personal liberties and privileges were linked to the church. In 1335 slavery was banned in Sweden but it did not apply to the heathen Saami. For this reason arbitrary taxation of the Saami prevailed. The Saami who fell into debt had to consign goods for three years to the creditor. Other forms of debt slavery were common.[14]

During the late Middle Ages, the northern cap and its coastal areas were active with trade. Many kinds of merchants traded with or plundered the Saami. The first border agreement was between Sweden and Russia in 1323 in Noeteborg, a city by the River Neva. It was Russia's largest fur center. The land on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia came under the Swedish Crown. This cleared the way for Swedish and Finnish colonization into the Saami settlements. As late as 1358 the Swedish king confirmed the Finnish-speaking Birkarliens' right to trade with

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[13]Bjoern Aarseth, "Fra Nordkalottens Historie," Ottar 84 (Tromsoe: April 1975): 9-12.

[14]Nikkul, The Lappish Nation, 49; Aikio, "The History of the Saami," 12.

and to collect taxes from the Saami. The Birkarliens divided the Saami communities and called the districts lappmarker, the largest of which was Kemi. Lule, Torneaa, and Piteaa were similar trade centers. The chief of the Birkarliens gave a part of the gain to the Swedish king.[15]

Not until the sixteenth century did Gustav Vasa restrict the Birkarliens' right to the Saami in the northern outposts in order to control the area himself and expand his own Swedish kingdom, which included the Birkarliens' territory (1553). Fur trading with the Saami was extremely lucrative. In 1553 Vasa doubled the Saami taxes and demanded they go directly to the kingdom. In 1595 Sweden forced Russia to hand over half of the taxes taken from the coastal Saami who lived in the area from Tysfjord to Malangen.[16] From 1593 and into the 1620s, Denmark considered the Arctic coast to the White Sea and in the east as its own territory and demanded a royal passport and payment of a toll to transgress the White Sea. Control over fishing, whaling, and general commercial interests was the aim.[17] After 1593 the Saami were considered Danish-Norwegian subjects and were taxed just as the settlers were. In summary, throughout the Middle Ages the Saami were forced to pay taxes to the kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Russia and to Finnish-speaking Kareliens (under Russian rule) and Birkarliens.[18]

Europe's rising colonial and imperialistic powers drastically

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[15]Aarseth, Ottar 84, 9-12; Nikkul, The Lappish Nation, 49.

[16]Israel Ruong, Samerna i historien och nutiden, 4th ed. (Sweden: Bonnier Fakta Bokfoerlag AB, 1982) 47-48.

[17]Nesheim, Samene og deres kultur, 26-28.

[18]Nikkul, The Lappish Nation, 35, 49; Norway came under Danish rule in 1340.

changed the economy to mercantilism. The Norwegians controlled the dried fish market which was denied to the Saami. Dried fish was in high demand in Catholic Europe. People moved north to benefit from the boom which lasted from 1300 to the 1500s. An economic decline took place in the mid-1500s when there was a sudden drop in fish prices. Norwegian merchants had taken over the fish market but did not manage to control the network of routes and business contracts the Hanseatic League had developed during its heyday.

The period between 1562 and 1789 was one of monopolies. In 1562 the merchants of Bergen controlled northern Norway and enjoyed the support of the Danish government. Similar monopolizing occurred in the Danish colonies of Greenland and Iceland. The Bergen merchants opposed the annual northern market fairs where the coastal Saami had contacts with other Saami, such as Norwegian and Russian Saami as well as by traders from Norway, Russia, Karelia, England, Holland, and the Duchy of Schleswig. The market fairs took place at Vaitolahti, Varanger, Alta, and Lyngen. Around 1600 the coastal Saami culture was flourishing in Finnmark and in the area of Tromsoe. On the Nordland side, Norwegian influence caused the changes that led to the disappearance of the coastal Saami's seminomadism. These Saami, living along the coast and fjords, were affected by the forces of competition and the thrust of assimilation more strongly than the Saami who lived inland.[19]

In the seventeenth century, intrusions on Saami lands accelerated with the emigration of fishermen whose occupation suffered from the lowered fish prices. The intruders sought lands for farming.

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[19]Ibid., 36-37.

The Russians had colonized the Kola Peninsula (already under the Tsar in 1583). Swedes and Finns spread their settlements over the northern cap, as their populations increased. The most energetic of these pioneers were the Finnish-speaking people from the east. All Finnish-speaking immigrants were called kvaener by the Norwegians. Since their language was related to that of the Saami, they blended in more rapidly with the native Saami than did the Norwegians.

By 1700, however, this was not the case in Kemi. The Finnish newcomers practiced slash and burn farming. The fires emptied the forests of game, and the Saami who lived by hunting and trapping became impoverished. Some of them managed to move northwards and westwardly and settled in inland Finnmark while others moved to the coast and fjords. The Kemi Saami who changed to an economic system based on cattle and growing grain became quickly assimilated to the Finnish culture. Thus by the nineteenth century, the Kemi Saami dialect could only be found on scattered notes. The coastal Saami constantly quarreled with the Finns over water rights to fishing, particularly at Lake Kemijarvi. They fought in the courts for nearly two hundred years until the late eighteenth century when they suffered complete loss to their livelihood.[20]

Across the seventeenth century, a major change in Saami subsistence and culture occurred. The old hunting and trapping culture went into decline. The Saami seemed to split into three major groups. The coastal fishing Saami were designated the Sea Saami although those living around Lake Inari were referred to as Fishing Saami. They augmented

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[20]Aikio, "The Saami in History," 23.

their income with domesticated animals. The forest dwelling Saami, living along the lakes and rivers, were both farmers and cattle people. A few kept reindeer. They developed their own dairies in that they milked reindeer and produced cheese for winter provisions and for sale. They combined these occupations with trapping and fishing and were called Forest or Inland Saami. Due to the demand in Europe for reindeer skins and tongues, wild reindeer had all but vanished in the seventeenth century.[21]

Some studies have included an eastern Saami culture developed by the Skolt and Kola or Ter-Saami who have lived at the borders to the east of Norway, Sweden, and Finland and who have taken advantage of the year-round ice-free White Sea and Varanger Fjord of eastern Varanger and the Kola Peninsula. Today their combined livelihood has included fishing, hunting and trapping and making fine horn and bone artifacts (just like those found in Kjelmoey, south Varanger in A.D. 300-400). The Monastery of Pechanga built in 1525 was the focal point for the new cultural mix. When it burned down in 1589, another was built on the Kola. For the most part they have been influenced by the Russian missionaries of the Orthodox church since the sixteenth century. Indeed, they have referred to themselves as nuortalazzak, those from the east.[22]

Along the mountain range between Norway and Sweden or Koelen, the Mountain or Reindeer Saami evolved greater sophistication by taming

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[21]Hirsti, Samisk Fortid, Naatid og Framtid, 17-19; Aarseth, "Samisk Folkekultur," lecture; Nikkul, The Lappish Nation, 35.

[22]Ornulv Vorren and Ernst Manker, Samekulturen, (Tromsoe: Universitetsforlaget, 1976), 119-125.

and breeding reindeer. They developed a seminomadic lifestyle or a seasonal mobility. In the seventeenth century, reindeer husbandry underwent great expansion. Because of their economic success, all Saami reindeer herders as far north as Utsjoki paid taxes to the Swedish Crown. The Kola Peninsula was also a reindeer herding district. There was a spread of population and cultural traits from Finnmark into the Saami Skolt area. Large herds of draught and loadcarrying animals were kept by extended families who had a highly self-subsistent and integrated way of life. The slaughtered reindeer provided meat and skins for clothing and warmth in the tents. The sinews were used for thread so that shoes, mittens, headgear, coats, and other items could be sewn. The fur hides were used for sled covering and bedding. Pouches, bags, and craddles were made. Reindeer milk and blood were preserved in the cleaned rumen. Bones and antlers were made into glue or used as material for a variety of implements. Excessive reindeer products were offered for trade.

Because of their wealth, the reindeer herding culture soon gained prestige. The Reindeer Saami were respectable enough to socialize with government officials. With their reindeer lassoing, capturing, corraling, and unique earmarking system for ownership, the Arctic reindeer "cowboys" became familiar to youth. The stereotypical Saami evolved, and the image of the Saami as only a reindeer herding people has continued to exist. This culture enriched the Saami language with its jargon. However, the division between the Reindeer Saami and the other groups proved detrimental to the latter, for the Sea Saami and

Inland Saami were less respected by comparison. The conflict between these groups has persisted into the present century.[23]

Meanwhile, the Danish-Norwegian government became concerned about the population flight from Finnmark. People were needed for economic and political reasons. To prevent further reduction of population, the government tried different tactics. Those who received business privileges were required to take along a certain number of employees up north. Another advantage to migrating northward was that persons in debt could escape from their creditors. From 1681 to the mid-1700s, a list of decrees was issued that criminals could serve out their time in hard labor in Finnmark. (All of these laws were dismissed with the Criminal Law of 1842.) Governor Schort wrote in 1667 that, since there was an abundance of girls and boys in the house of correction in Copenhagen, some could be sent up to Finnmark. By far, the Danish and Norwegian migrants were hardly the cream of European society.[24]

During the early eighteenth century, an exception to foreign domination of the Saami was the case of Finnish-speaking farmers who settled in Karasjok, Kautokeino, and parts of Tanadal and pioneered farming methods. These immigrants soon adapted to the Saami culture, language, and reindeer herding means of subsistence while they influenced many Saami to farm, at least for supplementary income. In about three generations, the immigrants had disappeared "into the Saami folk." One might assume that the Saami culture and means of subsistence

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[23]Aikio, "The Saami in History," 22.

[24]Ibid.

proved superior for surviving the ecological factors of the tundra.[25]

The Norwegian Bergen consortium of merchants brought its cultural influence to Finnmark. Despite a short period of free trade from 1714 to 1728 when many Norwegians settled up north, Finnmark had been receding into poverty and population flight for about 250 years. The Sea Saami, who were also enculturated into farming, were put into more direct competition with Norwegians by the Bergen consortium. Although some Sea Saami monopolized whaling at which they excelled, no one would buy the Saami's fresh fish catches. They survived as a result of their self-subsistent and diversified livelihood. They have also been praised for their skill at handling fish, for greater initiative, and for a keener sense of economy. Many of the Norwegian fisher folk had a lackadaisical demeanor. At the time they were more oppressed and legally bound than the Saami.[26] Up to 1775 both the Saami and Norwegians were denied land ownership, for the Finnmark area was considered the Danish Crown's. At any rate private ownership of land was alien to the Saami. Some went on with their seasonal way of life. In 1775, in order to encourage and secure colonization, land grants were allowed, and in 1863 a law opened the land to purchase. Still, between 1567 and 1805, the Saami population increased nearly six-fold whereas the Norwegian population decreased by one half.[27]

The economic picture would not be complete without mentioning

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[25]Aarseth, Ottar 84, 28-33.

[26]Ibid., 26-27; Gutorm Gjessing, Norge i Sameland, (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1973), 58-61.

[27]Nikkul, The Lappish Nation, 35.

the Saami "golden age" which was brought by the Pomors. In 1742 the Pomors came to trade, and they were not above smuggling.[28] They would take fresh fish and anything else the Saami had to offer as well as buy dried fish from the Norwegians. These Russian farmers and skippers carried vital goods, and the flour the Saami sought, to the coast of Finnmark and Troms. Even Reindeer Saami and Inland Saami took advantage of the trading opportunities. At the end of the 1700s, Pomor commerce was legalized in Finnmark and later in Troms and Lofoten. Then the Russian Revolution of 1917 put a final stop to it. On the whole, it had stabilized the traditional lifestyles of the Saami, but it had retarded the Saami's adjustment to modern fishing techniques and the money economy of mercantilism.[29]

Saami losses that resulted from the warring northern powers intending to dominate the northern cap have never been wholly determined, but some that were related by the Saami or were historically recorded stand out. Many Saami legends and songs have related about the bands of thieves and killers called tsjuder who came from the east. In 1589 when an armed Swedish-Finnish band destroyed the Monastery of Pechenga, it also wiped out Saami communities in Inari and on the Kola Peninsula. Three years later Swedish troops destroyed coastal villages by the White Sea and Saami villages inland.

All the Saami groups were burdened by multiple taxation. In addition the Kemi Saami became completely assimilated by the Finns, and

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[28]Gjessing, Norge i Sameland, 58-61; Aarseth, Ottar 84, 26-28.

[29]Nesheim, Samene, 47, and Bjoern Aarseth, "Kystsamenes bosetting i rikspolitisk sammenheng," Ottar 137 (Universitetet i Tromsoe, 1982): 27-28.

the Kola Saami and Sea Saami were greatly enculturated by Russians and Norwegians. The Finnish, Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian colonizers appropriated the Saami's traditionally used land, waters, and natural resources. The Saami were likewise exploited by the new economic systems of the developing nation-states. In answer to the questions of criterion five, the Saami did not possess a political organization nor were their rights to pursue their livelihoods recognized except for the purpose of foreign exploitation. As they were less effective in the technology of the Middle Ages (criterion four), they lacked the means to resist domination. In these ways, the Saami can be compared to indigenous peoples the world over.

Saami Culture and Domination by Church and Law

The oppression of the Saami and their culture by the governments of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark-Norway surrounding the Saami territories was aided by the Christian missions. An historical perspective will disclose the combined goals of the missions and land acquisition by the northern powers. During Haakon Haakonsson's reign in the thirteenth century, churches were built in Ofoten, Lenvik, and on Tromsoeya. The practice continued into the following centuries, and the spread of churches contributed to the increase of Norwegian settlements. The earliest conversions of the Saami to Christianity occurred in the thirteenth century by the Norwegian missions. To encourage Saami conversion to Christianity, in 1313 Norway's Haakon Magnusson V proclaimed that a Saami who had been a Christian for twenty years would receive a three-quarter's reduction of fines by the church and the law. In the late fourteenth century, the Norwegian missions came under Danish rule.

Swedish missions increased in the fourteenth century as well. The northern cap was pinpointed for the competition for souls between the Roman Catholic church and the Russian Orthodox church. In the sixteenth century, the Russian Saami were successfully converted to Christianity. In the eighteenth century, the Russian faith was established even in the Neiden area.

The Reformation was introduced to Scandinavia in 1536. Luther's catechism and the Bible were to be taught in the language of the people. Although parents were responsible for instructing their children, the Lutheran church assumed responsibility if parents were incapable. Accompanying this Lutheran religious revitalization were Sweden's expansionist policies on the coast of Norway. During the Kalmar War (1611-13), Denmark put a stop to Sweden's efforts, and soon after the war Denmark's Kristian IV demanded that a church be built in Tysfjord on this northern coast. He proclaimed that the clergy had to learn the Saami language and that they would receive higher pay for missionary work in northern Norway. In 1635 he called for traveling "Saami ministers" to teach the Word. However the call was hardly heeded at this time. No doubt few wished to live in the outermost regions of the North.[30]

In Sweden Lutheran education of the Saami was spreading. There were schools for Saami boys in Piteaa, where Rector Andreaa prepared reading materials, such as an ABC primer, a liturgy, and a hymnbook in the Saami language. Other schools for the Saami were in Lycksele (1632) and at the Haernoesand Gymnasium. Saami students could continue their

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[30]Aarseth, Ottar 84.

education at the University of Uppsala. From 1657 the Piteaa school was directed by a Saami cleric, O. S. Graan, who also published writings in the Saami language. The largest project for educational purposes was Manuale Lapponicum of 1648. Tornaeus, the vicar of Alatornio, collaborated with the Saami Lars Paalsson and the other Saami interpreters to write the over one-thousand-page work. At the turn of the century, no books were published in Saami (Lappish) for the next fifty years.[31]

The missionaries were determined to rid "their lands" of the pagan beliefs. The Saami distinguished themselves by their belief in mythology, the worship of ancestral spirits in specially designated mountains and boulders and of spirits in natural phenomena and objects. Their view of the universe involved another world existing parallel to the tangible world. In the saivo, there was more perfection and a life after death. Protection could be achieved through the spiritual forces. An important ritual and accompanying practices were connected to the bear hunt. This particular cultural trait has been commonly found in the Arctic regions, so too has the one of the shaman or noaidi who could "travel to another world," contact spirits, and fall into ecstacy. A separate priesthood did not exist; instead, the head of the family could communicate with the gods. When possessed of extraordinary gifts, he acquired the reputation of a shaman. People would come from great distances for his advice. The Saami shaman used a symbolically decorated drum in a ceremony while the others danced around him to beating and chanting. The ecstatic experience was relived in communion with the congregation or afterwards. The core of the ritual lay in its

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[31]Aikio, "The Saami in History," 26-27.

brotherly and sisterly unity.

The Saami also sang a joik; it was a gutteral and nasal chant whose lyrics could acquire poetic qualities. The subjects of the joik varied from people to things, but mostly human personalities were sung. Most Christians reacted adversely to the Saami beliefs, rituals, and music, calling them "primitive superstition." At various historical times, provincial law codes prohibited royal subjects from believing in Saami sorcerers or from traveling to "Saamiland" in search of sorcery or of a cure for illness. The harshest persecutions of sorcerers took place in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and included the Saami worshipers.[32]

In spite of the pressures to convert to Christianity, the Saami's original "religion" prevailed in certain places and ways. Before the 1700s, groups of Saami kept most of their cultural life, which was an intricate part of their means of subsistence and family organization. The Saami town or siida consisted of a number of families. It could vary from a few to twenty or thirty families with hundreds of children and adults. The siida had its roots in the ancient hunting and fishing culture. It was for the purpose of regulating the fishing and hunting rights to land and sharing food. Beaver trapping, wild reindeer hunting, and extensive systems for snaring wild animals were carried out by the siida. In the siida, each family had a norraz or representative, usually the male head of the family. Collectively they formed a council. Decisions were often reached, after elaborate

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[32]Aikio, "The Saami in History," 12, 25-26; Gjessing, Norge i Sameland, 83; Nikkul, The Lappish Nation, 36.

BAWO TOWER

discussion, by lottery and each one lasted for a year. However some land and fishing-water rights became inherited. The poor and sick were taken care of by the whole siida. No one went without food.

Occupations were divided between men and women. The men were the hunters whereas fur preparation and sewing clothes were women's work. Men cooked the meat they had hunted, although both sexes could cook fish and reindeer meat. This custom came from ancient taboo laws connected with the hunt which were for the protection of female fertility. Though the men controlled reindeer herding, the women's advice had to be respected. Women, in general, had a respected independence and always participated in economic decisions.[33]

Courtship was based on the bride price. The courting male had to give gifts to the prospective bride's parents and relatives, the most important of whom was the mother. She decided whether or not to accept the marriage. The male always had some spokesman with him and when the group arrived at the tent, the spokesmen praised the marriageable male. Then he and the male were challenged by the family and relatives of the female who praised her. It ended in haggling over the bride price. If accepted, the new husband had to spend a year of service in his wife's family home.[34]

Also, in contrast to Norwegian custom, the Saami had a complicated system, which was typical of other tribal customs, of family relationships with many regulations. The Saami divided their kin by age

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[33]Nesheim, Samene og deres kulter, 31-33; Aarseth, "The Saami People," (Oslo: the Norwegian Folk Museum), photocopied.

[34]Ibid.

groups, so the parents' siblings had other nomenclatures dependent on whether they were older or younger. The Saami placed greater importance on collateral relatives. Nieces and nephews to Norwegian parents were cousins in the Saami system. Moreover, the Saami emphasized rituals and affinal relations more than Norwegians did. Godfathers and godmothers were related to both the child and his/her parents. In Kautokeino the old Saami system has continued to exist with minor adaptations.[35]

The Saami custom of child naming originated in the animism of the old religion. The rule was to name the child after one who was deceased. If the child died, the next child of the same sex received the same name. In a sense, names were inherited. With Christian baptism, the child was given a Christian name and the "heathen" Saami names, as they were called, were discouraged. The Saami ignored the church's prohibitions and kept the old names even though church records had officialized the new forms. After some time many of the old names were either lost or modified. For instance, Matte became Mattis; Anti became Anders; and Pavva became Paul, and so on. The Norwegian custom of creating a last name by adding "-sen" or "-datter" to the first name existed among the Saami as well. Therefore, the Saami name Matte Mikk' kal, Mattis's Mikkel, was Mikkel Mathisen in Norwegian.[36]

Expectedly, some of the Saami customary laws were in opposition to the laws of the non-Saami. One example can be given regarding

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[35]Reidar Erke, "Sosial organisasjon," R. Erke and A. Hoegmo, red. Identitet og Livsutfoldelse: En artikkelsamling om fler-folkelige samfunn med vekt paa samenes situasjon, (Tromsoe: Universitetsforlaget AS, 1986), 32-37.

[36]Vorren, Samekulturen, 184-185.

reindeer theft. The Saami saw the reindeer as a partly wild animal, and therefore, no one had absolute ownership over one. Another difference was the law of inheritance whereby the youngest son was the principal heir. In Norwegian law, it was the eldest son (primogeniture).[37] The missionaries also disrupted the family relationship system by forbidding marriage between first cousins. For the Saami this was a practical custom for creating solidarity within families which was related to their methods for acquiring basic necessities. The missionaries were determined to eliminate this practice.[38]

For the Reindeer Saami, the traditional siida or Saami town council declined with the rise of their specialization and reliance on the family head for decision making. In Finnish "Saamiland," the loss of the siida's own courts resulted as internal conflicts began to be appealed to the government courts. During the eighteenth century, they stopped functioning in Finland. The Sea Saami's siida organization broke down under assimilatory pressures.[39] In summary, many factors of Saami traditional culture, such as religious and social practices, community organization, and family structure, were oppressed and/or changed by the domination of Russia, Sweden, and especially of Denmark-Norway and the Lutheran church.[40]

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[37]Nesheim, Samene og deres kultur, 31-33.

[38]Gjessing, Norge i Sameland, 70.

[39]Nikkul, The Lappish Nation, 4-6, 12.

[40]Gjessing, Norge i Sameland, 70.

Lutheran Conversion of the Saami

In the 1700s when the Pietistic Movement from the continent was felt in Denmark-Norway, the Lutheran church carried the message to convert the heathens. Fredrik IV of Denmark was active in furthering the mission in northern Norway. He was concerned about the land boundaries as well. The Swedes had built churches in Kautokeino and Utsjok and were planning one in Alta. In Norway Governor Lorch actively worked to move the Aaroeya church closer to the Saami mountain settlements. The first church in Talvik was built in 1705. Lorch initiated the construction of a chapel in Masi to secure the district against Swedish expansion from Kautokeino. This plan was realized by the minister, Thomas von Westen. At the same time Isak Olsen was an effective and active teacher as well as a notable organizer for the faith in Tana, Laksefjord, and Porsanger. In fact, the names that have been prominent in the majority of historical accounts have been those of Thomas von Westen and Isak Olsen. Though Westen's missionary work lasted only from 1716 to 1727, it was intense and hectic, and it earned him the sobriquet of "the Saami's apostle." Churches and meeting houses were constructed in all of Finnmark's fjords and plains populated by the Saami. In effect, the Lutheran church was aiding Denmark-Norway to secure land rights.[41]

A conflict arose between Westen and Peder Krog, the Bishop of Troendelag and northern Norway, that was to have cultural and political reverberations. Westen could preach brilliantly in the Saami language. He encouraged separate institutions for teaching the Saami.

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[41]Aarseth, Ottar 84, 34-37.

He was called to run the missionary academy set up in 1714. In a few years, the whole Saami district from Troendelag to Finnmark was divided into thirteen missions with traveling missionaries. In Trondheim Westen instituted the Seminarium Scolasticum, a seminary to educate Saami for missionary work and teaching. On a trip to Finnmark, Westen met Isak Olsen and engaged him as a teacher in Trondheim. The cathedral school in Trondheim also recruited Saami missionaries. Westen strove to convince teachers and ministers to learn the Saami language. In Vadsoe Ludvig Paus, who understood the Saami language, complained about the lack of books for the subject. Because he and others learned the Saami language and culture, writing instructional materials in the Saami language and the acquisition of Saami literacy were encouraged.

Westen had Saami assistants whom he trained at the start of his mission in 1716. In the spring of 1721, nine Saami students graduated from Westen's private school. Five of these were sent to teach in the Saami regions of Nordland and Troms. According to Saami sources, Westen conducted a census in 1724 and identified 1,472 Saami families out of a total of 7,231 people. Westen directed his activities toward conversion of the Saami population, his true opponents being the shaman and rebellious community leaders. He was not adverse to using the law to bring them back to the fold. He utilized his thorough knowledge of the Saami beliefs, shamanism, and religion in endless discussion and persuasion. He collected a number of shaman drums; however, these among many Saami books were lost in the fires in Copenhagen where they were stored.[42]

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[42]Aikio, "The Saami in History," 28-29.

The early northern Danish-Norwegian ministers and teachers believed the Saami should be able to read Luther's catachism in their mother tongue. As a result, in the 1700s reading ability among the Saami was higher than among the non-Saami in Finnmark, at least until around 1740 when Norway's first school law was enacted. The instructors in the mission schools were often educated Saami. On the other hand, Bishop Krog favored explicit Dano-Norwegianization because he felt the Saami should give up their language as fast as possible. Krog's opposition to Westen was worsened by the fact that Westen had been one of his ministers who was given full power over the missionary work. When Westen died in 1727, Krog attempted to centralize and forward his assimilatory policies. Shortly after Westen's death, the Seminarium Scolasticum was discontinued.[43]

Bishop Hagerup took over the missionary academy but he had little success. When Hagerup left, his successors returned to Westen's policy of using the Saami language for the missions and instruction. In 1752 the missionary school, Seminarium Lapponicum, was established. It took on the task of translating literature to the Saami language. Knud Leem, the director of the seminarium, produced several Saami religious books, including a speller, and wrote the results of his scientific research on the Saami in Latin and Danish. In 1770 a study revealed that 523 Saami could read. One hundred of them could read only in the language of the kingdom, Dano-Norwegian, whereas ninety-four could read

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[43]Bjoern Aarseth, "Kultur-og utdanningspolitikken i historisk perspektiv," Report of the Saami Culture Committee to the Norwegian Government, Norges Offentlige Utredninger (NOU 1985:14 Samisk kultur of utdanning, by Kirsten Myklevoll, Chairperson, (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1985), 42-46.

the catechism in both languages. With Leem's death, Seminarium Lapponicum was closed down. The next two bishops, Markus F. Bang and J.C. Schoenheyder, were both from Denmark and instigated a strong language policy. All further education of the Saami was to transpire in Danish. Shoenheyder maintained that Saami (Lappish) was an unsuitable medium for conveying spiritual ideas.[44]

The clergy of Saami origin distinguished themselves in Scandinavian society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Finland the only Saami churchman was Olaus Sirma, but in Sweden whole family lines of clergymen evolved. There were the Backaeus brothers, two unrelated "Graan dynasties," A. Lundius, and the Laestadius family. The Laestadius men married Saami women from one generation to the next. Other Saami clerics tended to marry Swedish women. Their families usually assimilated into the Swedish culture. The first Saami cleric in Norway was Anders Porsanger (1735-1780). He joined the debate on developing the Saami written language and gave suggestions on the proposed orthographical system based on the Hungarian alphabet.

Especially in Denmark-Norway, the Lutheran conversion of the Saami was important because it effected Finnmark, Norway where the largest population of Saami lived on the northern cap. The construction of churches was strategically planned in the competition between Denmark and Sweden to acquire domination of this land area and the Saami. In the end, Denmark-Norway succeeded in securing portions of Finnmark and discouraging further Swedish encroachments. It also had some success in converting Saami to Lutheranism, mainly due to the efforts of

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[44]Ibid.

Thomas von Westen. After Westen's death, however, a few of the early Danish and Norwegian bishops still had difficulty putting through their assimilatory policies that prohibited teaching in the Saami language. The lack of unity brought on by disagreements among ministers and teachers led to closing down two seminaries despite their obvious achievements: providing Saami clergy, raising Saami literacy, and producing Saami books and instructional materials.

Conflict over Borders, Laestadianism, and Laws

The vast terrains of the Saami were split by the dominating kingdoms of Denmark-Norway and Sweden in the eighteenth century. After the great Nordic war and the peace treaty of 1720, it was decided that the borders between Norway and Sweden should be settled. The border commission was appointed sixteen years later in 1736. The people living along the borders were consulted. Major Schnitler, appointed to the commission to represent Denmark-Norway, based his protocol for border evaluation on his three-years' observations from travel in the regions along with the testimonies of the inhabitants. The protocol included exact information and descriptions of the ecological factors. The natural geographical boundaries were drawn. After the Treaty of Stroemstad was signed in 1751, a codicil with Saami rights in the neighboring country was attached.

One principle was to preserve the identity of the Saami people. The Saami's custom of seasonal migration was to be respected, and it was stipulated that the Saami be sheltered, assisted, and treated in a friendly manner whenever they were in the other country. The border brought Kautokeino, Karasjok as far as the mouth of the Tana River, and

Utsjok on the northern side of the Tana under Denmark-Norway's jurisdiction. This Lapp Codicil of 1751 was supposed to secure the right of nomadic Saami to cross the borders and to use the land and the coast. The Finnish Saami were excepted so that double taxation of the Norwegian and Swedish Saami came to an end.[45] The Saami became citizens of Norway or Sweden depending on where their winter lands were located. They were allowed to choose which country they wished to inhabit. The codicil was a landmark in acknowledging certain Saami rights.

In 1809 Sweden ceded Finland to Russia. In 1826 the border between Norway and Russia was agreed upon, and the southern and eastern part of Varanger was divided. In 1851 the Finnish-Russian negotiators threatened to close the borders if Norway did not yield to the issue of greater fishing rights in the fjords. The fear of Russian domination, especially of the Saami, led to a negative reply. Therefore, in 1852 Russia closed its borders to Norwegian Saami, and Norway reacted in a retaliatory manner. The Saami, again, became the victims of conflict between the powers. The Norwegian Saami suffered the worst consequences. They ceased to have access to the Finnish side, but the Swedish Saami could still graze their reindeer in Norway.[46]

In the meantime in the early part of the nineteenth century, the colonizers of Saami traditional land in Finnmark created conflict. The Saami belonged to the Arctic "water drinking folk" who had never developed any form of stimulation themselves. In colonized areas, the Saami traded for liquor and a drunken Saami was easy prey. A few Saami

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[45]Aarseth, Ottar 84, 40-49.

[46]Ibid.

had even sold out their worldly goods all the way down to the last reindeer. In 1742 the Kautokeino Saami tried to get the authorities to outlaw liquor but to no avail. The Norwegian authorities evidently condoned liquor dealing since the Norwegian dealers stayed with government officials on their business trips in order to sell liquor in Saami areas.[47] Another example of exploitation of apparent Saami susceptibility to alcoholism was that some inland farmers, many of whom were Finnish immigrants, distilled liquor from the grain they grew. They likewise caused serious damage to the Saami by its sale or trade for reindeer meat. The Saami family structure deteriorated when the women and children interfered in the liberties of the (family) heads in order to prevent the acquisition of liquor. Consequently Saami morals and economy sank considerably in the first part of the 1800s.[48]

At this time, too, and in contradiction to organized Christianizing, there was a renaissance of the old Saami beliefs. Notwithstanding this wave of events, a new kind of Christianity or an evangelistic revivalism drifted over the border from Sweden. It uplifted many Saami who had become demoralized by alcoholism. The bearer of the specially hewn gospel was Lars Levi Laestadius, born on the Swedish side of "Saamiland" and of Swedish-Saami descent. After he was ordained a minister in 1825, he spent the rest of his life preaching in a colorfully earthy "folk language," the colloquial language of the places he visited in northern Sweden and at the borders. He wrote and published emotionally charged religious works that were popularly read.

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[47]Gjessing, Norge i Sameland, 80.

[48]Ibid., 33-34; Aikio, "The Saami in History," 34-35.

In 1844 Laestadius experienced a personal spiritual crisis that resolved itself, as he said through a little Saami girl, by infusing him with extraordinary spiritual power. He became an abstainer himself and began preaching intensely against alcohol use. He condemned reindeer theft and generally extolled stringent moral rules. Many Saami bitterly recognized the "sins" of their own drunkenness and of reindeer theft by outsiders. They became rapidly converted and believed they had to stop those "sins" from destroying their society. In accordance with Laestadius's direction, his Saami followers altered their traditional and more decorative, richly colored dress and habit. Instead, they wore simple and plain clothing. One could distinguish between the reborn and the "sinners." Saami morale was raised and strengthened by the sermons and writings of their "prophet."

In his sermons Laestadius spoke either Finnish or Saami, accomodating to the congregation at hand, and referred to customs and living patterns with which the Saami could easily identify. The church leaders were laymen. During the religious service, those who gathered confessed their sins. There were some forms of "speaking in tongues," and spiritual ecstacy concluded the meetings with everyone embracing and forgiving each other. The meetings revitalized and unified the people. The faithful gained self-esteem and social competence in place of feeling downtrodden by arrogant officials who were the "sinful" oppressors and parasites on their land. Laestadianism combined Christian ideology and traditional Saami ritual. It also offered a refuge for the unhappy

souls of a disintegrating social minority in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[49]

A tragic event befell the Saami in Kautokeino that was related to the Laestadians and to the border closing. When Russia closed its borders to Norwegian Saami herders, many Saami were forced to move southward into Norway or Sweden. The Kautokeino Saami were hit hardest because they were the ones who used the grazing lands on the Finnish-Russian side. On 8 November 1852, thirty Saami adults marched with knives and clubs to the Kautokeino church. They killed liquor dealer Bucht, who was also the sheriff, and a businessman called Ruth. They burned down the sheriff's office, the clerical office, and stores. The new pastor was whipped. The Saami from neighboring Avzze managed to stop the uprising. Seven Saami were killed during the riot, the arrests, and the transportation to jail. The entire incident shocked Saami and non-Saami alike.[50]

The trials, which followed some time later, resulted in death sentences for five Saami and life imprisonment for eight. The property of the latter was confiscated and sold at auction. A number of others received various jail sentences. The official reason for the sentences that was given by the higher court at the time was that the "uncivilized wildmen" had to be contained. A naval vessel was sent to Alta to maintain law and order. On 6 March 1854, the death sentences were reversed for two of the men but three were adjusted to life imprisonment.

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[49]Ibid., 35; Nesheim, Samene og deres kultur, 38-39; Gjessing, Norge i Sameland, 80-83, 89.

[50]Ibid.; Lorenz, Samefolket i historien, 56-57.

After some time, these too were pardoned. Fourteen years later one of them, Lars Haetta, was honored by the state which had admitted its part in the transgressions. The Saami had tried at various times to get the government to outlaw the sale of liquor. The intolerant Laestadians had lost their patience with the authorities who practiced or condoned the worst evil against Saami society. The state church reacted by blaming Laestadianism and the Saami "religion." Many Saami were emotionally shattered by the initial conduct of the court and officials and the irreversible deaths in their community.[51]

A collision of economic and cultural interests found place in the courts in the nineteenth century. In Kvenangen, Finnmark in 1865, a group of Saami lost their case against a Norwegian newcomer who had claimed the meadows that the Saami traditionally used. The meadows' soft dried grass was used in Saami winter shoes for insulation and the sorrel for processing and preserving reindeer milk. The right to usage was deemed incapable of being proven. The Kvenangen Saami signed a petition and addressed it to the governor of the province. They were defending their right to land usage on the grounds that they were the original inhabitants of the land. This unanimous testimony of the village was ignored. Unfortunately for the Saami, appeals were not made to the higher court so that similar cases in lower courts created an important precedent. The small parcels of land appropriated for immigrant and migrant farmers, most often for Finnish immigrants, were less vital to the Saami than rights to the wilderness and the rivers for salmon fishing. The native Saami clearly found no official recognition of

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[51]Ibid.; Aikio, "The Saami in History."

rights to land usage, except for certain border rights between Norway and Sweden.[52]

More difficulties arose from the outside due to the increase of permanent settlements. The respective governments had to deal with the conflicts that appeared in the nineteenth century and later between the newcomers and the Saami. Several committees were appointed from 1857 to 1913 to study the problem. The Karlstad Treaty of 1905 reconfirmed the regulations embodied in the Codicil of 1751. However, the Norwegian Saami's herds had to be controlled in order to avoid conflict with Russia at the Finnish border.[53]

To summarize the events of the nineteenth century, the border agreement between Sweden and Norway was initially meant to acknowledge Reindeer Saami rights to land use; then conflict between Norway and Russia proved detrimental to Norwegian Reindeer Saami. In Kautokeino the border problem, the increase in Norwegian migrants and Finnish immigrants in Finnmark, and the lack of government control over liquor peddling to the Saami (which the Saami had demanded) created additional conflict. The Saami Laestadian movement apparently contributed to these conflicts. The Norwegian governing authorities failed to recognize the relationship between alcohol abuse, the Saami's deteriorating social conditions, and the Saami's religious revitalization through Laestadianism. Moreover the Norwegian court overreacted by its harsh treatment of Saami in the "Kautokeino trials." Also a Saami group's appeals to lower courts for the right land usage, on the basis that they were the

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[52]Gjessing, Norge i Sameland, 33-34.

[53]Nikkul, The Lappish Nation, 53-55.

original inhabitants of that land, went unheeded in deference to Norwegian migrant and Finnish immigrant farmers.

Norwegian Nationalism: Church and School Assimilatory Policies

The Scandinavian nation-states were anxious to protect their borders against foreign elements in the nineteenth century. They wanted to assure a loyal citizenry within the borders. Assimilating the various ethnic groups; that is, instilling them with a sense of national identity became the preoccupation of the church and missions. In Norway the pressure to assume a Norwegian identity turned political, and the main arena for the process was the school room.

By 1800 the central authorities in Denmark-Norway had begun to concentrate on a new political turn for the Saami. There was concern over the previous failure to enlighten the Saami in the Lutheran church and in Norwegian language fluency. In 1803 it was decided to create a bishopric for northern Norway alone. The first bishop was Matthias B. Krogh who was born in Vadsoe in northern Norway. However the Napoleonic War and the constant problem of keeping ministers and teachers in Finnmark due to the lack of remuneration hindered missionary progress. Then in 1814 "the Eidsvoll men" drew up the Norwegian constitution and declaration of independence from Denmark. As a result the schooling of the Norwegian population came under discussion again. Many of the newly engaged Lutheran ministers were mainly occupied with enlightenment and research. The most outstanding among them was P.V. Deinboll of Vadsoe. He became head of school construction and development for Finnmark and remained active until the schools were established as permanent and

economically sound institutions. This meant that the former Saami school teachers in the fjord areas could return to their old positions.

Basically Reverend Deinboll, a representative of the Norwegian Parliament (1821-1824), distanced himself from Norwegianization. He concentrated instead on warding off the growth of alcoholism in the population that was also widespread among the Saami. Bishop Krogh thought Deinboll was too ambivalent toward the language question, but he eventually accepted the conviction of several ministers to instruct the Saami in their own language. Deinboll sent an eloquently written letter to the Parliament for extending church and education in Finnmark. Although he recommended Vadsoe as a site for a seminary, in 1822 Trondenes was ap-proved and established in 1826. Bishop Krogh gave Deinboll his full support. The seminary admitted Saami students, and it also admitted non-Saami students for teacher education in the Saami areas. It was moved to Tromsoe in 1848.[54]

N. V. Stockfleth succeeded Deinboll in Vadsoe and continued his work. In 1832 he was engaged at the University of Christiania (Oslo) as a researcher and instructor in the Saami language. In 1837 he began to publish a number of books in Saami (Lappish) for school and church use including the New Testament. He extended Leem's work for a Saami grammar book and a Norwegian-Saami dictionary. In this way he contributed to the development of the Northern Saami literary language. After a while, he researched Finnish among the kvaener (Finnish-Norwegian immigrants). He believed that the ministers in the North should know both the Finnish and Saami languages. He reached his goal in 1848 of

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[54]Aarseth, NOU 1985:14, 48-49.

requiring the ministers for the area to pass an examination in either Saami or Finnish.

While Stockfleth's linguistic acumen has been criticized, his work has been acknowledged for its political and social significance. His ideological views were humanistic. He breathed in the winds of nationalism and exhaled the concepts of nation, justice, and freedom. The Saami and the kvaener should be treated righteously, for this would strengthen them against foreign influence. He believed that a people's culture was good and worthy of itself and that it should be preserved and allowed to develop on its own. This would culminate in harmony among all the various cultures. Thus no group would have the right to destroy another group's culture. In his beliefs he seemed to be a cultural-pluralist before his time. Though he gained sympathy and support for the Saami issue, few went along with him on the kvaener issue.[55]

The debate on language policies raged in the 1840s. Rejecting Stockfleth's ideas about the minorities was a group from Tromsoe, called by one bishop "an anti-Saami or anti-Finnish party." More parliamentary representatives went over to this new political line. The leader of this opposition was N. A. Aars, the minister for Alta-Talvik and a parliamentary representative for Finnmark in 1848 and 1851. In regard to the kvaener, there was no question that they should accept Norwegian culture and language as their own. Despite the increasing success of the powerful arguments for Norwegianization, at least one isolated voice became prominent. During the parliamentary debates in

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[55]Ibid.

1848 and 1851, a former student of Stockfleth and a University of Christiania lecturer, J. A. Friis, stood up to champion the Saami's right to their own mother tongue. He stated that historical experience had shown it was useless to "sneakily murder" a people's language. The government compromised in that it decreed a yearly assessment of Saami willingness to learn the Norwegian language. Instruction in the Saami language by the church was still allowed.

Nevertheless, two years later in 1853, a principal break with Stockfleth's policy turned language policies against the Saami. A royal resolution installed teaching positions with higher salaries at the Tromsoe Seminary. The graduates, who had passed examinations in Norwegian and Saami (Lappish), were contracted for a seven-year duty as teachers in the common school. Their explicit directive was to facilitate Saami proficiency in the Norwegian language.[56] "Traveling schools" for the sparsely populated areas and the common school had been decreed in 1739 already. The school law of 1827 proclaimed permanent schools at all the major churches, and the law of 1848 was for the establishment of the common school in the towns.[57] The school law of 1860, decreeing permanent schools and school districts, was a preparation for developing boarding schools in the North. After a transitional period and the publication of double-language textbooks and instructional materials between 1860 and 1870, teaching got underway.[58]

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[56]Ibid., 49-50.

[57]Reidar Myhre, Den Norske Skoles Utvikling, (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1982), 247.

[58]L. Lind Meloey, Internatliv i Finnmark - Skolepolitikk 1900-1940, (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 1980), 18.

In 1877 Nils Hertzberg, the department head of schooling for the Ministry of Church Affairs, visited Finnmark. His assessement of the situation was that the kvaener and Saami Norwegianization in the past years had not made the desired progress. In certain places, especially in eastern Finnmark, it was still in decline. His recommendations were the following: (1) strengthening the established schools in the municipalities; (2) improving supervision between the school and the minister, or another kind of supervision; (3) arranging an independent school directorship for Finnmark and parts of Troms; (4) instigating longer instructional hours, especially in Norwegian; and (5) hiring teachers of Norwegian heritage. From 1879 to 1882, schooling in Finnmark was reorganized. The underlying ideology of Norwegianization was to be coordinated and centralized.[59]

The "Instructions to Teachers in the Saami and Finnish Transitional Districts in Tromsoe Diocese" expressed the hard political line on 12 October 1880. From then on, the earlier policy that children should first be taught in their mother tongue was struck from the books. The teachers had to take care that the Saami language was not used by the pupils. They also had to convince parents and other adults about the importance of Norwegian proficiency. The course in religion could officially be taken by free choice, but applying to the Ministry of Church Affairs for exclusion was complicated. The local governing bodies continued to have few Saami and kvaener representatives, so there was little these representatives of the main miniority groups could do. The school law of 1889 made it clear that the Norwegian

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[59]Ibid., 19.

language was to be used exclusively for instruction in the elementary schools. It also began the construction of the government boarding schools.

In 1897 Karl Aas became the director of schooling for the diocese of Tromsoe. In 1898 the Ministry of Church Affairs issued a new policy entitled: "Instruction on Continued Use of the Saami and Finnish Languages as Helping Languages for Teaching in the Elementary Schools." It was more or less the same as the previous instruction, but added increased financing for school construction. Designated as Pastor Wexelsen's bill, or Wexelsensplakaten, it became the major document for cultural Norwegianization policies till after the Second World War.[60]

Director Aas set in motion an investigation of language in the regions of Nordland, Troms, and Finnmark in 1899. In Finnmark alone there were fifteen municipalities. None of the towns participated; in fact, Karasjok and Vardoey gave no answer to the questionnaires. However the teachers conducted the research with astute thoroughness. They found out the "home language" of their pupils. The largest Saami-speaking districts were Nesseby and Polmak, Tana, Porsanger, Maesoey, Talvik, and Kautokeino; the last one was 100 percent Saami-speaking with 119 homes. The Finnish-speaking homes were in Alta, northern and southern Varanger, and Porsanger, a half to a quarter of each population. The rest were Norwegian-speaking homes. Aas sent his language overview to the govern-ment and urged greater Norwegian instruction in the schools. He conceded in permitting the other languages to assist in

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[60]Aarseth, NOU 1985:14, 50-51.

teaching. Aas used the term "foreign nationalities" in referring to the Saami and kvaener.[61]

The school reformation in Finnmark led to the construction of state boarding schools and of churches in mixed language areas. A position for director of schools was instituted. Bernt Thomassen filled the position from 1902 to 1920. Many teachers and Isak Saba, a Saami parliamentary representative, said that to the Saami, Thomassen was like Bobrikoff who was chosen by the Tsar to russify Finland. In this case, it was Wexelsen who was the Tsar. When Friis left the university, the professorship in the Saami and Finnish languages, which he had held, was reduced to docent or associate professor.[62] In 1902 a government edict permitted only those who could speak, read, and write Norwegian to purchase state land in Finnmark. The teaching of the Saami language and Finnish was discontinued at the Tromsoe teachers' seminary in 1905-06. The dark epoch on Saami cultural preservation had fallen.[63]

In the nineteenth century, the construction of government boarding schools was initiated in northern Norway. At the end of the 1860s, three of these schools were in use. They were Finnvaag, Skavlnes, and Strengelvaag in Nordland. L. Meloey related his intimate experiences with the creation and development of the government boarding schools. When he was nine years old, he went to Strengelvaag in Oeknes, a boarding school built and used in 1868. He spent fourteen weeks every year for five years there. The pupils brought their own bedding, fuel, and

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[61]Meloey, Internatliv i Finnmark, 20-21.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Nikkul, The Lappish Nation, 35.

food. The community paid the salaries of the school caretakers. The school had three rooms, two of which were used for separate sleeping facilities for boys and girls; the latter were the servants. The small kitchen was used once a day. The classroom had no chalkboard. Though allowed by school law, corporal punishment was never practiced. For the pupils, the law of the strongest prevailed, while the teacher appeared only when there was too much noise. The pupils could often hear him playing the organ in the classroom during twilight time. On Saturdays the pupils could go home; many traveled for half the day. After the Sunday dinner, they had to return to school.

In 1937 Meloey became a teacher for the seminomadic Saami in Kautokeino. He described the Kautokeino boarding school in more detail. It was as different from his first experience fifteen years before as night and day. Nevertheless, the pupils had to provide their own bedding, fuel, and food. They also spent a semester of fourteen weeks a year at the school. With this the similarity ends. The semester was between Christmas and Easter for the seminomadic children and in the fall for the residential farmers' children. Later the semester was extended to eighteen weeks. On the assembly days, the parents came into the school for a cup of coffee. After church and shopping, the big and the little children came into the school to bathe and be deloused. At Easter time the parents came to fetch their children to spend the summer along the coast of northern Troms. Also, in contrast to the Strengelvaag school, the Kautokeino school was tuition free.

In church Pastor Wangberg taught the prayers and other religious writings in the Saami language. Meloey and the non-Saami speaking

teachers learned two sentences in the Saami language: Oazzon ga labi-hivse-fii mannat? and Oazzon ga cazi jukkat? which meant respectively "May I go to the washroom (toilet)?" and "May I go for a drink of water?" They also learned the numbers for the psalms. The minister taught from Luther's catechism, the Bible, and Bible history. Three of the five teachers knew the Saami language, and of these, two spoke it natively. The point was, however, to teach the pupils Norwegian. The new teachers took the highest levels because they did not know the language of their pupils. At any rate a lot of pupils could speak and understand Norwe-gian, which they had picked up during the summers at the coast. Meloey wrote that they had little respect for authority. At recess and during the other free times, they went over to their own language. They constantly carried their lassoes on them and played at lassoing one another and charging with reindeer antlers. Indeed, the Saami loan words to Norwegian are lasso and raide (lasso and reindeer-sled string). They loved drawing and wood crafting. The girls braided bands and tied fringes on scarves. They learned household skills by helping out at the school. The Saami children were excellent at reading maps, a result of their nomadic experiences. They found book learning difficult since the books were in Norwegian. The attempt at Norwegianizing Kautokeino with the boarding school was a definite failure, in Meloey's view.

Meloey provided the budgetary information of thirty-three municipal boarding schools for the school year of 1933-34 and of nineteen state boarding schools in 1939-40. This information revealed the number of existing boarding schools. In 1948 Meloey became principal of the

boarding school in Karasjok. Until the school was built in 1951, classes were conducted in different localities. He left in 1959, but he returned in 1968 as the school director. The Fossheim boarding school established in 1905 was burned down during the war; a new one was completed in 1962; it was the last state boarding school. As the Nazis retreated from the north, most of Finnmark, and with it the boarding schools, was set in flames in 1944. In commenting on his long years' experience with boarding schools, Meloey said the construction of the boarding schools and Norwegianization were intricately tied together. Norwegianization was the goal and construction of the boarding schools the means. Both were a part of Norway's school policies for Finnmark for the first part of the twentieth century.[64]

During the 1920s and 1930s, Norway, as well as other nations, was hit upon hard times. Unemployment, poverty, and tuberculosis were rampant. There was high infant mortality. The boarding schools stood out by their size, activities, and the services they offered. Three groups of children attended them: the Reindeer Saami; the residential children living far from school; and the residential children near the school. All convened in the same classes by age groupings. Norwegian and religion were stressed. The Norwegian teachers were with the children constantly, and they had them from age seven to fourteen at the school. The school was primarliy a foreign element in the midst of the Saami areas. The big change in Saami lives came in 1945. The new communication system, health centers, and stores were accepted gladly.

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[64]Meloey, Internatliv i Finnmark.

There were better opportunities for jobs. For all of these reasons, the Norwegian language took on greater importance to the Saami.[65]

Norwegianization flowed over into almost all the sectors of government. The socialist left and the conservative right parties of government were in agreement on this issue. Norwegianization was particularly aimed at Finnmark, in southern Varanger, from 1870 to the 1930s. Norwegian farmers were encouraged to settle in the northern areas. In industry, communications, defense, and commerce, nationalization was intentional and went through different phases. Until 1905 it involved the formal build up of institutions including those for education. From 1905 to 1920, it was purposely developed and consolidated ideologically. During this phase the military and the security police were strongly engaged. Between the world wars, all of these elements were brought together. The defense mechanism of the government was dominant beginning in 1930, in spite of church reservations. From 1931 to 1933, the secret "Finnmark's council" issued seven reports.

Then in 1936 the elementary school law indicated some change in assimilation policies. The school board, formed in 1936, comprised the school directorship, the mayor, and the bishop. Their recommendations were discussed by Parliament. The ministry had to decide whether the Saami and Finnish languages could be used as instructional helping languages in mixed language districts in the North. The debate in Parliament was resolved in that it was permitted to use Finnish. With

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[65]Anton Hoem, "Samebarns oppvekstvilkaar," in Identitet og Livsutfoldelse, eds. Erke and Hoegmo, (Tromsoe: Universitetsforlaget AS, 1986), 40-52.

this, a certain discrimination was made between the Saami and the kvaener.[66]

How could the attempted suppression of the native Saami, of their culture and language, have happened with such intentional severity? One explanation has pointed to the rising wave of nationalism in Norway. Norway had been under Denmark's rule for hundreds of years and temporarily under Sweden's until it achieved independence in 1905. Another explanation has pointed to the mass of emigrating Finns in the 1860s. The central governing officials were astounded and feared the "Russian threat," for Finland was under Tsarist Russia's domination. The large Finnish nationalistic mobilization aggravated the situation as well. For national security, rapid Norwegianization was the solution. It was uppermost in any evaluation of the Norwegian assimilatory politics until World War II. Had the Finnish issue not been as imminent, the Saami would have received milder treatment. Officials were not of a mind to differentiate between the two ethnic groups. They also willingly tempted teachers, who were among the immense class of the poor, to work in Finnmark by adding a bonus to the low wages. The new recruits tried to do their best and obeyed the official instructions.

Sweden, in contrast to Norway, had a much more stable government administration in foreign affairs and defense. Norway lacked this tradition and the accompanying flexibility. External, or international, influence brought in social quasi-Darwinist attitudes so that the indigenous Saami culture was viewed as backward. The scientists and researchers bearing this view in the mid-nineteenth century had bated

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[66]Aarseth, NOU 1985:14, 50-52.

government fears. Racism was not unusual. Some felt it a duty to accept "the white man's burden" and civilize the "primitive" people in Finnmark. Paternalism increasingly took over as the fear of national security subsided, and this attitude lingered for a length of time.[67]

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the wave of nationalism had a pronounced language orientation. Outstandingly gifted nationalists took up the battle for a "real Norwegian language" cleansed of Danish. Literature, songs, texts and materials for education were Norwegianized. City folk and the upper classes of society spoke riksmaal or bokmaal, the "language of the state" or "book language" which was used in the schools and in literature. With this "Danified" Norwegian dialect, they carried the banner of upper-class power and privilege. The rest of the country spoke many different dialects designated collectively landsmaal, "the language of the people or land." Landsmaal received an official standardization and was designated as nynorsk or New Norwegian. In the schools both languages became requirements. Standardization of the two officialized dialects went through several revisions in periods of scores, and textbooks had to be republished at each revision. Norway was a young nation retrieving its own cultural identity, and language was the key to national unity and social equality.

When did the Saami realize the loss to their identity as a people, and when did they organize on a scale fitting the forces that went against them? In 1904 Anders Larsen, a Sea Saami and a teacher, started the periodical Sagai Muittalaegje (the Messenger). It appeared twice a month and aided the Saami teacher and poet, Isak Saba, in the

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[67]Ibid.

parliamentary elections of 1908 and 1911. With Saba's subsequent political defeat, the paper was abandoned as well. Larsen published a short story in 1912 which protested Norwegian discrimination against the Saami. In the southern part of "Saamiland," five local organizations sprang up between 1906 and 1908. Several more followed throughout Finnmark.

Among the most active of the lone voices in the period before the Second World War were Daniel Mortenson and Elsa Renberg. Mortenson joined a delegation of three Saami who visited the central government in Oslo to propose reindeer legislation. From 1910 to 1913 and 1922 to 1925, Mortenson and later his son, edited a periodical, Waren Sardne (the Mountain Speaks), aimed at informing the public of the uncertain and harassed position of the Reindeer Saami. It was also for the purpose of appealing for government legislation that would preserve the Saami's rights to their own territory and to publicize the ethnic and economic value of reindeer breeding. He hoped his paper would express Saami opinions on questions in the field of education and culture as well. At a meeting of Swedish Saami, he gave a speech for organization that smacked of socialism since he was a convinced socialist. He felt the Saami were already socialists. Many opposed his mixing politics with the Saami issue. The Saami conferences of 1910 and 1913, attended by the three southernmost local organizations, had topics of concern to Reindeer Saami at the top of the agenda again. Besides discussing issues of reindeer husbandry, they demanded their own schools.

In February 1917 the first general conference of Norwegian Saami was held in Trondheim. Over one hundred people from eastern Finnmark

and a few Swedish observers took part. Elsa Renberg opened the meeting with an appeal for Pan-Saami solidarity, especially of the Swedish and Norwegian Saami.[68] Although Renberg's father was born in Norway, he had married and settled in Sweden where Elsa was born. Also, her education was completed in Stockholm. As a Swedish Saami in Norway, her speech made a big impression, and so did her book, Life or Death on the situation of her people, which was published in 1904. Life or Death took up the question of Saami rights to land and water. She became an active member and speaker for the Lapparnas Central Foerbund (Central League of Lapps) established in 1904. In addition to her political and organizational activities, Renberg was a strong advocate for Saami schools, and she energetically organized Saami women. It was the Saami women's organization of 1910 that arranged the first Norwegian Saami conference of 1917.[69]

The Norwegian authorities were not receptive to Saami organizations, so they gained no noticeable headway and ceased to exist in the mid-1920s. Saami newspapers and periodicals were also discontinued.[70] Until the Second World War, there were no other practical alternatives for the Saami except to pay with their cultural identity and become assimilated. The few who spoke for improved Saami conditions or Saami rights were seen as dangerous and eccentric by the majority population. Most of them turned to drink, poetry, Saami folklore, religion, or to

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[68]Nikkul, The Lappish Nation, 73-74.

[69]Laila Stien, "Elsa Laula Renberg: En samisk foregangskvinne" Ottar 88 (Tromsoe: Universitetet i Tromsoe, 1976): 18-24.

[70]Nikkul, The Lappish Nation, 75.

tracing their roots. One or two perpetually harassed school authorities, members of Parliament, and ministers, but it was fruitless.[71]

This historical overview of the Saami has clarified Saami status in the Scandinavian countries and identified the Saami as an indigenous and ethnically distinct people. According to the criteria given on page twelve, the Saami had inhabited portions of the northern cap before the dominating and colonizing people came. The Saami culture and economic means of subsistence was based on "blending in with nature" and lacked a sophisticated technology. They lacked an organization with a foundation in power and control and participation in decision making over their destiny, such as rights to use of natural resources including land. Consequently by these criteria, the Saami have been defined as indigenous peoples.

Chapter 1 has more specifically explained how dominating powers in Scandinavia and Russia exploited the Saami by means of taxation, usurpation of Saami traditional lands and natural resources, and infringements on Saami livelihood and culture. The colonization policies of the nation-states brought destruction and disheveling to several Saami communities. In time Christian missionary conversions of the Saami (which were supported by the Russian, Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish kingdoms) became overshadowed by government-planned education, both intent on destroying Saami culture and language in unlike degrees dependent on the times and personalities. The Saami were forced to adapt to the social, political, and legal systems of the northern

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[71]Harald Eidheim, Aspects of the Lappish Minority Situation, 3rd ed. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1977), 42.

nation-states. Chapter 1 has shown how Norway, in particular, instigated assimilatory policies during the era of Norwegian nationalism that retarded the development of Saami culture and Pan-Saami organizations.

Chapter 1 has further revealed that while the Saami communities did not possess the aggressive inclination to weather the storms of the people who descended upon them, they also did not possess the immediacy of information that could lend solidarity. Their adaptability was in tune to nature and the geographical realities that required scattering over an immense terrain. The fact that they split into three major groups and developed differences in culture, language, and economy impaired possibilities of Pan-Saamiism or Saami solidarity. The isolation of Saami groups led to the development of nine dialects which, divided into three classifications, created mutual incomprehensibility. Of the Saami groups, the Sea Saami were assimilated to the extent that they at times would express hostility toward Saaminess. At historically recent Pan-Saami meetings, these differences necessitated their having to use the Scandinavian languages of their nation-states in order to communicate and organize for the purposes of improving their disadvantaged economic conditions and social status.

In recent history, the Saami of the northern cap have not only shared with other indigenous people their ancient tenure of the Arctic area but also a decided political advantage. Their homelands have been defined by the democracies of Sweden, Norway, and Finland. The Saami living on the Kola Peninsula in the USSR must herewith be excepted. Though invited to participate in Saami Scandinavian conferences, the representation of about two thousand Soviet Saami has contributed

little to cultural retrieval in the past decade.[72] During the era of Saami democratization that began roughly in the 1950s and reached a crescendo in the 1980s, only faint signals of accord have lately pulsated westward from the USSR. Chapter 2 will focus on the Saami in Scandinavia. Therefore reference to "Nordic" peoples and nation-states and to "peoples of the northern cap" will henceforth exclude Soviet Saami along with other northern indigenous peoples, such as those in Canada and Greenland who live outside of Scandinavia.

Chapter 2 will describe certain international conventions, inter-Scandinavian agencies, and the cooperation of Scandinavian governing officials for improving Saami conditions. The influence of the international community on the governments of Finland, Norway, and Sweden will be shown as contributing to the official change in attitude and efforts to include the Saami in government decision making concerning Saami issues. Finally, Chapter 2 will focus on the Norwegian government's reaction to Saami claims of indigenousness and rights to land and natural resources. It will also lend some insight to Norway's democratic process and laws: how they have been applied to education for the preservation and development of the Saami language; and how they have included the Norwegian Saami in government decision making.

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[72]Sameraettsutredningen 1987 04-24, "A Saami Parliament in Sweden: a Model" (Stockholm, Sweden: Regerinskansliets Offset Central 1987), photocopied; Ole Henrik Magga, interview by author, 19 November 1987, University of Oslo, and Nikkul, in The Lappish Nation, 21, describes the participation of Soviet reindeer researchers at a 1971 Finnish symposium, but it is not applicable to cultural retrieval.

CHAPTER II

SAAMI CULTURAL RETRIEVAL: INTERNATIONAL, INTER-NORDIC, AND NORWEGIAN PERSPECTIVES

The Saami who wished to perpetuate their culture and language had to wait for the nation-states to become receptive. This did not happen until after World War II when international events created a favorable atmosphere of democratization for indigenous and minority peoples. Internationalism seemed to be the last straw for securing a peaceful world. Shaken by the war atrocities, the western democracies desired a new age of equality that respected peoples' rights. The Scandinavian nations began to look homeward and into their own "sins" of past inhumanity, and their international image along with certain events would lead them to reinterpret their indigenous and minority peoples' disadvantages. Generally the nation-states of the Northern Hemisphere, such as those of Scandinavia, Canada, and the United States, experienced a metamorphosis in their treatment of the indigenous and minority peo-ples within their borders in the postwar decades. What follows is a descriptive analysis of these years.

International Perspectives

The war-torn nations and their allies, enjoined by the Atlantic Charter during the war, decided to make human rights the basis of the newly conceived United Nations. After the demise of the League of

Nations, plans for a new international pact were formulated on June 1945. More international organizations and groups were allowed to flour-ish and to form a communication network for an international community. In the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the mandated terri- tories accorded primacy to the interests of native populations.[1]

Nearly a decade later native populations were again addressed in 1957 when the International Labor Organization (ILO) approved their Convention 107 and Recommendation 104 entitled: "The Protection and Integration of Indigenous and other Tribal and Semi-Tribal Populations in Independent Countries." Most importantly the convention pertained to indigenous peoples who were basically defined as follows: those living in an independent country completely or partly in tribal relationship and at a lower economic and social status compared to other groups; and/or those who had descended from a group who occupied the country, or certain of its geographical areas, at the time of conquest and/or colonization. Sovereignty or the rights to land of such persons or groups had to be sanctioned by the nation (in which they lived) that ratified the convention.

Norway did not ratify the convention because at the time Norway did not recognize the presence of indigenous people within its borders. This was also due to the fact that Norway had not agreed with certain terms and expectations of the convention. First of all Norwegian autho- rities felt the question of state sovereignty had not been adequately

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[1]Nikkul, The Lappish Nation, vol. 122, (Bloomington: Indiana University publications, 1977), 21.

clarified. One problem was with the convention's interpretation of the term "indigenous." Did this refer to "aboriginal" or to the "original" inhabitants of the land? Secondly the Norwegian authorities did not agree with the claims of some Saami that the Saami were aboriginal. As to their being the original inhabitants of Norway, non-Saami Norwegians could trace their "roots" to prehistoric and historical times just as the Saami could. Thus by implication both the Saami and non-Saami were among the original peoples of Norway. Thirdly there was the question of which areas of land the various ethnic groups had occupied.

As to another side to the question of "which land," the authorities argued that Norway, and the rest of Europe, did not have expanses of land to hand over to a particular ethnic group. They felt it was more important to consider from which group Norway could take away land. The Norwegian state claimed 96 percent ownership to Finnmark's land area, which meant it belonged to all of the Norwegian people regardless of origin. There were other objections to the terminology of the convention as well. From the official point of view, Saami status in the Nordic states was considered to be quite different from that of other indigenous people in the world so that Convention 107 was not applicable. Norway and the other Nordic countries preferred to wait for participation by the indigenous peoples themselves and then to make revisions and/or new conventions.[2]

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[2]Einar Hoegetveit, Norges Offentlige Utredninger, NOU 1980:53, Vern av urbefolkninger (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, September 1980), 7-10; Report of the Saami Rights Committee of the Norwegian Government. Norges offentlige utredninger (NOU 1984:18) Om samenes rettsstilling, by Carsten Smith, Chairman (Norway: Universitetsforlaget, juni 1984), 234-238, 276-277, and 312-313; B. Aarseth, "Notat: ang. NOU 1980:53 Vern om urbefolkninger," mars 1981, photocopied.

The United Nations human rights conventions of the 1960s were more historically significant for indigenous peoples and for the nation-states that adhered to them. They created the necessary climate for debate and legislation. Once they were intact, the Nordic democracies began to react positively to the rights of indigenous and minority peoples as set forth by the international community. The Nordic Saami pressed harder for direct support from their respective states for the retrieval, maintenance, and indeed in Norway, for the development of their culture through education. The Saami sought direct involvement in the legislative process to secure protection of their right to be considered a distinct people. One Saami national group inspired the other in vying for government recognition and status. In Finland the Saami pushed forward their own "Parliament" in the early 1970s. In the mid-1970s and early 1980s, the issue of rights to land and water became resurgent with Saami protests against the hydroelectric project for Finnmark. Norwegian Saami gained some advantage by certain supreme court decisions and legislation that clarified their government relationship. The Swedish Saami attained broader government acceptance in the late 1970s. Most essentially, the Saami became recognized as a distinct ethnic group with traditional rights and as a result could look forward to special consideration and protection of their culture and means of subsistence.

In 1960 UNESCO (United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture) confirmed antidiscriminatory positions taken in the convention entitled: "Convention against Discrimination of Education." This did have an influence over changing the prevalent attitude of

Nordic government officials toward Saami schooling.[3] Of even greater influence were the two 1966 United Nations conventions on human rights: "Convention on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights" and "Covenant on Civil and Political Rights." Both began with a declaration of the right of peoples to self-determination.[4] Since this principle referred to decolonization, a debate was centered on the different situations, for example, of the Saami compared to the Inuit of Greenland, who attained home rule from Denmark on 1 May 1979. In contrast, the land mass of the latter was separated from Denmark by a distance of geographic significance.[5] The ethnic minorities within the territory of a nation-state could more conceivably achieve special minority protection as defined in "Convention on Civil and Political Rights" in Article 27 which stipulated the following:

> in those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language.[6]

The question often debated was how it should be interpreted by the Nordic states. Article 27 supported demands for positive discrimination

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[3]NOU 1984:18.

[4]Justis- og politidepartementet, Ot prp nr 33 (1986-87): Om lov om Sametinget og andre samiske rettsforhold (sameloven) ([Oslo, Norway: Norway's Department of Justice and Police], 1986-87), 29.

[5]Robert Peterson, "Home Rule in Greenland," in Self-Determination and Indigenous Peoples -- Saami Rights and Northern Perspectives: proceedings of the seminar held in Copenhagen, Denmark 1-3 November 1984 by Oslo and Copenhagen Local Groups of the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) 58, trans. B. R. Murphy (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1987), 105.

[6]Carsten Smith, "The Saami Rights Committee: an Exposition," (IWGIA Document 58), 25.

and thereby gave protection to minorities. However a state with an ethnic minority did not fulfill its obligations merely by ensuring legal equality for its citizens or by avoiding negative discrimination. The principle of formal equality had become a thing of the past in international terms. The aim of the article was to secure the right of minorities to live without interference from the state. In this way it was a protection against assimilation policies.[7]

With the two human rights conventions and the convention against racial discrimination ratified in 1969 by 110 nations including the Nordic ones, a group of three human rights conventions were formed in proximity. All three created the movement toward reform in Scandinavia. Together they affirmed certain demands of positive contribution from governments, while they forbade any kind of negative discrimination. The conventions were constructed in such a way that they included both minority and indigenous peoples.[8]

The United Nations adopted conventions by legislative process; however, individual nation-states could decide whether or not to ratify them. The principles behind the conventions were considered binding on all states with regard to those articles on protection against negative discrimination. On the other hand, Article 27 required only the states that were signatories to the convention to be bound by its obligations. Since the Nordic countries were signatories to this convention, as well as to its "Optional Protocol," they had to provide their citizens with the opportunity of international verification. This meant that

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[7]Ibid.

[8]Smith, NOU 1984:18 Om samenes rettsstilling, 238.

individuals and groups of citizens of these signatories could follow certain complaint procedures allowing the United Nations to investigate possible state breaches of the convention. An international common law was also applied to indigenous peoples. By general acceptance, states were obligated to show special consideration to the areas traditionally used by indigenous people. Inasmuch as they were entitled to protection, the people had to be consulted and given a voice in how these areas should be used.[9]

More recent international documentation may be drawn upon in regard to indigenous peoples' self-determination and political rights. A meeting arranged by UNESCO in Kautokeino brought together a bevy of experts. They were anthropologists, linguists, international lawyers, and others. They reached the resolution that an indigenous population within a sovereign state that denied its fundamental rights was entitled to resort to all possible democratic means to achieve respect for those rights. On the other hand, if the rights continued to be blatantly disregarded, such a people should separate from the state. At a meeting in August 1984, the Human Rights Commission received a report from its Sub-Commission for the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities. The report offered principles and recommendations and provided a suitable source for international bodies on the development of international rules on the legal position of indigenous peoples. It put forth another principle, that of a two-way obligation between indigenous peoples and their nation-states. It stated that the right to self-determination or sovereignty did not necessarily lead to secession

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[9]Arne G. Arnesen, "Theory and Practice," (IWGIA Document 58), 145-149.

nor violation of territorial integrity. It called for continuing work in consideration of the legal position of indigenous people.

The European Human Rights Commission provided a new basis for the Saami's right to land and water in October 1984. Article 8 of "European Convention on Human Rights" guaranteed anyone the right to private life, family life, and a home. A minority group was entitled to the protection of their particular lifestyle according to the commission. Whereas the Saami were both a minority and indigenous people, they could secure their rights by choosing among the conventions, international common law, and the recent resolutions.[10]

At the first conference of World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP), eight Saami delegates were selected by the Nordic Saami Council. WCIP was supposed to hold conferences every other year. Unfortunately, it suffered from economic and internal problems. Contributions from the national governments and private sources were insufficient as well. Norway committed a large sum of money to both its management and conferences. In 1978, at the United Nations' conferences for combatting racism and racial discrimination, it was suggested that the Council for Economics and Society grant consultative status to WCIP. Once in effect, WCIP would attain United Nations' status and a solution at least to its financial straits.

Meanwhile the Saami have kept contact with the world indigenous community. They have had presentations and exhibitions in Greenland. Alternately, Greenlanders have been in Scandinavia. Even Valkeapaa,

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[10]Jens Broested, "Saami Rights and Self-determination," (IWGIA Document 58), 159-172, passim.

the Saami musician, has traveled to Canada and the Soviet Union with his joik and music group. In 1969 a series of seminars on issues of arctic education was held in Canada, Greenland, Norway, and Alaska. Universities and other institutions participated. The Saami representation came by way of the Nordic Saami Council through the Saami Council of Education, the Teachers' Training group, and the Nordic Saami Institute. At the IV WCIP's general assembly in Panama, the Saami participants helped work out the principles which were laid before the United Nations. A task force planned a meeting in 1986, but it was postponed. Dr. Erica-Irene Daes, the chairperson for the task force of "the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations," protested the postponement to the general secretary. At a conference, she mentioned Leif Dunfjell, one of the full-time representatives for the World Council and the Nordic Saami Council in Geneva. As yet, there has been no response. Despite often frustrating delays, indigenous peoples including the Saami, have set a determined course.[11]

The age of colonialism has truly neared its end, at least in the northern democracies. The hitherto unacknowledged victims have risen with the moral claim to portions of the earth they have inhabited since time immemorial. The meek have congregated by modern means of organization and persuasion to hold on to the land to which they have paid homage for generations. Indigenous peoples have been gaining a renewed prowess from each other, and the receptivity of democratic conscience

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[11]Gunnhild B. Sara, "Samene - Internasjonalt samarbeid," Perspektiv 3 (1986): 12-13; report on Daes's conference address, given to the author by O. Guntvedt of the Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs in February 1988, photocopied.

has spurred them into spirited action. Once the national governments were inhumanely harsh towards their descendants. Now indigenous leaders have come together to test their governments' recent morality predicated on human rights. For the coming decades, indigenous leaders intend to assure a just treatment of their progeny. The World Council formed an indigenous international community that has legitimized recognition and respect for difference in the human race. International concord has held the fire around which all could gather in ponderance over actualizing justice in the states that have existed on premises of injustice. By fanning the fire, inter-Scandinavian Saami leaders have set about to challenge the laws and administrative systems of three nations.

Inter-Nordic Perspectives

In general Saami efforts at inter-Nordic cooperation have closely paralleled those pursued by the Nordic nations. The time lapse and opportunity have differed but the emphasis on cultural exchange and support have been similar. Eventually they have even seemed to overlap with the peaceful reconstructive endeavors advanced by the nation-states. For the most part, Nordic cooporation had to wait until after World War II, after the Nazi occupation withdrew, and after the burned down communities in northern Norway and Finland were rebuilt and made safe for resettlement.

Nordic Saami official cooperation may be assumed to have begun in 1950 with the authorization of a standardized orthography and spelling system for the Northern Saami dialect. It was the first concrete piece of evidence of the Saami working together toward a common goal. In January 1952 in Stockholm, the Nordic Handicrafts Conference took

place for the development of Saami traditional craftsmanship. Concurrently, goals and method of support were also discussed for Saami inter-Nordic collaboration.[12] In December that year, Karl Nikkul from Finland, Asbjoern and Linca Nesheim from Norway, and Israel and Maja Ruong from Sweden drew up a program for a Saami conference. The greatly publicized conference was held in 1953 at the Saami Folk High School in Jokkmokk, Sweden and lasted for four days. Two hundred people attended. Israel Ruong created the concordant and guiding principle: "The Saami in the Nordic countries are a small minority with a distinct culture that has deep roots in Scandinavian nature and history."[13]

The main theme of the conference was Saami activation and organization. The Saami had to keep up with the modern culture and not lose their own in the process. A Saami culture movement, as a social and spiritual force, could break old dogmas and prejudices that had threatened the Saami people's existence. Of the twenty-seven presentations, only seven were by Saami. Israel Ruong, a professor of Saami language and ethnology and later head of the National Association of Swedish Saami, spoke for setting up a culture fund in support of Saami culture and professionals, such as teachers, lawyers, and researchers. He advocated an idea he said originated with Per Fokstad, a Saami activist, teacher, and writer. At the conference Fokstad had lectured on the need for a Nordic Saami academy. He held the conviction that the Saami

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[12]Bjoern Aarseth, "Kultur-og utdannings-politikken i historisk perspektiv," Report of the Saami Culture Committee to the Norwegian Government, Norges Offentlige Utredninger (NOU 1985:14) Samisk kultur og utdanning, by Kirsten Myklevoll, Chair, (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget), 90-91.

[13]Israel Ruong, "Nordiskt Samiskt Institut i Samernas Visioner om Framtiden," Diedut Nr.1 1987, (Kautokeino: Saami Instituhtta, 1987), 69.

needed to research their culture and history from their own point of view. Ruong called for laying down plans for the realization of such an academy with sections for research, culture, and information dissemination. Under research would come both the natural and social sciences. History, linguistics, ethnography, sociology, and law would be integral. He emphasized the necessity of reporting on the nation-states' jurisdiction over Saami rights. A question of vital meaning to the future of the Saami was how they would be able to secure their rights to natural resources in their areas.[14] This Nordic Saami conference so politically revitalized the Saami that they formed committees to prepare for the initial step of securing government backing: the establishment of the Nordic Saami Council.[15]

At the second meeting of the Nordic Saami Conference in Karasjok in August 1956, the Nordic Saami Council was made a reality. Its office was established initially in Helsinki and later moved to Utsjok, Finland. Its representatives were chosen by the Nordic Saami Conference which was composed of the national Saami organizations: the National Association of Norwegian Saami (NSR); the Association of Norwegian Reindeer Herders (NRL); the Finnish Saami Delegation or "Parliament;" and the two Swedish organizations of the National Association of Swedish Saami and Saami Aetnam. The Nordic Saami Council became the main coordinator for the Saami. In fact the Nordic Council authorized it as

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[14]Ibid.; R. Hirsti and K. E. Johnson, "En samisk framtidsvisjon: Israel Ruong," Grenseloese menesker, (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1987), 35-51.

[15]Diedut Nr.1 1987, 68.

the representative organ of the Saami. It should be mentioned that the Nordic Council represented five Nordic countries: Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Finland, and Denmark in 1955. In 1970 Aaland and the Faroe Islands were allowed to join. Each nation's members have filled a national section and have selected their representatives to the council.

From the beginning, weak economic support hindered the Nordic Saami Council's activities. Then in 1961, the three "Saami Nordic states" joined in a financing agreement for the Nordic Saami Council along with the Nordic Saami Conference (a body for inter-Nordic Saami organizations). The Royal Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education (KUD) pledged five-twelfths of the total cost to fund the Nordic Saami Council's secretariat with Sweden pledging four-twelfths and Finland providing the remainder. More than ten years later, in 1974 the Nordic Council of Ministers took over the main financial responsibility and provided the secretariat with a staff of full-time personnel. The Nordic Saami Council established a permanent committee, the Saami Language Committee at the same time. Its nine members were largely credited with the standardization of Saami dialects. The secretariat was connected to the Nordic Saami Institute. It set up committees for the museums, education, language, information, subsistence and crafts.[16]

The Nordic Saami Conference, which was administratively located in Helsinki, became the active advisory body for the Saami organizations in the "Saami nations." This body was composed of twenty delegates from Sweden, Norway, and Finland who were to meet every third

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[16]Aarseth, NOU 1985:14, 113-114; F. Bull, A. Eskeland; E. Tandberg, eds. Gyldendals Store Konversasjons Leksikon Bind 4 M-R, 3rd ed. (Norway: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1972).

year but have met every second year since 1974. In turn, the Nordic Saami Council provided the leadership and the executive body for Saami contacts with their respective governments. One anomaly of the Nordic Saami Council's origination was that its request for a permanent seat on the Nordic Council was denied. It has continued to have merely observer status. In pursuance of international contacts, however, it became a member of World Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1976.[17]

While utilizing inter-Nordic channels to influence the national governments, each Saami national group relentlessly pushed in the same direction at home. Each of the nations was more or less grudgingly receptive, yet each one affected the other in its legal treatment of the Saami. Norway was the first among the Nordic countries to investigate the position of indigenous peoples seriously. Norway's Supreme Court ruling in the Altevann case in 1968 was intended to provide protection of ancient territorial rights. It was then stated that the Swedish Saami had the right to be compensated for loss of grazing and fishing areas in Troms, Norway traditionally used by them for subsistence. The Kappfjell Act of 1975 upheld the right of reindeer Saami to protection of grazing and herding lands. These decisions found their precedence in the Lapp Codicils of 1751.

Norway's convention of 9 February 1972, deemed valid until 2002, was intended to discontinue former Norwegian and Swedish agreements. The Norwegian government viewed the former codicils as terminated because they became overshadowed by the precise coverage in the 1972 convention. For example, it safeguarded the Swedish Saami's reindeer

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[17]Ibid.

summer grazing for about forty thousand reindeer in Norway. The northern Norwegian Saami had and will continue to have the right to winter grazing for about ten thousand reindeer in Sweden. Despite this 1972 agreement between Norway and Sweden, the codicils of the nineteenth century had established precedence for court decisions and were to remain part of current legislation in both Norwegian and international law. Since the codicils had begun centuries of continuity for both Norwegian and Swedish legislation regarding the use of natural resources, legal decision making has continued to refer to the codicils.[18]

To realize their rights in practice, the indigenous peoples of the northern cap must participate in the decision-making process and in the creation of legislation. Being subject to diverse legal systems, the Saami have been met with formal difficulties when attempting to organize on a Nordic basis for obtaining their rights. At any rate, they can point to the concept of the peoples' sovereignty which is clearly stated in the constitutions of their respective democracies. Similar to the constitutions of Finland and Norway, Sweden's declares forthrightly: "All state power stems from the people." Therefore, the hope of the Saami to influence legislation has come by the formation of committees and councils under their respective parliaments. This reigns especially true in those parts of the governing system of vital importance to the preservation and protection of the Saami's existence as a distinct people.

The past era of Saami democratization has proceeded along a jagged edge. The Finnish Saami may serve as a particular illustration.

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[18]NOU 1984:18, 190-199.

From 1971 to 1973, a Saami Finnish committee worked on a report and proposition on the cultural, economic, social, and legal situation of the Saami in Finland. The committee's major proposal for improving the poor living conditions of the Saami was a law that would include election procedures for a separate Saami "parliamentary" body. The Finnish Saami organized the first Saami delegation in 1972. The president's decree followed with Act 824 on 9 November 1973. Some adjustments were entered with Act 253 on 18 April 1975. After the two-year trial period ended in 1975, regular and general elections proceeded to take place every four years. The twenty member delegation presided over the first session in January 1976. In the early stages of the delegation, a person with the right to vote had to belong to the Saami public census. Finland had a Saami population of approximately 4,200 from which to draw. Later, Saami registration was allowed for a person if he or she fulfilled at least one of the following criteria: (1) a person is a Saami who speaks the Saami Language as his/her mother tongue (first language); or (2) at least one of the parents has the Saami language as his/her mother tongue; or (3) the grandparents used the Saami language as their mother tongue. Clearly, language provided the official foundation for Saami identification.[19]

The Finnish Saami Delegation has prepared and coordinated issues concerning the Saami legally, economically, socially, and culturally. It has also selected Saami representatives to various official councils and committees. For example, it has named delegates to the Finnish

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[19]Sameraettsutredningen 1987 04-24, A Saami Parliament in Sweden: a Model (Stockholm, Sweden: Regerinskansliets Offset Central 1987).

section of the Nordic Saami Council and to the Nordic Saami Conference. Its degree of authority has been limited to an advisory capacity to the Finnish government. In regard to the Finnish Saami's indigenous status, both Finland's past rulers, Sweden and Russia, went along with the Saami claim to being the original inhabitants with rights to the use of natural resources in the Saami areas. However these rights were not substantiated by law.

During the past decade, exchanges with the Finnish government have not gone smoothly; most of the Saami Delegation's proposals for legislation have been ignored. The Saami have not been able to wend their way through the lengthy entanglements of the bureaucracy. The root to the delegation's lack of effectiveness lay in the line of authority it was bound to pursue. It was subject to the Ministry of Justice. By the exertions of its Saami Legal Committee, on 1 January 1986 the Saami delegation was transferred to the Ministry of the Interior. This move brought it into direct contact with the prime minister who was politically more responsible. More than ten years before the Finnish Saami achievement of an advisory body to the government in the guise of a "Parliament," the Norwegian Saami Council took the status of advisory body to the Norwegian government in 1964. In contrast, not until 1977 was a single body for Saami affairs established in the state administration of Sweden.[20] In retrospect, one could assert that the Norwegian and Finnish Saami constructed a corridor to representation in the parliaments of their governments, a passageway which all three eventually traversed.

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[20]Ibid.; NOU 1984:18.

Echoing recommendations expressed at Saami conferences in the past, three Nordic Council members recommended establishing the Nordic Saami Institute (NSI) in 1968. It was intended that the institute become a catalyst in the developing process of all the Saami groups. The Nordic Council of Ministers thought such an institute should be included in strengthening its own organization. The goal was to increase Scandinavian cooperation in culture and education. The place of the institute was debated, but most agreed on a majority-populated Saami area. Then, on 26 March 1973 the Nordic Council of Ministers approved the establishment of the Nordic Saami Institute in Kautokeino, in the province of Finnmark, Norway. The Nordic Council appointed the twelve-member executive board to the institute, and the Nordic Saami Council became its advisory body. Five of the board members were to be nominated by each of the Scandinavian nations, and seven by the Nordic Saami Conference. The board was to determine the principal guidelines for the institute's work and submit the budget proposal. Besides financial management, the board was responsible for drawing up programs and issuing instructions to the director of the institute and other personnel.[21]

Altogether the Nordic Saami Institute (NSI) has had twenty-eight positions filled by Saami, fourteen of which have been in Kautokeino. Five of the positions have remained permanent and full-time, but twenty-three have been contracted annually. In Kautokeino the cultural center houses NSI, the Norwegian Saami Council of Education, and the Saami Theatre. This situation has offered the potential for

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[21]Elina Helander, Saami Instituhtta: Nordic Saami Institute (brochure), Kautokeino: Nordic Saami Institute, 1986.

collaboration, and in the least, of an academic community. NSI has had three main sections: Language and Culture, Education and Information; and Economic, Environment, and Legal Rights. In their daily work, the staff has had to use five languages: Northern Saami, Norwegian, Finnish, Swedish, and English. In addition to translation, they have had to consider the administrative systems of three countries when implementing widespread programs.

NSI has often concurred with universities, Saami organizations, and other institutions. As an example, its Saami terminology project has progressed in conjunction with Nordic universities: the University of Tromsoe in Norway, the University of Oulu in Finland, and the Universities of Umeaa and Uppsala in Sweden. Many research projects have been channeled through NSI to these universities. Additionally NSI has consulted with UNESCO on matters of language and culture. Technically it has been understood to function outside the Nordic governments' administrative systems, so that it has become a substantial example of Nordic Saami cooperation.[22]

The institute's goals were stated in the initial statutes approved by the Nordic Council of Ministers in 1973. Its main goal has been to serve the Saami in the Nordic countries with the intention of improving their social, cultural, legal, and economic position. At the crux of this mission has rested the Saami community's values and traditions. Acquiring an understanding of the Saami language and culture has been primary. The more specific objectives have been bent on developing education, occupations, and environment. NSI has overseen the correct

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[22]Ibid.

distribution of information to the majority population and to the authorities. It has accomplished its goals through research, reports, education, the media, and many related services.[23] NSI has pursued its cultural and political programs with both short- and long-range goals. The short-range goals may be summarized with its slogans: preservation, stimulation, and development. Examples of preservation have been the museums, libraries, and publications. Examples of stimulation have been the theatre, literature, music, handicrafts, and art. All of these have required development. The long-range goals have included enhancing Saami status, developing the Saami language, and procuring natural resources and rights.[24]

NSI's intention has been to make an increasing effect on political decision making with its committee reports. Saami leaders have felt NSI must provide the expertise for legal judgements and for public undertakings that will serve Saami interests best. It should document Saami rights, the Saami as a unique ethnic group, and the Saami's relationship to other groups in Scandinavia. It must sustain both an historical and modern perspective. NSI has also been expected to create a platform for Saami cultural development. Many Saami leaders have viewed education as the main instrument for cultural growth. In the past decades, the school has played a central role in forming children's ethnic consciousness. This has been revealed by the detrimental effect it has had on retarding Saami identity during the years of

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[23]Aarseth, NOU 1985:14; Helander, Saami Instituhtta (brochure), 1986.

[24]The Nordic Saami Council's task force of 1980, Samisk kulturliv (Kautokeino: Nordisk Ministerraad, 1981), 13-14.

Norwegianization. Now the Saami feel that their language must be used in the schools and assume its rightful place at the center of activities. For these reasons, the curricula and teaching materials must also include knowledge of Saami history and society.[25] NSI has responded to these demands by granting Saami language research primacy from the beginning. Decidedly language has been pivotal to its cultural politics.

NSI has striven to provide the proper backing for political decision making without compromising its research integrity. Although the Nordic Council of Ministers has financed the essential part of NSI's activities, recently NSI has had to apply for funds from various other ministries, foundations, cultural councils, employment funds, etc. Few of these funds have been allocated to research projects. Therefore NSI has had two major concerns: that important research for the Saami may be neglected and that funding bodies can exert influence on the content of research. NSI's leadership has hoped to remedy this situation and to raise its research status inter-Nordically and internationally. To serve the Saami community and meet the demands of Saami leaders, it has ranked research in the humanities most highly. According to NSI, the reason has been its affinity to the nurturance of a Saami ethnic identity whose ancient roots must grow in a presently dynamic community.[26]

The Nordic Saami Institute has also had some noteworthy accomplishments. Its Education and Information Section attends to the

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[25]Anton Hoem, et al., Diedut Nr.1 1987, 100.

[26]Elina Helander, "Rappart fraan seminarium av organisering av samisk forskning och rekrytering till hoegre utbilding" [seminar at the University of Umeaa] (Sweden: Umeaa samefoerening, 19 March 1987), photocopied; A. Hoem, et al., "Vurdering om institutets status," Diedut 1, 1987, (Kautokeino: Saami Instituhtta, 1987), 116.

publication of Diedut, a periodical for Nordic Saami Institute activities. So far thirty issues of Diedut have been printed on research results, textbooks, and annual reports. Along with the Saami Culture Committee for Norway, NSI has prepared a report on Saami higher education and research. A Saami Culture Committee member, E. Niemi, was NSI's reference person. NSI also appointed a task force with Odd M. Haetta as the chairperson who represented the Norwegian Saami Council of Education. Other participants were Professor A. Hoem of the University of Oslo, and NSI's section head for Education and Information, Dr. E. Helander. (The results of their findings will be discussed in the next chapter section on Saami higher education.) At a recent seminar, Dr. Helander outlined the creation of an autonomous institution for higher education, teacher training, and research. She presented a synopsis of the task force's report. She stated that NSI's sections could accomodate the proposals. The Saami higher educational institution would benefit the recruitment of Saami researchers and assemble an academic community for inter-Nordic Saami.[27]

NSI has already had the task of coordinating official organs for education on an inter-Nordic basis. Other efforts have included the publication of an information booklet on the Saami population for the Norwegian Ministry of Municipalities and Labor. NSI submitted a proposal for and has planned to develop its own archives. Furthermore all NSI's sections have arranged seminars. In 1985 the Economic, Environment, and Legal Section and the University of Bergen arranged a seminar on legal questions for the Nordic countries. Knowledge sharing of this

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[27]Ibid.

type has helped NSI to enhance its expertise and to work closely with the Saami community in the decision-making process. NSI has been unique as an institution of and by trinational Saami, in its administration, in its coordination of a variety of institutions, and in its sensitivity and duty to Saami interests.[28]

The institute has welcomed internal and external criticism and has recognized certain problems. For its plans for higher education and more useful and respected research, it will have to expand its work and reform the present employment structure. It will have to replenish its library and incorporate archives overseen by a professional archivist. It has needed to attract more qualified researchers, but one problem with this has been the incapability of offering secure and high status positions that are attractive to qualified Saami.[29] Ole H. Magga, one of its most prestigious researchers, completed his doctorate on studies in Saami infinitive syntax in 1986. In 1987 he accepted a full-time professorship of Finno-Ugric languages at the University of Oslo. Since Saami professionals, such as Professor Magga, have been in great demand, he has been compelled to alternate weeks with his "B position" as a researcher at NSI in Kautokeino. Norwegian employees may hold "A" and "B positions." Therefore Saami professionals and leaders may be activated to extreme degrees according to individual dedication by holding

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[28]Nikolaus Kuhmunen, "Verksamheten vid Nordiskt Samiskt Institut under 10 aar," Diedut Nr.1 1987, 95; Nordic Saami Institute brochure.

[29]Ibid., 91, and Nordic Saami Institute brochure.

two positions and by taking part in organizations and committees.[30]

As for other examples of the institute's humanistic research, a project has been underway in Finland and Sweden on Saami terminology. In Karasjok's Polyclinic (health center), there has been a project on child psychiatry and two more on social and pedagogical psychology. As for schooling, the focus has been on the Saami child, and an expansion of internal school research has been planned, with emphasis on language abilities in children.[31] To a lesser degree, some projects have involved natural science and handicrafts. They have encompassed Saami skills with reindeer hide, wood, and fish production.[32] The Nordic Saami Institute has become the largest, if not the most significant, institution for Saami interests right in the Saami heartland.

The Nordic Coordinating Committee was established in 1964 at the suggestion of the Nordic Saami Council and the Nordic Council. Its subcommittees have taken up issues on culture and reindeer herding. Norway, Finland, and Sweden have provided five members each. Since 1981, the committee has provided two-way Saami translations, and it has set up a computerized bibliography on the reindeer and reindeer pastorialism. The Nordic Culture Fund, established in 1979 by the Nordic Council of Ministers, has supported arts and crafts, communication, and education. Several exhibitions have resulted. In addition the Nordic Saami

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[30]O. H. Magga, interview by author; O. M. Haetta, interview by author, October 1987, Alta, tape recording, the Saami Department of Alta Teachers' College, Alta, Finnmark.

[31]Helander, seminar in Umeaa, Sweden, March 1987.

[32]Doaibmacilgehus 1986 - Aarsberetning/verksamhetsberaettelse 1986, (Kautokeino: Saami Instituhtta, 1986).

Council produced a standardization of Northern Saami orthography in 1979. This facilitated the publication of numerous Saami textbooks (The majority of Norwegian Saami speak the Northern Saami dialect.). Since then, Norway has given a sum of twenty million crowns (about three million dollars) toward Saami instructional materials. An orthography for the Southern Saami dialect was standardized for Norway and Sweden in 1978. An orthography for the Lule Saami dialect has recently been approved by KUD. The Nordic distribution of Saami literature began in 1985. The Saami radio programs, Davvin and Saemas, have followed the standardized forms and have joined in a project, which has included lessons in the Saami dialects, with Norway's National Broadcasting System (NRK).[33]

The collaboration of the northern cap museums has helped to further the preservation of Saami culture. Tromsoe Museum has kept contact with museums in Finland and Sweden through research projects and popular scientific periodicals on Saami history and culture. In the 1960s the museums in Tromsoe, Uleaaborg, Luleaa, and Umeaa held exhibits on themes of nature and culture for each of their areas. Their work earned the name of the Northern Cap Museum and has steadily received financial aid from the Nordic Council of Ministers. At the 1976 Nordic Saami Conference in Enare, a museum task force was formed. It has influenced officials at provincial and national levels for Saami cultural preservation. Most of the Northern Cap Museum's work has centered on standardizing methods of cataloging, systematizing, computerizing, and

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[33]Johs. Aanderaa, Department Head of KUD, letter to all departments, municipalities, major universities, etc., 29 May 1987, photocopied.

agreeing on common terminology. Courses and seminars have been given to increase the competency of museum personnel. Inter-Nordically, the Saami have been divided by overlapping border regions based on history, language, and culture, that is, Southern Saami, Lule Saami, Northern Saami, and Eastern Saami (Skolt Saami). The division has been the point of reference for mutual activities.[34]

A group of librarians from Norway, Sweden, and Finland collaborated in the 1960s and 1970s. They had catalogues printed on Saami literature. A common Saami research library and archives has been under discussion. The Saami "national" libraries have sought regular issues on the Saami and in the Saami language. Therefore it has been recommended to centralize documentation at the Karasjok Library and connect it to the computerized library at the University of Trondheim. The Karasjok library has cooperated inter-Nordically to produce a Saami bibliography. The Nordic Saami Institute has submitted an overview of Saami textbooks, and the Norwegian Saami Council of Education has documented materials on teacher methodology and textbooks.[35]

The Nordic Council of Ministers has contributed to the great strides achieved for Saami culture in Norway, Sweden, and Finland. In 1980 it named a task force of professionals who came from the Nordic Saami Council, the Nordic Saami Institute, and veterans of governing bodies possessing Saami expertise. They submitted a report in 1981. It had a list of long-range plans, the most concrete of which was setting

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[34]Report of the Committee for Saami Culture and Education to KUD, NOU 1987:34, by Kirsten Myklevoll, Chair (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1987), Chapter 10, passim.

[35]NOU 1987:34, Chapter 6.

up a culture fund, a position for a Saami secretary of culture, and suggestions for more individual national efforts. These plans were followed up by engaging a secretary from 1983 to 1986 for the Nordic Saami Council's secretariat in Utsjok. The secretary's efforts made it possible for several more Saami organizations and cultural activities to blossom in the past decade. The Saami Artists Alliance and the Saami Authors' Society began in 1979. In 1982 and 1983, the Saami Theatre Society and the Saami Music Society came into being. The Nordic governments gave stipends to Saami artists of all kinds. For sports, there was Nordic Saami Sports Organization founded in 1981. The Saami sports of Nordic skiing (cross-country), reindeer racing, lasso throwing, and river boating among others had championship competitions. More recently Saami youth camps have been arranged. In 1982 the Nordic Saami Teachers League was formed with national constituencies; the membership has included students.[36]

In 1970 local communities in the northern cap region expressed the need and were consulted on the provision of roadway and bridge usage. Nordic cooperation aided in bringing about the construction of a bridge over Tana through Utsjok. In 1983 the Nordic Council of Ministers recommended that the project be pursued as a viable means of employment. The cost, estimated at twenty-six million crowns (about three and a half million dollars), was divided equally between Norway and Finland. Construction began in 1987. Many more across-the-border

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[36]NOU 1985:14, 90-94.

cooperative efforts have flourished in these past decades of Saami democratization.[37]

In a most recent NOU report, the Saami Culture Committee of Norway discussed Article 27 of "United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights." The committee strongly reiterated the obligation of the Nordic Saami nations to preserve the Saami culture. Just as the Saami Rights Committee had reasoned previously, the Saami Culture Committee advocated specifying the provision of a material basis for maintaining Saami culture. The regulation of occupations, such as salmon fishing and reindeer herding, would have to occur inter-Nordically. To be effective, the Nordic countries would have to initiate an agreement or treaty with the necessary decisions regarding the relationship between culture and subsistence.

The Saami's status as a Nordic people was the primary theme at the 1986 Nordic Saami Conference in Aare. The conference members exhorted the Nordic countries to strive further with this question for such an agreement. In concordance, the Saami Culture Committee has urged that the agreement take the form of a treaty or convention. It has recommended that the various national regulations be harmonized and that Saami representation and constitutional rights be included. In this instance, the question of Saami representation on the Nordic Council should assume the highest priority. Under the codification should come the status of Saami as a national language, equal to that of the other Nordic tongues, and the right of Saami children to instruction in their own language and culture throughout the school system. Furthermore, the

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[37]Ibid.

Saami Culture Committee has asserted that the Nordic convention or agreement should contain the decisions reached for an academic research and higher educational institution. The convention will have to include the sharing of natural resources in relationship to economic subsistence. The nation-states will have to arrive at a financial agreement and a procedure for creating a unified Nordic Saami representative governing body. The Saami Culture Committee has also expressed the hope that these actions will serve to encourage the USSR to put through an equivalent agreement and regulations of occupations for Soviet Saami. Possibly, the Soviet Saami will then be enabled to cooperate with the Nordic Saami and their nations that have progressed in this respect.[38]

The Norwegian Government

By reviewing certain actions taken by the Norwegian Saami, non-Saami supporters, and the government, Norway has seemingly taken the lead in its government relationship to the Saami compared to Finland and Sweden. Norway has had the largest and most concentrated population of Saami on the northern cap; for this reason, the efforts to change Saami disadvantaged conditions in a society of expanding industrialization and modernization have proven to be far-reaching. In the span of time from the early 1950s to the present, Norway has made an impact on its Saami populated neighbors, Finland and Sweden.

Through the Ministry of Church and Education (KUD), the Norwegian government appointed a committee in 1956 to elucidate Saami issues. On 26 June 1964, the Norwegian Saami Council replaced the Saami

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[38]NOU 1987:34, 154-155.

Council for Finnmark of 1953. The Norwegian Saami Council, which came under the Ministry of Agriculture, was instituted for the purpose of representing Saami interests nationwide. Initially it had eight members and a one-person secretariat in Karasjok. After 1980 the membership was increased to eighteen. The appointments were made every four years. The Saami Council had separate committees for subsistence, economics, and social affairs, culture, language, education, and management and law. It was the Saami advisory body for the national, regional, and municipal authorities. In 1980 when it was placed unter the Ministry of Municipalities and Labor, it received the power to distribute government funds in support of Saami handicrafts and Saami organizations.[39]

More specifically, the Saami Committee of 1956 chaired by Professor Asbjoern Nesheim, of Sami language and culture, was mandated to report on the Saami issues.[40] It was to concentrate on the principal social conditions and to propose economic and cultural improvements. It delivered its recommendations in 1959 which contained the official adjustments required for a complete break with the old assimilation policy. It advocated integrating the Saami into the national economy and social structure so that they could acquire social equality. A consolidation of Saami districts accompanied by administrative adjustments was also proposed. There were three points that, surprisingly to the Norwegian government, became controversial among the Saami themselves. The Saami of Karasjok and other communities in Finnmark objected to the resolution due to possible segregation by concentrated areas, by the

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[39]Ot prp nr 33 (1986-87), 40-41; NOU 1985:14, 88.

[40]Bull, Gyldendals Store Konversasjons Leksikon.

establishment of Saami government bodies, and by the use of the Saami language in schools. The spirit of Norwegianization had been quite successful in Karasjok. The heated debate that occurred at the meeting on 9 April 1960 became known as the "Easter Resolution." Other Saami, particularly the Saami organizations, rallied to the support of the committee. However after the display of Saami factionalism, the government moved cautiously, still it went along with the proposal to stop assimilatory practices. Then owing to the Saami Committee's proposals, the debates in Stortinget (the Norwegian Parliament) on 27 May 1963 showed for the first time that Saami conditions and Saami status in Norway were worthy of comprehensive reevaluation. This was documented in parliamentary Report 21 (1962-63) which made clear that it was the state's duty to give the Saami the opportunity to preserve their language and other aspects of culture according to their wishes.[41]

The Norwegian Council for Culture was a relatively new organ actualized under KUD in 1964 and later moved to the Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs. Its members came with the conviction of protecting and preserving culture including the Saami culture. It set up Saami committees for art and creative handicrafts (1970), literature (1971), and music (1976). Later in 1981 these were collected under one agency: the Saami Culture Committee. The Norwegian Council for Culture also set up the Saami Council for Education in the mid-1970s. The Saami Council for Education was occupied with developing school instruction, distributing information, and giving professional advice to governing bodies. The central government pursued a positive course for Saami

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[41]Aarseth, NOU 1985:14, 58-61.

cultural retrieval in the 1970s. Yet, the Saami were still not in the stream of political decision making. In due respect to the accomplishments of the Norwegian Saami Council, which theoretically was to assume some political clout, the council was incapable of withstanding the Saami's momentous struggle for their rights in Norway. The grand test came at the start of the 1970s.

Norway's lead over its neighbors gained its impetus from Saami protests and demands. When the Norwegian Water Resources and Electricity Board announced its hydroelectric project in 1970, a Saami pilot group felt an imminent danger of extinction to their people with this threat to Saami livelihood. The project included the two lakes of Jiesjavrre and Jotkajavrri and the total flooding of the village of Masi in the midst of Finnmark.[42] The Norwegian Parliament voted for the project, though it took three sessions before reaching the necessary majority. The news overwhelmed the Saami, for now there was no doubt that officially they did not exist as a distinct people with any rights to traditional resources. In Masi an action committee was formed, and at a meeting of the municipal committee in August 1970, young and old alike joined forces in a demonstration which confronted a visiting parliamentary delegation. This was the first time the Saami had publicly shown such a united front. A number of Norwegian researchers, writers, and well-known personalities joined in the protests that accelerated

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[42]Oeystein Dalland, Finnmarksvidda - for Hvem? Kraftutbyggings spoersmaalet Nord-Troms, Alta, Tana (Norway: Norges Naturvernforbund, 1972), 12-13.

throughout the country.[43]

Finally in 1973, Parliament decreed Masi a national heritage area. Subsequently, the Norwegian Water Resources and Electricity Board commissioned a more thorough investigation, and the resultant report warned of catastrophic consequences to reindeer pastorialism in Jiesjavrre, designated for construction. The two national Saami organizations (NRL and NSR) announced that they were against the project. The "salmon barons" gave their support for economic reasons. Several government departments produced revised legislation, and in 1978 Parliament legislated a considerably reduced project. It was decided to drop the two lakes from the original plan and to spare Masi.[44] Despite the compromise, the Saami were joined by non-Saami in literally casting body and mind against the authorities. In November 1979 in Oslo, the Saami Action Group (SAG) erected a tent or lavvo in front of Stortinget on Karl Johansgate, the main street that ends at the royal palace facing this parlimentary building. The Saami protestors went on a hunger strike and won sympathy and support. WCIP and IWGIA sent an appeal to the Norwegian government to recognize Saami interests in the Alta/ Kautokeino river controversy. In 1981 at the Alta/ Kautokeino river project site, another group (Peoples' Action Group) of sympathizers, both non-Saami and Saami, chained their bodies to erect a wall of

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[43]John Gustavsen, "Norge paa Nulpunktet. Sider ved en vandkraftudbygning i Samernes Land," Vi er Samer: Laplands og Finmarkens Urbefolkning, (Koebenhavn: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 1982), 11.

[44]NOU 1984:18, 50-51; Robert Paine, "Ethnodrama and the 'Fourth World': The Saami Action Group in Norway, 1979-81," in Indigenous Peoples and the Nation-State, ed. Noel Dyck, (Canada: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1985), 193-196.

obstruction to prevent any move toward destruction of the economic and ecological balance of the area. Conservationists and academics joined in the "Alta Action," as it was called. Both actions reaped massive media coverage. Norwegians in the southern part of the country were made aware of Saami demands and the natural resources in the North.[45]

The protests lasted from 1979 to 1981 and brought government officials and Saami organization leaders to the negotiating table. The Norwegian government, under Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, appointed the Saami Rights Committee on 10 October 1980, which was a direct result of the Alta Action, and the Saami Culture Committee on 17 October 1980.[46] Carston Smith was named chairperson of the Saami Rights Committee; the other seventeen members were a mixture of both Saami and non-Saami experts and/or leaders representing a number of interest groups. The principal Saami organizations were represented, except for the National Association of Norwegian Saami (NSR) who withdrew their representation from most of the public or offical councils and committees from October 1981 to June 1982. Their purpose was to demonstrate disapproval of the unrelenting construction at the site of the Alta/Kautokeino River.[47]

In spite of preliminary difficulties, the Norwegian government maintained that it would stand firm in utilizing the democratic process to reach a satisfactory solution. The government mandate to the Saami

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[45]Yngve Jacobsen, "Alta er paa talefot," Hoyt og Lavt, (Scandinavian Airlines, 4 November 1987), 62-65.

[46]Per L. Tonstad, "Norsk samepolitikk etter Altasaka," Syn & Segn 3 (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, juni 1987): 195-196.

[47]Justis-og politidepartementet, Ot prp nr 33 (1986-87), 9.

Rights Committee was accompanied by full financial support for the duration of the work at hand. The mandate was to clarify Saami rights in view of Norwegian, inter-Nordic, and international law. It stated the government concern for the constitutional protection of the Saami and suggested the establishment of a separate, elected and representative Saami body. The next priority was economic rights, basically Saami rights to natural resources, such as land and water. One problem with the latter was the government claim to the greater part of Finnmark as state property. The Saami disputed this claim, and others, while countering with their own assertion that, at the very least, they had extensive rights to the area based on historical use.[48]

In 1984 the Saami Rights Committee turned out a hefty document (over six hundred printed pages). The Nordic Saami Institute was mainly responsible for the beginning of the report on the Saami as an ethnic group in Norway. It explained the Saami position within Norway with respect to history, settlement, livelihood, and language. The next part was a review of foreign legislation, especially of international law on the protection of ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples. As delineated in international law, the report claimed that the Saami had the right to a certain degree of self-determination in matters of culture. Additionally, the Saami had the right to state support for the expression of their culture and to participation in the life of the community on equal terms with the majority population.

The report explained that the term "culture" had to be interpreted as having a material basis. Should economic or occupational

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[48]Steinar Pedersen, "Fornorsking paa nye maater," Syn & Segn, 203.

opportunities be taken away, the Saami would not be able to maintain nor to develop their own culture. The committee reasoned that traditional occupations also came under the protection of Article 27 of the United Nations Convention on Human Rights. In addition, "culture" should be given a broad definition constitutionally. Although many believed language the central element of Saami culture, there was a more dynamic side. The committee expressed the fear that a constitutional provision might lead to artificially freezing Saami culture. Contrary to the historical stance on Saami matters taken by Norway and Sweden, an important fact was that a tiny minority of Saami pursued reindeer herding for subsistence exclusively. Even many in this group combined reindeer herding with other benefits of the natural environment. Instead the committee preferred the term "community life" to describe the social life that was sustained by the Saami themselves whatever form their occupations might take. The Saami Rights Committee reinforced this concept by stating that, in various areas of organization, the life of the Saami had traditionally been collective in nature.[49]

After much debate, a majority of the committee were for an amendment to the Norwegian Constitution to read as follows:

> The state authorities are obliged to provide the necessary preconditions that will enable the Saami ethnic group to enhance and develop their language, their culture and their community.[50]

Besides this "Saami paragraph," the committee unanimously proposed legislating a Saami law, a law on the "Saami Parliament," and the

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[49]Smith, "The Saami Rights Committee: an Exposition," (IWGIA Document 58), 28-33.

[50]Justis-og politidepartementet, Ot prp nr 33 (1986-87), 11.

status of Saami rights. The Saami representative body would be advisory on economics, law, natural resources, and culture for all the Saami.

In the Norwegian government, regulations on people's rights and the replacement of the Norwegian Saami Council by the "Saami Parliament" came under the Ministry of Justice. On the other hand, voting rights and elections in provinces and municipalities came under the Ministry of Municipal Affairs. In accomodating to this situation, the government set up an interdepartmental task force with representation from both ministries. After the publication and distribution of the Saami Rights Committee's report, hearings were announced for 1 August 1985. This time line was optimistic at best. Over thirty Saami organizations and over seventy-five government ministries, departments, municipalities, colleges, universities, museums, etc., including the IWGIA, requested more time to prepare their responses. Thus, in paying heed to the major Norwegian Saami organizations, the universities, and the rest of those contacted, the hearings were postponed until early 1986.

Most of the responses converged on priorities. The Saami National Association (SLF) believed land and water rights, from the perspective of the Saami Culture Committee's efforts, should come first. The Saami Culture Committee had been holding meetings since its appointment in 1980. Its nine-member body had a privileged autonomy from the Norwegian government in that two representatives each came from the national Saami organizations, NSR, NRL, and SLF. The Norwegian Council for Culture reserved the right to choose three of the members with the appropriate credentials. The Saami organizations were awaiting the latest results to help in clarifying their future possibilities.

Another response came from the University of Trondheim which advocated clarifying the degree of power of the "Saami Parliament" first. In contrast to this view, neither the Saami Rights Committee nor the Ministry of Justice believed any expansion of the Saami Parliament's authority was opportune. At a meeting on 17 February 1981, Ole H. Magga led the delegation of the Saami National Association (SLF) who agreed that the Saami Rights Committee was not ready to specify the rights to land and water. The immediate establishment of a Saami delegation or "Parliament" took priority. In any case, its degree of authority should be progressive rather than fixed. Once it was functioning, it could deal with its own position and that of the Saami in Norway. In the interim, more research and preparation were needed to support future requirements. The questions of how elections should be conducted and of how representation should be decided were primary.[51]

The Ministry of Justice called for acceptance of the Saami parliament bill and the possible inclusion of the Saami paragraph. The ministry's press release announcing the proposition for the Sameting Act (Saami Parliament Act) stated it was Norway's national and international responsibility to pass the bill. The bill, already accepted in the lower house of Parliament, was brought before the entire Norwegian Parliament at the next session. Therefore, it would be in time for the Norwegian parliamentary elections and for the Saami delegation or "parliamentary" elections that were to be held concurrently in 1989.[52] In accordance, on 12 June 1987, the Norwegian Sameting was decreed with

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[51]Ibid., and O. H. Magga, interview by author.

[52]Ot prp nr 33 (1986-87), 13-15.

full parliamentary approval.[53]

Some highlights of "the Saami Law" have revealed resolutions to issues previously debated. The Saami Parliament's responsibilities are to include all matters pertaining to the Saami people in Norway. It is to be the official organ for presenting Saami issues, concerns, and complaints to the Norwegian government and to private institutions as well. It is to have direct elections based on majority rule. The Saami Parliament is to choose the personnel for its own administration. The Saami law has further stated that the Saami Parliament is to carry on the duties of and replace the Norwegian Saami Council in all of its previous functions and rights. A person's right to vote is to be based on the following criteria: all those who declare themselves to be included as Saami, and who either: (1) use the Saami language at home; or (2) have or have had a parent or grandparent who has used the Saami language as the first language at home, can demand to be written into the public Saami census of his/her community of residence.[54]

Similar to the Finnish Saami criteria for voter registration, language has been presumed definitive for Saami identity, but there has been a somewhat controversial difference. The Norwegian Saami have added that "all those who declare themselves" as Saami may also demand to be included in the public Saami census and be eligible to vote. On the whole, the purpose of the law is to set to rights the Norwegian

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[53]Register til Stortingsforhandlinger 131. Ordentlige Storting 1986-87, 9. Del Systematiske saksoversikter, Saksregister, Talerregister (Oslo: A/S Fredr. Arnesen Bok-og Akcidenstrykkeri, 1987), 203.

[54]Ot prp nr 33 (1986-87), 123-124.

government and Saami relationship in order that the Saami can secure and develop their language, culture, and society. No mention has been made of the Saami's rights to natural resources. However the rights to land and water have been debated in Parliament. There, it was agreed that once those rights were made clear, the power of the Saami Parliament would be evaluated again.

With the Finnish Saami Delegation or "Parliament" functioning since 1976 and the Norwegian "Saami Parliament" decreed in 1987 with more extensive rights, it follows that Sweden must achieve the same status in the view of its neighbors and the international community. Nordic Saami organizations have lent their ongoing support. The Swedish Saami have been encouraged to demand their own "Parliament." They have argued that Sweden can no longer remain behind Finland and Norway in its treatment of the Saami minority. A Swedish government-appointed committee is to detail the establishment of a Saami delegation modeled after the one in Norway. To date, the Swedish government has agreed to Saami demands. Discussion, investigation, and committee activities have been in the process of realizing the Swedish Saami's goal. By Norwegian government and Saami initiative, inter-Nordic Saami and non-Saami efforts, the Nordic Saami may soon realize meaningful participation in their respective governments.[55]

The Norwegian government has complied with special willingness to Saami needs for education since education has been believed to hold the key to the preservation of Saami culture and language. The schools have played an essential role in identity confirmation and in raising

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[55] A Saami Parliament in Sweden: a Model, 5-13.

Saami status in Norway. In the 1960s and 1970s, the number of Saami high school graduates accelerated. The Saami were enabled to express long stifled feelings of self-worth. The few notable Saami leaders, of unequal educational background, were adament in challenging the schools to rectify past wrongs. They desired an active participation in restructuring and readjusting school content. With the royal resolution of 8 December 1975, the Saami Council of Education (SCE) came under KUD. SCE received its own director and six other members. Three of the members were suggested by the Norwegian Saami Council. The membership has been reappointed every four years. SCE has had a three-person task force and five committees to relate to the councils for the basic and secondary schools, research, teachers' training, and agricultural education. Moreover it has had its own reference group for the basic school's model plan. Its secretariat in Kautokeino has consisted of seven people plus a number of assistants. Its main goal has been to coordinate raising the quality of Saami instruction which has involved developing curricula and teaching materials in the Saami language. It has also rendered information on the Saami people, culture, and subsistence and consultation to KUD for decisions on school policy. In 1982 the state budget for SCE was over three million crowns (about six hundred thousand dollars).[56]

As mentioned above, the Saami Culture Committee, under the Ministry of Scientific and Cultural Affairs, has been mandated by royal resolution to research culture and education. Their activities have covered the fields of the Saami media, theatre, pictorial art,

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[56]NOU 1984:18, 466-467.

literature, higher education and research. They have submitted three reports: Saami Culture and Education (1985), Secondary Education for the Saami, and Saami Culture and Education (1987). With their completion, the committee's years of work have come to an end. For the past year, they have explored the question of a higher educational institution for the Saami, among other cultural entities. Their proposals along with those of others, will be reviewed in the next chapter as incremental to Saami educational settings.[57]

Applicable to the present rendering has been the Saami Culture Committee's understanding of the Saami Parliament's organization for culture and education. The committee's 1987 report has illustrated the interconnections of the several Nordic and Norwegian Saami councils, organizations, and committees and their relationship to the Norwegian Parliament, ministries, regional governments, etc. It urged transferring the central political administration from the Ministry of Municipalities and Labor to the Ministry of State. This would serve the purpose of not only raising the prestige of Saami issues, but it would also allow for more effective cooperation between the different governing sectors. The administrative organization would require restructuring because the responsibiities of the Saami councils and committees have been diffuse, and the details of coordination have not been adequately formulated. Thus the committee considered it logical for the Saami Parliament to assume this task along with the central authorities. Together they could create laws, regulations and other practical directions for issues on Saami culture and education.

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[57]NOU 1985:14 Samisk kultur og utdanning, 7.

Half of the Saami Culture Committee agreed to combining all previous councils to a single one for Saami education, culture and language. The Saami language, culture, and education committees would become independent sections within this main body. These members of the committee further suggested that the main coordinating body be called Saami Education, Culture, and Language Council (SUKS). SUKS should have its own administration and fifteen members, five for each section. The Saami Parliament should provide three members for each of the sections, nine in all. The Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs should name two members each to the sections for culture and language while KUD should name two members to the section for education. This system would allow for more efficient interaction with the communities, municipalities, and provinces. On the whole, a broad range of contacts would be facilitated with the advantage of the professional experts and the official authorities. The committee members holding this view elaborated on the duties of each section of SUKS. They also stated that Nordic cooperation in Saami affairs was to be reliant on the internal improvements of each nation-state. However, all of the committee members urged that each of the various cultural and dialectal groups be represented. They asserted that a common Nordic coordinating body be instituted for Norway, Finland, and Sweden. These three nation-states had already recognized the Saami as a unique ethnic group and Nordic folk. It stood to reason that all the efforts for the Saami on a Nordic basis in the past decades should culminate in a Nordic Saami delegation or "Parliament."[58]

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[58]NOU 1987:34, 150, 179-185.

This chapter has related the influence of agreements and legal actions taken by international, inter-Scandinavian, and Norwegian agencies and/or governing bodies in regard to the Nordic Saami since World War II. It has shown Scandinavian cooperation in providing financial support and special agencies for the retrieval of Saami language and culture. It has also explained the effect of Norwegian Saami protests against their government which legislated major construction on Saami land and water without consulting those who have used them. The Norwegian government met Saami confrontation by taking steps to admit Saami leaders into democratic decision making. In the 1980s, Norway recognized the Saami as a distinct ethnic group and accelerated supportive efforts toward improving Saami education, research, and economic conditions. The Norwegian Parliament passed a "Saami law" for the establishment of a Saami delegation, designated in government documents as a Sameting or Saami Parliament, that would guarantee Saami representation for Saami issues.

Chapter 3 will review the historical development of Norwegian Saami organizations and institutions for education and research from postwar initiatives to the present. It will identify the change in social conditions and government attitude in regard to the Saami in Norway. It will reveal the government's financial commitment to preserving Saami traditional culture through institutions, such as museums, universities, and colleges. Finally Chapter 3 will explain how the Saami leaders, with the aid of the government, brought about specialized Saami education, and it will describe their plans for an autonomous higher educational institution or Saami university.

CHAPTER III

NORWEGIAN SAAMI HIGHER EDUCATION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: ORGANIZATIONS AND DEMOCRATIZATION

The Norwegian Saami organizations have played an important role in affecting the Norwegian goverment's change in policy to afford specialized education for the Saami. Chapter 3 reviews the development of Saami organizations. It describes Norway's compliance to Saami organizational demands for higher education, based on the rationale to preserve and develop the Saami language and culture. At the onset, the Saami leadership contended for recognition as a Nordic folk. The growing acceptance of Saami rights evolved from international and inter-Nordic efforts. Still, the Saami organizations and Saami representation in the communities, municipalities, and provinces have been irreplaceable in expressing Saami needs and formulating realistic priorities, along with ensuring the Saami's future as a distinct people.

The slow growth of Saami organizations has been identified as a concern by academicians who criticize the Saami for being passive or elusive. Yet, several factors may be attributed to their latency in organizing on a Pan-Saami level. Traditionally Saami rights and obligations have been based on kindred and neighboring relations. As the community or siida underwent frequent attacks and/or exploitation by foreigners, the Saami learned to distrust outsiders. This led to a tighter, more closely-knit siida. The diversity of Saami dialects has born

witness to the siida's isolation. It has further retarded or prevented easy communication with more remotely situated Saami. However, there have been the demographic realities of this isolation. For example, the sparsely populated northern cap led some Saami tribes to nomadism and wide dispersion. Also the lengthy winter and months of around-the-clock darkness above the Arctic Circle have added to the hardships for survival. The terrain of Saami homelands spans three geographical zones: mountains, a wind-blown tundra, and a craggy coast dotted with fjords. Thus, it seems likely that differences in geography, climate, and culture have discouraged contact with distant cousins.

Having a Saami identity has depended on lifestyle, relationships, and use of the Saami language. As the Sea Saami have lived alongside Vikings or non-Saami Norwegians for about three thousand years, they have especially acquired Norwegian values.[1] The stigma of being Saami which was most intolerable in the late 1800s and early 1900s caused the Sea Saami to almost completely assimilate. The contrasts in occupations and values between the coastal nonnomadic Sea Saami and the seminomadic Reindeer Saami often led to conflicts. This situation proved detrimental to Pan-Saami organization. Political conflict has also been found in the government's disdain of the Saami's organizing and the fear of Saami nationalism. Perhaps accusations of Saami passivity have stemmed from a David and Goliath situation, but

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[1]Per Mathiesen, "Aa vaere same," Uniternt: Blad for Universitetet i Tromsoe 5, (Tromsoe: Universitetet i Tromsoe, juni 1987), 11.

the Saami have been a David without a slingshot or suitable weapon. The Saami's lack of unity has come from many of the above conditions.[2]

However, by the mid-twentieth century, several events stimulated Saami organizational efforts. After World War II, the availability of roadways and buses facilitated the assembly of the Saami across the distances. Norway's reconstruction and modernization of mass communication brought the outside world into newly built homes. Then at the end of the 1940s, the winds of external changes began to sway official attitudes in Norway. Between and because of the world wars, the majority of Norwegians had suffered from unemployment and hunger. The Arbeiderpartiet or Labor party, under Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen (1945-51), took control of the government and labored for improved economic conditions and full employment.[3] The lower standard of living of the fringe population, to which many Saami belonged, was to be eradicated. Everyone was to benefit from postwar economic growth. Along with all Norwegians, the Saami were to attain equality. Norway's nationalized educational system became infused with the belief in egalitarianism which grew strongly in the 1970s. Improvements in home and public facilities and educational opportunities were to reach the far corners of the northern part of Norway.

Postulating specific rights and needs have been optimal to the establishment of a new status, yet they must be positive and capable of coexisting with the dominant group. Saami organization leaders aimed at

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[2]Harold Eidheim, Aspects of the Lappish Minority Situation, 3rd ed., (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1977), 34-36.

[3]Asbjoern Oeveraas and John Midgaard, Norges historie for Gymnas og Laererskoler, (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1968), 233-235.

implementing a plan for a society where relations could be organized on a program of equality between the minority and majority cultures. This plan presupposed a situation in which individuals would have the opportunity to obtain social and economic benefits while retaining a Saami identity. The task was to arouse interest among the young and spur them into organizational activity. The foundation from which to build upwardly was the group that retained respect for its indigenous economic activity. Although small in number compared to other Saami groups, the Reindeer Saami of Norway were the first group to organize nationally.[4]

Norwegian Saami Organizations

Several attempts at organizing the Saami had taken place in the early twentieth century.[5] Locally based nomadic associations had sprung up in the 1930s. The German occupation of Norway during the war had brought these organizational activities to a standstill. In 1948 the Saami were enabled to formally arrange a national meeting. The drama and relief of the postwar period set an impressive atmosphere and tone to the gathering of many distinguished leaders, both Saami and non-Saami. The observations of war destruction and reconstruction in the North were recorded by a Swedish nomadic teacher on his trip to the historical meeting. Carl Johansson noted the following:

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[4]Of about sixty thousand Saami on the northern cap, Norwegian Saami have been estimated at a population of forty thousand including about 2,500 Reindeer Saami. Other Saami groups have been counted by the criteria of language use and not by occupation. (See page 104 of this study for the criteria.); in Israel Ruong, Samerna i historien och nutiden, (Sweden: Bonnier Fakta Bokfoerlag, AB, 1982), and NOU 1984:18, 86, 94.

[5]See pages 61-62 for a discussion of early organizational efforts.

> I boarded the train in Gaellivare on 24 June for Tromsoe where I was to participate as an observer at the national meeting...already in Rombaksbotn we glanced over the first evidence of the war. There were the remains of three German fighter planes...sunken warships in the fjords outside Narvik. After some three-quarters of Narvik had been razed to the ground, the city was as good as rebuilt...[6]

Approaching Tromsoe, he saw the battleship Tirpitz, still afloat keel side up, which held the bodies of a thousand Germans as well as the churchyards with hundreds of crosses over the graves of Norwegians, English, French, and Polish. Johansson was among a small number of Swedish and Finnish visitors, for from all over Norway more than a hundred and fifty Saami arrived in Tromsoe.

At the meeting were the five major Norwegian Saami superintendants of reindeer husbandry who represented Finnmark, Troms, northern and southern Troendelag, and Nordland. Department Head Hallsjoe of the Office of Reindeer Husbandry for Norway under the Ministry of Agriculture was there, and so was the State Superintendant of Schools for Finnmark, Lyder Aarseth. Principal Just Qvigstad, at age ninety-five, and Professor Oernulv Vorren of Saami Ethnography gave speeches along with many other notables. Johan Johnsen read his prologue in Saami (Lappish) and concluded with "All we wish, all we want is to serve the land and belong to it. We are Norway's sons."[7]

The Reverend Wiig, who later became bishop in the State Lutheran Church of Norway, began by inviting all to church services. Speaking for the Saami, he said they exemplified an occupation that directly

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[6]Carl Johansson,"Et reiseminne from juni 1948," Ottar 105 Samling om samiske verdier, NRL 30 aar, (Tromsoe: Universitetet i Tromsoe, 1978), 6.

[7]Ibid., 8-11.

exploited the natural resource of reindeer herding. He continued by saying that the Saami had paid high taxes and received little in return. He offered help from the church. As a starting point, individuals and their rights had to be respected. The Saami had the right to demand respect from the rest of society. The church had to defend and promote this respect. Hallsjoe spoke for reindeer husbandry and its national significance. It had brought six million crowns of profit yearly and still utilized traditional methods. After the war, the Saami had proven their abilities in this occupation, for the reindeer business had grown more rapidly than any other means of subsistence in Norway. In Hallsjoe's view the Ministry of Agriculture was to promote reindeer husbandry and introduce modern methods.

On the next day of the meeting, schooling was discussed. Lyder Aarseth, who was a teacher in Kautokeino for many years and fluent in the Saami language, explained that the Saami mother tongue was a precious treasure that should be held in high regard. The Saami should preserve their language and at the same time learn Norwegian. In this way, they could take their rightful place in the center of society and not at its fringes. He advocated special schools for Mountain Saami and the need to produce appropriate books. He also urged training native speakers of Saami for teaching. He commented that the boarding schools had been necessary because of the scattered northern population. In the beginning, the Saami had opposed these schools, but later they understood the difficulties and accepted them. He stressed that school officials had to consider Saami living patterns when writing up semester schedules. The Saami children should not be forced to go to school

during moving and calving time nor have a shorter school year than the rest of the Norwegian children. He further suggested adding courses in bone carving for Mountain Saami youth. Lars Danielsen, the chairperson of the meeting, shared his similar experiences with the school problems of the southern Saami. Speeches were also given by many others including some of the Finnish and Swedish visitors.[8]

The Association of Norwegian Reindeer Herders (NRL) was officially established as the first national organization of Norwegian Saami. Five local groups, and later three more from Femunden to Finnmark, were combined. A majority of the members were from Finnmark, and all were reindeer herders or lived by this means. The national meetings (each one lasting several days) were held every other year and every year since 1962. The non-Reindeer Saami who also came to the meetings were inspired into the new Saami consciousness and learned organizational techniques. NRL provided representation to the authorities, especially to the municipal and provincial governments. It concerned itself with regulations for reindeer husbandry, hydropower, mining, and tourism, the old and new occupations involving natural resources.[9]

For the first twenty years, the Ministry of Agriculture supported NLR's national meetings with from 5,000 to 15,000 crowns a year, about one to three thousand dollars. In fact, since 1969 administrative costs have been covered by the ministry. In 1974 a full-time secretary was engaged with an office in Karasjok, and funds were raised to

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[8]Oernulv Vorren, "Referat fra samelandsmoetet i Tromsoe 28/6-31/6 1948," Ottar 105, 28-34.

[9]Aarseth, Ottar 105, 12-21.

100,000 crowns or about twenty thousand dollars. In 1975 the secretariat was moved to Tromsoe, and in 1977 three people were employed to perform the administrative duties. Most significantly, an agreement was concluded between Parliament and NRL in 1976. It stated that the Saami would have representation in the Ministry of Agriculture. This provided financial security for NRL for the future. Cultural issues came to the fore as well. NLR desired the school authorities to pay attention to the special needs of children from reindeer herding backgrounds.[10]

During the time of NRL's growth, other Saami went about forming an organization without occupational ties. In 1948 in Oslo, urbanized Saami, consisting of students, scientists, and others interested in the Saami, started Samid Searvi or the Saami Society. In 1950 it became reorganized with an emphasis on Saami social concerns; then a year later it was nationalized as Saami Searvi, the Saami Association. Its stated goal was to take the practical steps toward realizing the social, cultural, and economic betterment of the Saami in addition to improving public relations and distributing information. It published Saami Life with popular articles on Saami issues. From 1951 to 1970, seven of the issues received financing from Norway's Public Scientific Research Council. The last issue was covered by the Norwegian Council for Culture. Although it was a national organization, it maintained an intellectual flavor, most likely because its headquarters remained in Oslo and it was replenished by urban academics. It was credited with the work that eventually created the Nordic Saami Council in 1956. In 1959 the Karasjok Saami Searvi became the first district organization

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[10]Ibid.

outside of Oslo; a similar one was formed in Kautokeino followed by others in Porsanger and Tana. Undoubtedly, in Saami concentrated areas, these local groups took on their own characteristics.

At the Saami conference in Enontekioe in the summer of 1968, there was a strong desire to form a permanent national organization for all Saami. In November a meeting for this purpose in Kautokeino drew representatives from Kautokeino, Karasjok, Tana, and Porsanger. The new organization, the National Association of Norwegian Saami (NSR), unified the earlier Saami Searvi, the Saami Association and its local groups, and retained the original goals.[11] NSR's secretariat was initially located in Kautokeino but moved to Karasjok in 1976. In 1978 the membership nearly numbered one thousand Saami. In 1982 it associated the youth groups with those in Sweden and Finland into the single Nordic Saami Youth Union and in 1985 it enrolled a total of 1,280 members. In the late 1980s, it had over twenty-four local affiliates.

NSR was intended to be the representative organ for all Saami regardless of language, dialect, geography, or occupation. Nevertheless, it left issues of reindeer pastorialism to the Association of Norwegian Reindeer Herders (NRL). Similar to NLR, NSR championed Saami rights to land and water. The state authorities acknowledged NSR's role by providing funding, by seeking its advice on Saami matters, and by allowing its representatives to offer proposals and be observers on government committees. NSR also advised municipal bodies in many situations concerning the Saami. Its administrative work began in 1973 and was covered by part-time volunteers. Between 1969 and 1976, NSR's

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[11]Aarseth, Ottar 105, 21-22.

financial support came from the Ministry of Agriculture and varied from 20,000 to 125,000 crowns yearly, which at the time was about three to twenty-two thousand dollars. In 1977 NSR received 200,000 crowns or about twenty-eight thousand dollars. The provincial government of Finnmark (the northernmost region of Norway), the Norwegian Culture Fund, and certain central government departments have also funded their activities from time to time. Presently, it has a government-backed secretariat in Karasjok. The financial support has never been capable of reaching the ambitious goals of this national organization, however.[12] In 1980 the Norwegian Saami National Adult Education Association was formed. In 1982 it came under NSR. Both NSR and NRL have determined its goals of information distribution and opportunities for Saami who wish to study. The secretariat of the association in Masi has mainly been financed by state funds.

A group of Saami in Tana established the Saami National Association (SLF) in 1979. During the Alta Action, SLF's members identified primarily with the Norwegian government, and their goals took on that dimension. One of SLF's formal paragraphs stated that it would work according to constitutional principles and would respect and serve the king and his government, the Norwegian Parliament, and other official authorities by employing democratic methods. Similar to the other organizations, SLF wished to protect and develop Saami language and culture in all parts of Norway, but in compliance with the society's general progressive development. It has cooperated with the local and central authorities to arrive legally at the broadest possible solutions to

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[12]NOU 1985:14, 110-113.

conflicts affecting the entire society. It has been conservative on Saami political issues in opposition to the Norwegian constitution, of Saami status, and of a separate governing body or "Saami Parliament."

On the whole, SLF has focused on the coastal Saami's practical problems. The members have been interested in the relationship between Saami subsistence and minority status and have helped economically distressed individuals. They have provided translators for health institutions. On 1 January 1985, SLF had eighteen local associations totaling 1,247 members. The state has funded the secretariat and activities. In contrast to NRL and NSR, the Saami National Association has had no connection with the Nordic Saami Council.[13]

Another Norwegian Saami organization called Nord-Salten Saami Union for the Lule Saami became officialized in 1979 with a membership from the municipalities of Tysfjord and Hamaroey. It has served a smaller population of Saami whose dialect has also been spoken across the border in Sweden. Among its objectives have been the dissemination of Saami cultural information, protecting and developing the Saami language with emphasis on the Lule dialect, and encouraging the practice of Saami art and handicrafts. It has sought to improve the means of subsistence in Saami inhabited areas and to support northern projects for this purpose. In 1984 it had eighty members; Saami and non-Saami married to Saami may become members while others may become supporting members. This organization has also received funds from the state.

Saamiid Duodji, the National Organization for Saami Handicrafts, was formed in 1979 with the aid of both NSR and NRL. Its main thrust

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[13]Ibid.

has been the protection and development of duodji, Saami home arts and crafts. These have included silver and cloth embroidery, wood and bone carving, reindeer fur and leather work, clothing, jewelry, and so on -- all the items that the Saami have traditionally used for clothing, food preparation, hunting, and transportation. Saamiid Duodji has been concerned with securing raw materials, maintaining quality control, and obtaining governmental regulations. Through an appointed council, only approved products following a specific set of criteria and having the appropriate identification may find their way to market. In 1981 the organization acquired its own trademark guaranteeing Saami products for authenticity of craftsmanship and design. It has collaborated with similar organizations in Finland and Sweden.

The Saami living in urban areas have experienced the pressures of estrangement and assimilation. The "asphalt Saami," as they have been coined, have found themselves in an environment that has been Norwegian and materalistic rather than natural. The Saami Association located in the House of Culture has allowed Saami to socialize and attend seminars and courses. They have had concerts, exhibits, and theatre productions. A special kind of Saami community has evolved. Despite this, the Oslo Saami have had to struggle to keep their Saami identity. Not only have pressures come from identifying with Norwegians, with whom they have shared a common bond of history, land, and citizenship, but also they have felt the nonacceptance of other Saami. Especially the Saami intellectuals and organizers have been under this dual pressure. A number of these individuals have owed their higher education and Saami world view to the Universities of Oslo and Tromsoe,

among other universities and higher educational institutions. After years of study in the capital, for instance, some have returned to Saami homes and districts where they have been sorely criticized for becoming Norwegianized.

Another dilemma has existed for Saami who have married non-Saami Norwegians. Even though their children might possibly learn the Saami language in a city school and play in the Saami preschool or kindergarten, they have been confronted with either belonging to an ethnic minority or to the majority society. For practical reasons, opportunities have been minimal for the pursuit of Saaminess in the city. For personal reasons, their children cannot as easily become truly adept at the Saami and Norwegian languages. The Norwegian language and culture have usually won out. The urban Saami have depended on Saami organizations and the Saami urban community for maintaining their Saami cultural identity.[14]

Behind the goals of the Saami organizations have been highly idealistic motives. Foremost has been the motive to raise the Saami from social anonymity and limited economic opportunities to equal treatment as a group in the Nordic societies. Most of the Saami leaders have been motivated by humanitarian principles since they have wished to lead their people out of social or economic depression. To gain equal status for the Saami as an ethnic group in the dominant society, they have struggled for recognition from political institutions. To achieve this, they have had to learn the Norwegian techniques of

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[14]Anneline Ulfrstad, "Asfaltsamane," Syn & Segn 3 (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, June 1987), 209-214; O. H. Magga, interview by author, 19 November 1987, University of Oslo.

democracy while they have assuaged each nation-state's fears of Saami nationalism. Due to their determination, they have furnished oases for the Saami who have been confronted with the outside pressures of assimilation. The Saami leaders have been compelled to elevate Saami feelings of identity and tribalism in the fight for existence as a unique people.[15]

Norwegian Saami Education

The postwar period left schooling in northern Norway acutely deficient. School buildings had been burned down and qualified instructors scarce. The population had been evacuated to ships and then to communities in the South of Norway. Of those teachers who returned, very few were proficient in the Saami language or skilled at teaching in general. Classes and materials were improvised. The old double language textbooks, with the Norwegian and Saami languages side by side, were out of print and obsolete. Some time would pass before new ones could be published. The professionals capable of creating new texts belonged to a select group who were split in opinion on the advantage of having Saami language texts at all. Some halfheartedly joined in the reformation of Saami schooling.

In 1945 the political parties put a common program before the Norwegian Parliament. It resulted in naming a coordinating committee for the school system, chaired by Einar Boyeson, which was decreed by royal resolution on 7 March 1947. Though inexplicit on Saami schooling, certain points of the mandate could be interpreted for Saami education.

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[15]Bjoern Aarseth, "Sameorganisasjoner i Norge," Ottar 105, 12-28.

Boyesen was concerned with the formulation of a new minority politics. He took a study trip to observe Sweden's nomadic schools and reported his observations at a meeting in Tromsoe. Present at the meeting were educators and experts in language and ethnography. Apart from Per Fokstad, who was the chairperson of the County Schools Committee for Finnmark, politicians did not attend.

Under discussion was the government's responsibility, and not that of the church, to set up schools and school programs for the Saami. A consensus was reached that both Swedish and Norwegian government officials should convene for a common solution to Saami issues. They should initiate the creation of a common Saami orthography. They should clarify the practical pedagogical problems in the schools and design special training for the teachers in Saami areas. These proposals were a sharp departure from the assimilatory practices of educators. The twenty-one member coordinating committee delegated a task force, which included Fokstad, to report on the Saami school and questions of information distribution. Their 1948 proposal contained the following chapter titles: "Historical Introduction, The Organization of Boarding Schools, Textbooks in the Saami Language, Saami Teacher Training, Continuation Schools for the Saami;" and "The Saami Folk High School." These revealed that the Saami were finally being considered for their ethnic uniqueness instead of as inadequate Norwegians.[16]

Disappointingly for the Saami, a parliamentary announcement of these efforts did not immediately ensue. Already, Parliament had budgeted a three-year post for the purpose of producing Saami textbooks in

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[16]Aarseth, NOU 1985:14, 54-55.

1946 by KUD's recommendation. Three years passed before Parliament followed up on the proposal sent by the school director of Finnmark to budget a salary bonus for teachers in the Saami district who learned Saami. In the late 1940s and 1950s, more government funds were distributed to Saami cultural and educational activities. These included Saami stipends at the Tromsoe Normal School, Saami boarding schools, and a position for Saami homecrafts, among others. KUD assumed responsibility for the Saami school for central Norway in Hattfjelldal in lieu of the church. It was the answer to earlier southern Saami demands. In like manner, Karasjok Folk High School, established in 1936 and run by the Saami Mission Society, began receiving funds directly from the state in 1949. The state replaced the mission schools for the Saami one by one.

In 1952 a Finnish government committee delivered a comprehensive report on Saami conditions. The inter-Nordic conference in Jokkmokk discussed international and national plans to improve them. Due to these events, the Norwegian authorities listened more attentively to the proposals of the Saami Council for Finnmark, Saami Saervi, and the Association of Norwegian Reindeer Herders. Also in 1952 the Council for Education for Inner-Finnmark was established. School Superintendant L. Lind Meloey from Karasjok held the directorship for ten years. Kautokeino, Karasjok, and Polmak, holding clear Saami majorities, were each represented by two members to the council. The council was the force behind the development of school instructional materials and reforms. In 1952 the state supported the Saami Home Arts School in

Kautokeino which was expanded in 1967 and renamed the Saami Career and Home Arts School, until 1978 when it became a secondary school.[17]

The improvement of Saami living conditions through education was an uphill struggle riddled with problems. To fill the gap in Saami schooling that had widened during the war, compensatory basic courses were offered to youth. The only school that held regular instruction in the Saami language and cultural history was the Karasjok Folk High School. When the state funded and distributed information booklets in the new Saami orthography, they were equally incomprehensible to the old and the young. Additionally, no state authorized curricula had been laid out for Saami education. KUD's appointment of the Saami Committee of 1956, whose investigation of Saami social conditions led to the proposal of discontinuing school assimilation, had opened a hornet's nest of protest.[18] Notwithstanding the dissenters, the report reflected the program of the Saami voluntary organizations that had addressed various central authorities with similar proposals at earlier times. However the Easter Resolution had retarded governmental effectiveness. The Saami appeared disunited on the issue of the Saami language in the public schools. Not until 10 April 1959 was a law passed for the basic school that allowed the Saami language to be used for instruction.[19]

The 1956 Saami committee's proposals were at last taking effect at the official level. In the elementary school, Saami language

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[17]Ibid., 68-70.

[18]See pages 95-96 of this study for more details.

[19]Report of the SI-Committee to the Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education (KUD), NOU 1980:59 Samisk i grunnskolen, (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1980), 34.

instruction was offered to seven-year olds, and Saami youngsters continued to receive it up to the tenth grade. The class divisions and times were refined. In 1967 in Kautokeino and Karasjok, children were given Saami as the major language, by parental request, and took Norwegian as the first foreign language by government decree upon the availability of instructional materials. Theoretically in the 1960s, Saami youth in secondary schools could exchange the required foreign language of German for their own language. The Saami boarding schools were improved by lengthening class hours and by increasing faculty size. Pupils were permitted to take regular home trips during the semesters. A perplexing circumstance was that few teachers had fluency in the Saami language at the boarding schools. Then, KUD engaged Anton Hoem, a professor of pedagogy, to analyze the school situation in four typical Saami districts. His 1965 report confirmed that the Saami pupils had not achieved proficiency in basic school subjects in conformance to their abilities.[20]

During the first two decades after the war, the preparatory work for future Saami revitalization was being added piece by piece. A revamping of the educational system for the accomodation of the Saami culture and language began by necessity from two directions. It had to affect the schools from the ground up and vice versa. The State Model Plan for Education in 1971 declared that Saami-speaking children had to have "equal quality" instruction just as it was provided other Norwegian children, but that did not mean "identical" instruction. In June 1969, a law for the basic school's elementary levels stated that the

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[20]Aarseth, NOU 1985:14, 70.

children whose parents used the Saami language on a daily basis should be given instruction in the language if the parents requested it. This law had to be adjusted in 1975 because the parents who no longer knew Saami (Lappish), but who lived in a mixed language area, wanted their children to learn Saami in school. As a result, the law was amended to read that children in Saami areas were to be instructed in Saami according to parental request. Refresher or posteducation courses and seminars were arranged for the teachers in order to raise the quality of instruction. Since 1974 the opportunity has been given to the Saami in the secondary schools to learn their language in exchange for one of the two required Norwegian standardized dialects. After 1976 a number of instructional materials were produced under the auspices of the Saami Council of Education, a body advocated by NSR and established in the same year. In the 1970s, school buildings were constructed for the Saami in Hattfjelldal, Snaasa, and Maalselv. The boarding school in Maalselv, Troms was for Reindeer Saami children. The school law of 1975 created Saami school districts and Saami classes in schools outside of these districts at the elementary level, such as in Tromsoe and Oslo.[21]

Finnmark's secondary schools have undergone several changes in response to Saami cultural politics. Since the beginning of the 1984 school year, three-year courses in duodji (Saami arts and crafts) and introductory reindeer husbandry and agriculture have been partly taught in the Saami language at Kautokeino High School which in 1985 had 140 students. Karasjok High School has gone much farther in that its college preparatory courses have allowed the Saami language or North Saami

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[21]NOU 1985:14, 20-24.

as a major subject or "A" requirement, or a student could choose it for the "B" or "C" requirement, somewhat equivalent to course minors in the United States. These students could also take Saami food preparation and duodji. A Saami media course has been planned. The school had 192 students in 1985. The lack of teachers with formal training and Saami fluency has been partially reconciled with salaried courses in the Saami language. Besides its own library, Karasjok High School has housed the National Library for Saami Literature. For reasons of its broader curricula and facilities, it has gained renown, and in Norway it has been the only preparatory college institution of its kind.[22]

In retrospect, the hope of the Saami was to convince the government officials of the importance of the Saami language. In Norway, language had carried a political taint, for it distinguished the social classes. Therefore, language reformation was the key to social equality once Norway gained its independence from Denmark and Sweden. Since Danish domination produced an upper class whose Dano-Norwegian persisted as the literary language, two official standardizations of Norwegian became required school subjects, and students had to learn the official revisions made for each generation. Norway was certainly ripe for Saami cultural politics through language. Its nationalistic ferver was the reason for its success at teaching all of its citizens the Norwegian language since the establishment of public schooling (1848). It also became a predicament. Individuals, communities, and local officials, reluctant to offer the Saami language in the schools, would blame their neglect on the dire need for basic education on the whole,

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[22]Ibid.

the lack of competent Saami teachers, and the belief that Norwegian was essential to national unity. A chasm existed between the government's compliance to the Saami leadership's demands and the practices in the schools. Central policymakers became willing to yield to Saami language reforms. Thus, the Saami had to narrow the chasm at the local level by constructing a bridge of their own efforts for education.

Democracy was to be an intricate part of the Norwegian educational system just as it was in the political system. The democratic evolution of schooling had slowly penetrated the lower socioeconomic classes and reached the scattered groups in the North. As a result, a small but aware Saami elite arose. The few Saami "intellectuals" were trying their hand at inter-Nordic cooperation with moderate success. The Saami leadership had taken to democratic methods and were becoming adept at organizational techniques and the development of an ideology. They had expertise in Saami myth. They possessed the knowledge of their ancestors' struggle against nature, their way of life, and the exploitation by oppressors. They could interpret what was once thought to be superstition into folklore and native religion. They would no longer accept the Norwegian treatment of the Saami "(partly as) members of an inferior culture and partly as culturally handicapped Norwegians."[23] To fight the stigma of being Saami and to raise Saami status in the view of the dominant society, Saami traditions and lifestyle had to enter a new sphere of thought. Already too many Saami had crossed over and disappeared into Norwegianness. The society had to be made safe to

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[23]Eidheim, Aspects, 72-75.

be Saami. The Saami leaders aimed to change the policies and institutions that had denigrated their culture and language.

Saami Higher Education

The renewal of the Saami leadership and the expansion of its ideology relied heavily on higher educational institutions. Who could better realize the profound importance of the Saami culture and its perpetuation? The ranks of Saami advocates and consciousness-raisers had to be filled with credentialed professionals. Who could better be the models of hope for raising Saami social and economic status? Very few Saami were attracted to education, for it had traditionally been used to eradicate their language and culture. For this reason, only a tiny group of Norwegian Saami had an overview of the present situation and a vision of the future for the Saami. They were also filling the council and committee positions where their ideals were voiced and where changes could happen, at least on paper. The Saami leaders had to face the realities of educating the Saami who were to become the teachers, researchers, and organizers for the preservation of Saami culture and language. The leaders rallied to the task of defining the concrete tactics and instruments needed for building a professional Saami vanguard.

The situation of research and educational institutions for Saami studies needs surveying. At the purely academic level, the Saami language had been offered at the University of Oslo since 1848 under the professorships of J. A. Friis and Konrad Nilsen since 1899. In 1947 Dr. Knut Bergsland took the post. Then Dr. A. Nesheim enhanced the Finno-Ugric Institute with his teaching in the Saami language, history,

and culture in 1959. The Finno-Ugric Institute offered teacher training in the Saami language in 1962. In 1972 the institute was renamed the Ural-Altaic Institute. After Professors Bergsland and Nesheim's retirement in 1981, the university's Saami professorship remained vacant. A Saami language instructor, Thor Frette, who had taught at the institute since 1962, left in 1984 for another project. Saami instruction as a major subject was discontinued. In the fall of 1987, Ole H. Magga, formerly a lecturer in the Saami language at the introductory and intermediary levels, filled the professorship so that it became possible to major in and receive a degree in the Saami language. Beginning students already possessing practical ability in the language could take all four levels in an approximate two-year period of study.[24]

The Institute of Social Science at the University of Tromsoe formed a research group, with one professorship and two assistantships, for Saami Ethnic Studies in 1972. The purpose was to pursue research in social anthropology and instruction with emphasis on minority situations. Tromsoe's Institute for Language and Literature organized a Saami section in 1974. Nils Jernsletten, a university lecturer and a Saami, and two non-Saami held the appropriate qualifications. The University of Tromsoe's 1987 catalogue listed courses in the Saami Language and literature (among six other living languages), Saami history, Saami studies in ethnicity, Saami social anthropology, nomadism, and ecology. The Tromsoe Museum's Department of Saami Ethnography had been in existence for many years, under such noteworthy directors as Just Quigstad and Oernulv Vorren. In 1976 it was integrated with the

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[24]Ibid.

University of Tromsoe which listed courses, including Saami ethnology, under the Institute for Museum Activities.[25] The Tromsoe Museum was accountable for the protection of Saami archaeological finds, sites, and artifacts as well as research. It has continued to publish its findings in numerous articles in the Norwegian and Saami languages.

The University of Tromsoe has been involved in organizing an interdisciplinary study program for the cand.mag.grad. in science, Saami language, history, and sociology. It has been directed toward the reindeer Saami community, so the degree may become a cand.scient. with a major in reindeer husbandry-related biology. It has been coordinated with NLH, Norway's National College of Agriculture, where students can obtain the cand.agric.[26] At NLH, the study of reindeer subsistence has included courses in history, culture, and geography. Even by ackowledging the universities in Finland and Sweden, by far the most organized and concentrated Saami higher education and research activities have been conducted by and/or through the University of Tromsoe.[27]

The existence of the higher educational institutions has made it possible for Saami to obtain the equivalent of a doctorate, master's, or bachelor's degree, in descending numerical order by the number of Saami who have done so. Despite this, Norway has had only one Saami professor of Saami culture, Ole H. Magga, professor of Saami Language

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[25]Universitetet i Tromsoe Katalog, hoesten 1987.

[26]By order of appearance in the text, candidatus magisterii grad, candidatus scientificus, and candidatus agricultura = university degrees similar to the M.S. degree in the United States

[27]Report on Saami Higher Education and Research, by Anders M. Sara [photocopy] (Kautokeino: the Nordic Saami Institute, January 1986), 31.

at the University of Oslo. An unignorable reality of the Norwegian academic system has been the existence of job security and the seldom availability of professorships. For the Saami, this picture has been brightening. Saami leaders who have been eager to remedy the situation have held the view that Saami research and documentation has too long been undertaken by the non-Saami. To their advantage, officials have become open to supporting Saami research and higher education.

The auxiliary institutions for Saami studies and research have been the museums and libraries. In addition to the Tromsoe Museum, of greatest significance have been the Saami Collections in Karasjok, the Southern Saami Collections of Snaasa in northern Troendelag, and the Museum for Lule Saami. The Norwegian Folk Museum in Oslo has had a Saami section and has served as a valuable resource to the university. There have been a number of regional and local or community museums with small private book collections on and by the Saami. There have been the Universities of Tromsoe, Trondheim, Bergen, and Oslo's libraries. Not only have these institutions provided accurate and readily available knowledge of the Saami, but they have often distributed stipends, held seminars, and offered research positions to the Saami and to scholars interested in the Saami. Despite the shortage of Saami academicians, the universities and museums have facilitated research and information dissemination for Saami culture and language.[28]

The Saami leaders have sought to increase the number of Saami researchers, librarians, and cultural agents of their language and culture. One problem has been the access of Saami into institutions of

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[28]NOU 1985:14, 73-77, and NOU 1987:34, Chapter 10.

higher education. The Saami population has had the lowest educational level in the society. Too many Saami have chosen the quick route to trades and basic subsistence careers. Many have assimilated into Norwegian society in order to attain a higher standard of living. The Saami leaders have found that Saami education has had to satisfy the craving for economic betterment and, at the same time, prevent cultural erosion. The answer to the problem has appeared to be in educating Saami for the teaching profession. At least, teacher education has had a shorter period of study compared to the other professions requiring a higher education in Norway. The more Saami with any kind of higher education, the more the Saami community would be receptive to the idea of continuing school beyond the secondary school. All in all, the level of education of the Saami population has had to be raised. An educated people could comprehend its own social situation, learn to appreciate its culture, and gain prestige in the dominant society.

The opportunities for Saami teacher education were limited in the 1950s. Instruction in Saami (Lappish) was given at the Tromsoe Normal School in 1953. There was a three-term course with four hours a week. Not until 1964 was there a qualifying examination since the only required language was Norwegian or in practice New Norwegian. The Council of Teacher Education initiated the development of teacher training institutions and courses in 1962 and 1963. Attention turned to teacher education in Finnmark's Saami districts. In 1962 a three-person committee was selected to stipulate the prerequisites for a normal school for the region. Two reasons were given at the time: the difficult teacher situation in the North and the cultural situation in the communities.

For a while, the efforts seemed all but abandoned; then in the early 1970s, the construction of the regional colleges began. The regional college committees for Troms and Finnmark were appointed in 1969 and submitted their reports in 1972. Among the suggestions was that teacher training should be one of the courses of study in Alta. The Committee for Land Areas in Northern Norway was also appointed in 1969 and issued their report in 1972 for a normal school in Finnmark to prepare students for teaching in mixed language or bilingual districts. The concern of the investigating committees was to establish the Alta Normal School to meet the special community needs, the most prominent ones of which were the low teacher coverage and teachers without adequate qualifications for the basic school. Finnmark had long been a trilingual region that had pockets of Finnish-, Norwegian-, and Saami-speakers as well as mixed language areas. Other ethnic groups were much fewer in number and/or were already assimilated.[29]

The Saami leadership again directed its efforts toward teacher education in the 1970s. The Council of Teacher Education appointed a task force to investigate the issue of Saami-speaking teachers on 26 May 1972. The chair, Anton Hoem, was from the Institute of Pedagogical Research at the University of Oslo. Saami educators have referred to it as the "Hoem Committee of 1972." The members included well-known Saami leaders: Odd M. Haetta, a Finnmark school directorate official; Principal Edel H. Eriksen of the Kautokeino Elementary School; Nils Jernsletten of the University of Tromsoe; and Trygve Madsen of the Council of

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[29]"Samisk Laererutdanning," by Anton Hoem, Chair ([Norway: the Regional Board for Higher Education in Finnmark], August 1983), 39-40, photocopied.

Elementary Education. This group was mandated to identify whether there was a need for special Saami teacher training qualitatively and quantitatively, what kind of training was necessary, and what actions would alleviate problems with educating Saami to become teachers.

The report that came out in January 1973 was considered the ground breaking document for specialized Saami teacher education. It began with an overview of the Saami's international and national rights to education in their own culture and language and Norway's ratification of the Convention against Discrimination in Education. It lent the perspective of Nordic Saami political and cultural cooperation. Swedish artists and artisans had often been lecturers and instructors in Finland and Norway. Nordic cooperation for teacher education would likewise evolve in the future. A higher educational institution on a Nordic level could draw upon human resources from all the Saami areas in the North. The Nordic Saami Institute would be the coordinating link.

Before Nordic cooperation could happen, the Hoem Committee held the presumption that the normal schools would be transformed into colleges of education. With this as a foundation, the Alta Normal School would become a college of education and incorporate a Saami department that specialized in teacher education for the preschool and basic school in the Saami areas. The committee asserted that such a teaching corps would fill the need for the more than four thousand basic school children whose culture and language were different from that of the Norwegian schools. Their report pointed out that the problem had persisted unchanged for the previous twenty-five years. Specialized Saami

education would occur as the first phase of the college's reconstruction or evolve as part of the college; in either case, it should also contain general teacher proficiency for teacher candidates for other than Saami areas. Meanwhile, specialized instruction would meet the needs of those who wished to serve in the Saami areas as teachers or as other kinds of Saami professionals, for example, church and legal interpreters. The committee believed that research and theories had to be put to practice. Educational methodology would need to be developed for teaching Saami in the classroom. The college of education would have to have appropriate "booster" courses for personnel in Saami-related jobs.

The Hoem Committee of 1972 mapped out the details of a tailored program for Saami teacher candidates in Alta, Finnmark although the Varanger area was suggested as another possibility. It proposed that instruction begin in the fall of 1973. To meet the immediate requirements of teacher qualification, decentralization or on-site courses for practicing teachers in Saami areas should be instigated. The teacher candidates would enter a program for both general and specialized teacher competency. They would be given a free study schedule and no time restriction. The student's own course of study would find completion in the final examination which would be developed by a regional evaluation committee appointed for that purpose. The committee further proposed that the study program be individualized to the degree that the student would choose the area of concentration.

Admission to the college was to follow these criteria: successful completion of the secondary school examinations, ability in the Saami language, culture, and environment; and the approval of a

committee from northern Norway. Most important was the applicant's profound understanding of the Saami culture. Linguistic and environmental acumen could be either experiential or academic. Evaluation of the candidates would generally depart from the traditional practices and the various qualifications would be weighed by the total student profile. The committee also recommended that recruitment be conducted through mass media announcements of new study opportunities and openings and that scholarships and work-study arrangements be offered.

The extra qualifications for the teacher positions in the Saami Department might be based on the successful examination completion and possession of the following: (1) basic Saami (Lappish); (2) Saami ethnology; (3) basic Finnish combined with Finnish verbal fluency; (4) education specialization combined with fluency in Saami; (5) basic Saami combined with the first part of education specialization; (6) basic Saami combined with the same in Norwegian, English or another major academic subject such as mathematics; and (7) Saami language, creative crafts, and music with academic competency. A committee would be appointed to evaluate the teacher applicants, and its members would come from the colleges of education and the Universities of Tromsoe and Oslo. For practical teacher training, the committee membership was to be drawn from Saami professionals in the Saami district's basic schools and from the school director's office in Vadsoe. If a person without formal qualifications had to be hired, then he/she should be obligated to attain such qualifications within a certain period of time while

performing instructional duties on reduced schedule. The time restriction suggested was five years.[30]

The report contained short-range and long-range solutions to the problem of providing the Saami community schools with qualified educators. It stressed again the recommendation of a separate Saami department at Alta Teachers' College with a departmental head performing both administrative and academic duties. This person would oversee the developmental work of methodology, curricula, course plans, and research for the special educational problems in Saami districts. The regular education courses would be broadened. Sociology would have to contain a thorough introduction to Saami culture. Students would learn group and individual psychology, interrelationships, and the problems of identity conflict. The fulfillment of the State School Plan for the Basic School would have to be applied to Saami culture and environment.[31] On 6 September 1974, this report launched the Saami Department at Alta Teachers' College which was authorized by a royal resolution.[32]

There was a relatively large recruitment to teacher education at Alta Teachers' College and an atmosphere of optimism. Among the several course offerings, preparatory or compensatory courses were also given. In 1977 seventeen students, ten of whom had the Saami language as their major, successfully completed the final examinations. In two years, more Saami students had graduated from Alta-Saami Department than from

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[30]"Utredning om laererutdanning for samedistriktene fra utvalget til aa utrede spoersmaalet om samisktalende laerere, " by Anton Hoem, Chair (Norge: Laererutdanningsraadet, januar 1973), photocopied.

[31]Ibid.

[32]NOU 1985:14, 73.

the Tromsoe Normal School in twenty-five years. In 1979 the number of Alta Saami graduates was eleven. The director of Alta Teachers' College provided the Saami Department with ten thousand crowns or about fifteen hundred dollars to purchase Saami literature for the library. Two librarians were hired consecutively and contributed their Finnish and Saami and expertise to building up the Saami section of the library.

During the first ten years of the Alta-Saami Department, about a hundred Saami language majors graduated, thirty of whom qualified for secondary school teaching. The institution met the demand for preparing qualified Saami teachers more successfully than any other school. Over the years, the Alta Teachers' College has been identified by the following nomenclatures: Teacher Training in Alta, the College in Finnmark, the College in Alta, and the Alta Normal School or the Alta Teachers' College (ATC), the last of which is used in this study.[33]

In the meantime, the Nordic Saami Institute established a task force for Saami higher education in Rovaniemi at a meeting in October 1975. The task force was composed of O. M. Haetta of ATC, E. Kaehkoenen of Rovaniemi, N. Slunga of the College in Luleaa, and V. Holmberg of the Nordic Saami Institute. They met three times during 1976 and 1977 and submitted their report in 1978. Their investigation of teacher education for the Saami developed several proposals. They called for an expansion of the Saami Department at ATC and for the establishment of Saami departments for Rovaniemi and the College of Luleaa. The task

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[33]Report of the Committee for Saami Teachers' Training to the Regional Board of Higher Education in Finnmark nr. 2, Anton Hoem, Chair, trans. G. Roland (Finnmark: the Regional Board for Higher Education in Finnmark, August 1983), 40, photocopied.

force stated that since there was a future need for Saami teachers, the mass media would be used to recruit more Saami. Complying with other committees, they reported that an autonomous Saami college should be established on a Nordic basis. NSI could contact actual teachers' colleges in the three "Saami countries" to carry out the goals. The University of Tromsoe and the Alta Teachers' College could provide teachers to the decentralized degree courses. Already these were being offered at the Karasjok and Kautokeino schools and in Tana, Nesseby, and Porsanger so that students could take Saami language, culture, and history. In August 1978, the University of Tromsoe arranged applied pedagogy and Saami methodology accredited courses at ATC.

Part of the rationale for special Saami education was the existence of parents and children who belonged to a different culture from that which dominated formal Norwegian schooling. It remained a basic principle that teachers and students should have a common instructional language. The task force also stated that preschool opportunities were poor given that the number of children in Saami areas was higher than in any other areas in Norway. Thus they emphasized the need for preschool Saami teachers. They asserted that the traditional means of accreditation and admissions had to become more flexible. It was felt that a good acquaintance with the Saami language and life experience should be acceptable. In the fall of 1978, the Saami Council of Education together with ATC initiated one-year courses for Saami-speakers at Karasjok Folk High School. These included Norwegian, Saami, English, mathematics, sociology, creative crafts, and music. Similar courses were given at Saami Folk High School in Jokkmokk.

In the main, the task force advocated a long-term plan for the three "Saami nations" to form a Saami college with teacher education and other disciplines. Until this happened, expertise and materials could be built up in the Saami departments. The report detailed the courses that should be developed. Additionally, the task force criticized the sporadic provision of Saami teacher education courses at ATC and Tromsoe Teachers' College and the disunity of Saami education in the Nordic countries. A Saami Nordic college would solve these problems and create a unique environment by gathering and unifying academic, professional, and creative people.[34]

Meanwhile, the Saami teachers felt a shift occurring in the atmosphere at Alta Teachers' College when the director called for a reduction in Saami courses. In 1982 five teachers expressed the desire to leave due to poor working conditions. Even though an associate professorship position was opened and thereby raised the prestige of the Saami Department, the situation worsened. After nearly a decade of enthusiastic efforts, five teachers left publicly denouncing the college and indicating that not one course in the Saami language was offered. The Saami Department's faculty had developed a number of course plans, in-structional materials, and written academic articles while performing instructional and student counseling duties. The work load did not compare to that of the other sections. To achieve the requirement of higher individual competency, some teachers had to commute to Tromsoe

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[34]Report of the Committee on Saami Education in Finland to the Nordic Saami Institute, "Saami Education in Finland, Norway, and Sweden," by Veikko Holmberg, Chair, trans. G. Roland (Kautokeino: Nordic Saami Institute, 1978), photocopied.

and Oslo in order to attend courses. It demanded both time and money. The manifold obligations placed on the Saami staff as well as the diffuse status of its administration had led to a stressful situation.[35]

In a later evaluation of the Alta-Saami Department, certain problems were illuminated. At the start, Saami studies were contained in a department. Gradually, the "department" became a section and in 1980 was reduced to a subject area in the General Education Department. Part of the reason for this location of Saami studies was the college's change from a two- and four-year institution to a three-year general education institution. The Saami Department's status apparently became obscured in the shift. The student program was primarily in the General Education Department under which came courses for Saami language and culture. Attempts to expand Saami course offerings had been rejected. The educators hired for the Saami Department became frustrated from the diminished status and this led to the flight of teachers. The head of the Saami Department received a reduced work load without salary compensation. In 1982 the person holding the position requested a salary compensation as well as a formal description of the chairperson's status and the responsibilities of the Saami Department. Both were refused. The time had come for a new investigation.[36]

In response to a KUD letter on 26 March 1982, the Regional Board for Higher Education in Finnmark set up a majority Saami committee, chaired by Anton Hoem, to elucidate the issues related to Saami teacher

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[35]Odd Mathis Haetta, "Samisk avdeling: 10 aar i storm og stilla," (Alta, 1983), photocopied.

[36]Committee for Saami Teachers' Training (1983), by Hoem; Asta Balto, "Samisk Laererutdanning" (Thesis, University of Oslo, 1983), 23-24.

training. The committee members included O. M. Haetta; Julie Eira, head of the Finnmark Teachers' Union; Liv Oestmo, ATC's projects director; and Inga E. Keskitalo, all of whom were also teachers in the Saami Department at ATC. The others on the "Hoem Committee of 1982" were E. G. Rasmussen, a student and member of the Saami Student Union; and K. B. Nilssen, the school director of Finnmark. The committee held eight meetings all of which were attended by Steinar Gaare, the rector (or president) of Alta Teachers' College. Present at various meetings were school officials for secondary and higher education in Finnmark.[37]

The committee identified four major Saami groups by the criteria of language and lifestyle: the Northern Saami, Southern Saami, Lule Saami, and the mixed or bilingual-bicultural Saami (Saami plus Norwegian). The following forces of cultural loss were noted: assimilation due to Norwegian dominance and proximity, the lack of Saami elementary schools; and the existence of only two Saami secondary schools. In addition Saami cultural identity had been weakened by modernization, primarily by the mass media, the increasing dependence on new skills for modern jobs, and the lack of Saami with academic skills. Besides these forces, an aspect of the traditional Saami lifestyle had compounded difficulties for schooling. The Saami had lived in small isolated groups spread out over a vast area and utilized natural resources to satisfy basic needs. Saami families were extremely self-sufficient compared to non-Saami groups, so schooling had been of little use to them. The Saami communities still followed local primary subsistence skills. Contrary to this socioeconomic reality, the committee felt that in the

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[37]Ibid.

twentieth century new technology, organizations, and economic opportunities demanded formal education.

To solve the problem of cultural loss, the committee recommended that a unified Saami day-care center and elementary school be established as an organic part of the Saami community. Other recommendations were to form an autonomous Nordic Saami college preparatory school and a Nordic higher educational and research institution. Once these were instituted, the Saami could more easily obtain personnel and economic resources from Finland, Norway, and Sweden. This particular proposal reiterated the one made by the Hoem Committee of 1972 and also that of the Nordic Saami Institute's 1978 task force. The proposal of the Hoem Committee of 1982 was an expansion. For example, it stated that with the collaboration of the Nordic Saami Institute and the coordination of higher educational institutions with Saami studies, a Nordic Saami university should be established. Whether or not the university had a teacher education department, it should offer courses for general teacher qualifications. The university should spring from and be intricately woven into the Saami community. This proposal shared by NSI and other Saami leaders has been the ideal goal for Saami higher education.[38]

To cope with the reality of essentially minimal resources, the Hoem Committee of 1982 explained the short- and long-range goals. The former failure of the Saami Department was that the Saami students had been registered in Norwegian teacher education. Saami studies had been a mere component of the Alta Teachers' College. The committee presented

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[38]Ibid.

two alternatives. The most promising one from a solely academic point of view would be the long-range goal of placing Saami teacher education in its own separate college. The other would be to place Saami teacher education in the Saami Department at ATC. The committee suggested that a committee be appointed and mandated by the Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs, KUD, the Council for Teacher Education, and the Council for Saami Education. Each organization should have representatives on this new committee. With a time restriction of five years, the committee should detail the plans for independent Saami teacher education. Apart from the alternatives, the Committee of 1982 suggested that the preparatory work of the mandated committee proceed by these stages: (1) develop Saami teacher education at Alta Teachers' College; (2) develop a Saami Department at ATC with full and equal departmental status with its own chairperson; (3) move the Saami Department and Saami teacher education out of ATC as the first phase in establishing an autonomous Saami higher educational institution for teacher education; (4) build up this Saami higher educational institution for teacher education to also encompass other directions in education on a college/academic level; and (5) integrate the college with other Nordic elements so that it can establish a common Nordic Saami academic higher education institution or university. The necessity for such an institution was explained by the teacher shortage situation and the evidence of those who had shown the desire for teacher education.[39]

In Norway, Saami teachers in Saami areas had not been officially separated from other Norwegian teachers so that quantification was

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[39]Ibid., 65.

hardly systematized. Regardless, the Saami Council for Education made an analysis in 1980 of the need for teachers who had fluency in the North Saami dialect. The conclusion reached was that there would be a need for two hundred teachers, fifteen of whom were fluent in Lule Saami and fifteen in South Saami. There have been other independent studies. During the school years 1977-78 and 1982-83, the number of Saami-speaking teachers decreased. However Saami pupils in the basic school increased by fifty percent. It was also discovered that in Finnmark in 1982-83, 14.5 percent of the Saami teachers did not have acceptable qualifications. At Alta Teachers' College, between 1975 and 1982, fifty-two students graduated from general teachers' training, six students graduated from preschool education, and twenty-seven graduated with competency in secondary school education. These students had passed the examinations in the Saami language and culture component. ATC conducted research in 1981-82 for charting those teachers interested in special education and secondary education who taught in the preschools and basic schools in Finnmark. Of the returned questionnaires, 60.5 percent of those who answered stated that they had plans for secondary school education, particularly in Saami creative handicrafts, the Saami language, and education. The committee concluded that the results indicated a need for more Saami education.[40]

The crisis of the lack of Saami-speaking teachers and of low Saami recruitment to education persisted. The educational level remained lower in the fishing communities and inner Finnmark compared to the urban areas and the rest of the nation. Generally, the Saami in

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[40]Ibid.

primary subsistence occupations, ie., agriculture, fishing, and reindeer herding and a combination of these had little school motivation. Even compared to industrial workers, those in the traditional Saami occupations did not appear to have a desire for more education. The Committee of 1982 noted that progress had been slow for this reason. Still, the committee warned that the society was moving away from primary subsistence and in the direction of industrial processing and service occupations. They asserted that education would have to meet the rapidly changing job requirements. Also, there was an even greater call for professional and more highly educated people with a Saami background. The entire educational system from the basic school on up to higher education would have to be adjusted to encourage higher education for the Saami.

The Hoem Committee agreed that the most important goal of Saami teacher education was to reinforce solidarity among the Saami, no matter what their differences might be. Saami solidarity would in turn nurture understanding and camaraderie between the Saami and Norwegians. To accomplish improved relationships, the Saami students of education should be able to analyze and understand the Saami society, in Saami majority and minority areas, and the conflicts arising within the Saami community and between the Norwegian government and the Saami. They should become familiar with the material and cultural changes taking place in communities with ethnic tension. They required a solid knowledge of the Saami language, culture, and sociology in order that they might teach these disciplines. They should learn didactics and psychology for a multicultural pedagogy. They should be able to take the

initiative for pedagogical research and development within a Saami school structure. Norway had a multicultural society and was determined to achieve equality education for the different ethnic groups. Saami teacher education should develop teacher competency for the Norwegian society generally and for the Saami communities specifically.

In regard to the latter, the Hoem Committee of 1982 proposed that the curriculum for Saami teacher education emphasize the Northern Saami dialect but have courses in both Lule and South Saami as soon as possible. The Saami and Norwegian languages would be given equal value. Saami teacher candidates would be obligated to take the Saami language, both the oral and written skills, and Saami as a language of instruction; this subject would be taken throughout the student's course of study. The differences in Saami culture would have to be taught from an historical and sociological perspective. Saami education would become an elaboration of the laws laid down for general teacher education (for the nine-year basic school) which required the following: pedagogical theory and practice (applied methodology); didactics of Norwegian, Christianity, and a subject in practical-esthetics (drama, handicrafts, physical creativity, or music); introductory courses in the obligatory elementary school subjects; and a subject in a chosen concentration.

Built into Norwegian should be the additional competency of teaching Norwegian as a second language. Added to Christianity would be the component of the Saami's pre-Christian beliefs as well as their relationship to the church and to Laestadianism. For practical esthetics, duodji and Saami traditional music with joik would have to be given their due. The curriculum should include multicultural education with

emphasis on the ethnic areas and conditions in northern Norway, such as bi-and multilinguality, cultural identity, ethnicity, minority/majority cultures, cultural assimilation and integration. Child and adolescent psychology should be presented in themes of ethnicity and ethnic tensions, and the psychology of learning should embrace self-esteem and identity development. The committee went on to suggest that applied subjects be conducted in cooperation with preschools, training schools, and higher educational institutions. New models for the teacher practicum would be created in a decentralized system of education. Students would work in the districts throughout the study program. Research and developmental work would be offered as a subject with each community taking on this work as well as that of its own instructional materials. Media familiarity, such as the Saami radio and newspapers, and data processing would also be included. The media would have a growing influence in the Saami communities and in the greater society.[41]

Student motivation and recruitment affected the whole institution. The school system, as an example that of Alta Teachers' College, should be involved in coordinating activities with employers, both externally and internally. Within the various departments and administraion of the college, improvements were needed in student counseling. Already the director for municipal schools had attracted many student prospects with course offerings. Among others, there was a decentralized basic course. The college would have to set up preparatory or compensatory courses for recruitment to higher education as well.

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[41]Ibid.; Alta Laererhoegskole Studie-Katalog 1987-88, (Alta: Bjoerkmanns Trykkeri, 1987), 16; Myhre, Den Norske Skoles Utvikling, 237-240.

For Finnmark adult education was a valuable resource. The committee was aware of the relatively few Saami graduates from the earlier gymnasium and the recent secondary school. For this reason, each study opportunity that acknowledged this problem and recognized Saami potential in work and life experiences would lead to increased recruitment.[42]

The Saami Department of Alta Teachers' College

After "much ado," the Alta Teachers' College catalog for the 1987-88 school year did not list a separate Saami department. What it did list was a few rudimentary courses and services. The catalog's introductory and historical overview declared the designation and mission of the college. To wit, it was a teachers' college purposely organized to serve the outlying and Saami areas. The period of study required three years. To achieve the cand.mag.grad. (M.S. degree), a minimal full year had to be taken beyond the usual three-year program. A half year of this had to be in one discipline. The degree qualified a teacher for secondary school and certain lecture positions at a university. Graduates could transfer to any of the universities or other higher educational institutions. ATC provided an accredited higher educational program that was a foundation for any professional field.

The Alta Teachers' College had three majors: general teacher education, home arts and science, and preschool education. Additional areas of concentration, not offered every year, were given in one-, half-, and quarter-year clusters. To the social studies course in general teacher education, there were some additions. Under the "local

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[42]Committee for Saami Teachers' Training (1983), by Hoem, passim.

society" division came smaller components of "Saami-Norwegian relations in an historical perspective" and "the world's indigenous people with emphasis on the Saami minority." The following courses were in Saami education: (1) the Saami language; (2) Norwegian for Saami speakers (since 1985); (3) duodji -- both hard and soft materials (since 1987); (4) pedagogy for Saami areas; and (5) a year preparatory college course for Saami students. (The catalogue stated that few Saami had enrolled in this course recently.) Some of these courses, along with the non-Saami-oriented ones, were decentralized.[43]

The Saami Department has recently submitted a curriculum proposal for the three-year program in pedagogical theory and practice designed to prepare teacher candidates for elementary school positions. The aim has been for students to acquire insight and experience in the problems of Finnmark, such as mixed language and minority conditions, inadequate schools, and poor motivation and school history. The proposal has extended the usual course by applying the latest research on ethnicity and multicultural Finnmark, not excluding the Saami. Its incorporation in the college has not as yet been processed.[44]

Upon reflection, there have been some gains and a few losses. During the schools years of 1981-83 and 1985-86, there were no Saami classes at ATC. In 1986-87 about fifteen students registered for Saami courses, and in 1987-88 there were eighty-eight Saami registrants. Saami educators and leaders have had mixed reactions. Some have been

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[43]Alta Laererhoegskole: Studie Katalog 1987-88.

[44]"Forslag til Fagplan for pedagogisk teori og Praksis: 3-aarig Allmennlaererutdanning," [photocopy], Alta Laererhoegskole, juni 1987.

optimistic whereas others have not. The pessimists have held the view that the authorities have proceeded too slowly in meeting the demand for college educated Saami who must carry the banner of cultural preservation. The optimists can refer to the 1987-88 appointment of Jan Henry Keskitalo, a Saami and a former student, teacher, and chair of ATC's Saami Department who has recently filled the position of the acting director (or president) of the college. Keskitalo's credentials have included the following: a degree in Civil Service Pedagogy for governing officials from the State Special Teachers' School (with a major in language and identity); and experience as the principal of the Kautokeino School and as consultant for the Council of Saami Education from 1977 to 1985. Besides the overriding goal of attaining a congenial working atmosphere among the teachers and administrators, Keskitalo stated in a recent interview that ATC should educate people for Finnmark who could make children and youth interested in their cultural background. He was planning decentralized and part-time courses for those who demanded them. He felt education at ATC should qualify Saami teachers for the whole country, rather than isolate them from Norwegian society, and prepare them to compete for careers with non-Saami.[45]

Keskitalo indicated that the Saami Department would receive more academic autonomy just as a traditional department. The practical details would have to be worked out owing to so few teachers who knew the Saami language. He agreed with Professor Hoem that courses should be adjusted to reflect Saami subjects; for example, social studies should be expanded with the Saami culture component. According to Keskitalo,

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[45]Studie-avisa for Altastudenter (Alta), Aargang 2, oktober 1987.

Alta Teachers' College generally had gone much farther than other higher educational institutions for Saami education. He was excited to announce KUD's granting ATC a professorship. This move had signaled official recognition of the college as a higher educational institution.[46]

Keskitalo has actively supported the Nordic Saami Institute in its efforts for a Saami university. He believed it should follow Hoem's development by stages. He felt the Saami Parliament's role for Saami education should be in funding and not in administration. The latter should be left to NSI.[47] The recent rise in Saami student enrollment has served as a further inspiration to the acting director and the Saami staff. So far, Keskitalo's leadership has been substantial in remedying the teacher shortage and thereby helping to increase the number of educated Saami. Professional observers have found his past and present efforts astounding. He has been counted among the leaders who have been narrowing the gap between the minority and majority cultures.[48] When the permanent director returns from sabbatical leave, Keskitalo will resume his position as head of the Saami Department.

The Saami faculty at ATC's Saami Department have donned several hats as teachers and leaders in the Saami community. Their experiences with the real conditions and their knowledge of the ideal goals may be

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[46]Ibid.

[47]Jan Henry Keskitalo, interview by author, 15 October 1987, Alta, Alta Teachers' College, Alta, Finnmark.

[48]The author has based this comment on informal talks with government officials and committee members in Oslo and Finnmark.

enlightening.[49] In an interview, interviewee W related his present and past involvement on committees for Saami education and in organizations. He has led the Saami Council of Education for the past four years in an elected position. He has been a member of the Historical Preservation Society and the Norwegian Conservation Federation, memberships that he has considered extremely important. He was the president of NRL from 1974 to 1976, the editor of Sagat from 1968 to 1974, and one time head of the NRK Saami radio program. He has authored books and articles on Saami history and culture. He had taught in Saami elementary schools for four years before he was hired in 1974 to teach in and organize the Saami Department at ATC. He said it was the first time in Norwegian history that such an event, the creation of a separate department for Saami studies, had taken place.[50]

In interviewee W's opinion, the Saami and their culture had traditionally been made invisible by Norwegians. Ignoring Saami culture, that is, not recognizing the Saami's right to ethnic uniqueness pervaded Norwegian society. Such behavior still appeared in frustrating ways. At a recent meeting, one non-Saami-speaking teacher demanded that Norwegian be spoken. The Saami majority complied. The laxity in educational standards in the past decade could also be blamed on this flaw in Norwegian (ethnocentric as well as paternalistic) attitude toward the Saami. It affected admission requirements at ATC. He said that

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[49]The Saami Department staff and alumni have not been identified by name but will be referred to as interviewee W, X, Y, and/or by position; see appendix A for interview questionnaire.

[50]Interview W, interview by author, 13 October 1987, Alta, tape recording, Saami Department of Alta Teachers' College, Alta, Finnmark.

teacher candidates for Saami areas were not required to take English, mathematics, and natural science that were essential for modern technological society. These subjects facilitated acquiring knowledge of the electronic fields of radio, television, and data processing among others. They were only electives at the college. English was essential for Saami internationalization. If Saami teachers could not teach these subjects, he doubted that the Saami could reach economic equality in a modern society.

According to interviewee W, a worse state of affairs was that Saami teachers were incapable of teaching beyond the eighth grade basic school. As a result, their pupils could not pass into the secondary school. The Karasjok High School had a large dropout rate due to student failure. It was a vicious circle. Recently, teachers were more ill-prepared than ten years ago. Irrespective of this fact, he believed it was correct to have lowered standards for admissions to college, but that the standards for passing examinations had to be high. Especially mathematics, natural science, and English had to be required courses for the Saami who needed a longer time to acquire competency at the college level. Saami teacher candidates with only eight to nine years of schooling could not be expected to complete higher educational studies in the conventional period of time. In addition to taking a year of preparatory courses, they should be permitted a longer time to complete their education, a minimal extra year. In the past, the college administration had not understood or simply ignored the real problem, in his view.

As far as future Saami leadership was concerned, interviewee W claimed that a teacher could reflect honor or dishonor to the school. It depended on the teacher's knowledge and his/her ability in class management and discipline. Therefore, a higher educational institution should demand high standards for teacher competency. When asked about the future of a possible Saami university, he stated that he definitely believed it an important goal. He had not only been on the committees that proposed it, but he also had had contacts with indigenous peoples from Alaska, Canada, and Greenland who had generated similar ideas. In 1973 and 1983 at the Hoem Committee meetings, a decentralized system with a credit or point system was also discussed. Interviewee W's primary concern was with raising educational standards and teacher qualifications. At the time of the interview, he was on sabbatical leave to conduct Saami media research.[51]

Interviewee X has taught the Saami language in Alta Teachers' College. She a member of NSR, the Nordic Saami Teachers' Union, and currently the president of the Nordic Saami Authors' Society. She graduated from ATC in 1975 and taught in an elementary school for twelve years. She said that in 1973 there was no Saami instruction at ATC, but the teacher candidates took Saami language instruction in their free time. She believed all the college departments should prepare the students for teaching in the tricultural northern cap. She also thought that Saami music or joik should be offered just as should other elements of Saami culture. The schooling of Saami leaders should be based on the Saami siida; up to the present time, the Saami had accepted the

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[51]Ibid.

Norwegian bureaucracy and organization without question. In her view, other structural models needed to be tried and evaluated.[52]

Interviewee X viewed competency in the Saami language as the most important criterion for admission to the college. It was needed in all the Saami courses, especially in duodji. However, as many Saami did not know the language, this was detrimental to both admissions and recruitment. She felt that ATC's preparatory courses (Norwegian, a foreign language, and a course in mathematics, natural science, or social science) had been very effective for recruitment. This was true since many Saami did not have the same level of education as Norwegians because of the language difficulty and the fear of leaving the Saami community. Because the Saami were tied to their community and environment, schools should be established in their areas. She thought that there should be a Saami basic school controlled by Saami beliefs and instituted on Saami premises instead of dominated by Norwegian culture and policies. Only three such schools had their own curriculum in Norway (in Hattfjeldal, Troms, and Snaasa). The other schools had Norwegian programs.

"X" remarked that the Saami teachers had tried to help students become aware of their rights as a minority. The students could learn about their rights in the social studies and pedagogy courses. She had found little tolerance among Norwegians for the Saami while she was a student and teacher at ATC, however. The college should bring Saami and non-Saami students together in activities and teaching experiences to

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[52]Interviewee X, interview by author, 5 October 1987, Alta, tape recording, Saami Department of Alta Teachers' College, Alta, Finnmark.

enhance mutual respect. The Saami already had a positive attitude toward the dominant society, but it had not always been reciprocated. From the basic school on up, tolerance for differences should be nurtured. This was the responsibility of the college. Another problem, formerly, was that the Saami Department had often been forgotten by the other departments. There had been little cooperation even though it was so important to have course plans pointing out the differences between the Saami, English, and Norwegian languages, for example.

Interviewee X believed the Saami language was primary for cultural identity. However the Saami who did not know their mother tongue could identify with Saami history, the local costume, joik, and literature. Translating Saami literature to other languages would help to explain Saami culture and life. Now that there was a Saami rector (Keskitalo), she expected some positive changes at ATC. She lamented that improvements for the Saami relied on an individual and not on school policy. She agreed with the Hoem plan for developing a Nordic Saami university. Mostly, "X" spoke about the paradox of Saami children being taught by non-Saami teachers who needed to learn about the Saami, their culture and language, and the other cultures in northern Norway.[53]

To teach duodji, the recently accredited Saami course at ATC, interviewee Y was hired. She was the newly elected president of the Saami Teachers' Union and a member of NSR. She had definite opinions about Alta Teachers' College and the education of teachers for Saami areas. She felt that teachers had to be able to teach in and about the Saami language and that duodji should be a required course. This was

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[53]Ibid.

true because many Saami identified their culture through the art and handicraft of their ancestors. The designs and patterns were symbolic of their beliefs and mythology. In duodji one instructed in Saami history and nature to a certain extent. These subjects and Saami music also enhanced Saami identity. The Saami had traditionally been close to nature, so their language had many words for snow. All natural phenomena were important to the Saami. Thus, in duodji instruction, the Saami language took a central role in the use of terminology. "Y" was active in working to prevent commercialization and imitation of Saami art and handicrafts. She praised the Saami Duodji Organization for taking a strong stand before the authorities and for achieving cooperation for the protection of Saami products. She wanted to see improvements in Saami education and advocated duodji as a subject in the basic school. Since it was offered at the college, she hoped it would gain official recognition. She so emphatically believed in duodji for Saami identity, that she was ready to relinquish her position to a more qualified duodji instructor. A disadvantage of the duodji position was that it had not yet received the benefit of a leave of absence with pay for further education. Duodji was too recent as a college subject.[54]

Interviewee Y affirmed the plans for an autonomous Saami university. She said the Saami were a Nordic folk, so a Nordic Saami university with teacher education would help in the fight against assimilation by Norwegians, Swedes, and Finns. She learned about Saami national and international rights in ATC's Saami Department. She felt it was

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[54]Interviewee Y, interview by author, 2 October 1987, Alta, tape recording, Saami Department of Alta Teachers' College, Alta, Finnmark.

important to add that Saami children lacked self-confidence since, unlike Norwegians, they did not have a large society behind them. Teachers in Saami areas needed to learn to be sensitive to the children of the Saami minority.[55]

The Saami Department of Alta Teachers' College has had dedicated educators and active leaders for Saami cultural retrieval. Part-time instructors have been on the staff as well. Liv Oestmo has taken over the leadership as the head of the Saami Department.[56] For their positions and organizational memberships, they have commuted and conquered the distances between the college, the universities, the Nordic Saami Institute, and the Saami Council of Education, to name just a few.

The Future of Saami Higher Education

At the Karasjok Saami Collections (museum), the author conducted an interview with NSI researcher A. She orginally came from an area close to Karasjok and is presently engaged in a three-year research project to record the upbringing of Saami preschool children. She completed another research project on a similar subject for the Institute for Sociology and Pedagogy at the University of Oslo. A kind of "asphalt Saami," she spent five years in Oslo studying for her degree and wrote a thesis on Saami teachers' education, submitted in spring 1983.

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[55]Ibid.

[56]Due to an accident, the Saami Department head could not be interviewed. Similar to the others on the staff, she has actively participated on committees and in organizations for Saami higher education.

Her focus was the Alta Teachers' College. Her advisor was Professor A. Hoem, so she elaborated on many of his ideas in her thesis.[57]

NSI researcher A stated that the ideal, and part of the Saami political program, would be the establishment of a Nordic Saami university. Nonetheless, one would have to wait for the next ten years for it to materialize because of the administrative problems with the Swedish government. The alternative was to move ATC's Saami Department (to Kautokeino), which she preferred. Then the available resource people, such as experts in the Saami language, ethnicity, sociology, history, and education, could decide which subjects to develop. She thought that bilingual studies should be included; the oral history through storytelling and drama and duodji should be given because they were related to history and traditions.

Researcher A was enthusiastic about the Saami's future. In her field work, an informant had once related an event that illustrated the importance of Saami higher education. The informant told about her sister who had become so totally Norwegianized, as she viewed it, that she seldom visited her. Then, after her sister had attended ATC's Saami Department, the sister went through a metamorphosis. She dropped her Norwegian "airs" and became a Saami again. The informant was impressed with the college. "A" explained that many Saami viewed the Norwegian upper-middle class as Norwegian culture in general. However her point was that specialized Saami education instilled ethnic identity and self-esteem.

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[57]NSI researcher A, interview by author, 7 October 1987, Karasjok, Saami Collections (Museum), Karasjok, Finnmark.

Researcher A herself had been criticized for losing her Saaminess in Oslo. All during her study time there, she had been active in Saami politics and organizations. She made professional contributions to Saami knowledge. She adamantly disagreed with the notion that living the old way, as the reindeer herding family, made you a Saami. The traditional lifestyle would not survive modernization anyway. She said one had to accept change but on one's own terms. She mentioned the successful Saami film production Veivisern (the Pathfinder) as an example of modern technology dramatizing for young and old alike the beauty of the old ways and beliefs. It exemplified dynamism. Also Saami organizations had encouraged the Sea Saami to assert themselves. The Sea Saami began demanding Saami kindergartens for their children. "A" was optimistic about the changes taking place for the retrieval and development of Saami culture and ethnic consciousness.[58]

Another Saami NSI researcher was a child psychologist at the health center in Karasjok. Researcher B was less optimistic about the future of the Saami as an ethnic group. She had majored in social studies at the University of Tromsoe and spent some time with the Inuit in Greenland. As a member of NSR, in 1984 she presented a paper criticizing the idea of a Saami Parliament at the IWGIA seminar in Copenhagen. She had little faith in a "Saami Parliament's" future effectiveness. It would simply perpetuate Norwegian officialdom. Afterall, it was named the Sameting.[59] She was concerned that many Saami lacked basic

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[58]Ibid.

[59]Her point was that a Sameting, as a structural imitation of the Storting, could not truly represent the Saami community.

schooling; therefore, few Saami attained a higher education. She felt Saami teachers needed to become better educated. As organizations enlarged and became more bureaucratized, there would be a great call for administrative skills. Many Saami lacked both comprehension of the complexity and competence, she asserted.[60]

The most depressing and crucial problem was the number of youthful suicides, according to researcher B. For the past few years in the community of Karasjok, an average of four suicides a year had taken place and four had already occurred in October 1987. She believed they were incited by identity conflict. Sixty-five percent of the population in Karasjok was Saami, but many had been Norwegianized. The young received a mixed message. They were told to study and learn as much as Norwegian society demanded. When they became Norwegianized, their parents and relatives blamed them for being "uppity." For this reason, she was pessimistic about Saami education. Still, she viewed some (Saami) political power as symbolically significant with language taking priority, followed by art and film. When confronted with the question of Saami alcoholism, "B" replied that separate statistics for the Saami did not exist. The Norwegian government's equality policy was against separating ethnic groups. She mentioned a study in 1970 that found no difference between the Saami and non-Saami Norwegians. At the alcohol treatment center, she stated that Norway's equality policy could be

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[60]NSI researcher B, interview by author, 8 October 1987, Karasjok, Karasjok Health Center (Polyclinic), Karasjok, Finnmark.

seen again. There were no healthcare people who could speak Saami. The treatment center had a hierarchy with Saami personnel at the bottom.[61]

There have been contrary views as to the establishment of an autonomous Saami university in the future. In response to such a happening, Professor Harald Gaski of the University of Tromsoe stated that three institutes at the university already conducted research and instruction in the Saami language and literature and in Saami culture, history, and interethnic relationships. Since the University of Tromsoe collaborated with Saami researchers connected to other universities and museums in the North, there was no reason for a special Saami university. A good Saami student atmosphere had evolved and asserted itself internally at the university and externally in the Saami community.[62]

Gaski criticized the Nordic Saami Institute and ATC's Saami Department for neglecting an evaluation of their ten years of existence as well as adequate detailed planning for a separate Saami college. He doubted that it was wise to spread the minimal resources of the academic community more thinly. He posed the question of whether the Saami should be isolated even more than they were. He agreed that the preservation of his culture and language (Saami) should not be ignored but that bilinguality and biculturality would best serve the Saami in the present modern society. He saw the University of Tromsoe as an institution for internationalizing the Saami instead of the alternative of the Saami's receding into a romanticized past culture, beyond retrieval, and into more isolation. He doubted the wisdom of extending the Saami

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[61]Ibid.

[62]H. Gaski, "Same-universitet: hvor?" Dagbladet, 23 juni 1987, 4.

language and culture as far as higher education, in particular, at a Saami university in a Saami district. Such an education would not provide the Saami with a realistic view of their situation as a minority people. The University of Tromsoe would offer decentralized courses in Saami areas with the cooperation of Saami educators and NSI, which would continue in its capacity as a Saami research institute. He believed his view had support among the Norwegian officials.

Gaski has expressed the other side of the debate that has raged for the past year or so. Similarly, another professor at the University of Tromsoe asked rhetorically, "What is a university?" His own answer was that a university was at once universal and autonomous and with no political connection. He did not consider "Saami studies" an academic discipline. It belonged to the studies of anthropology and sociology. He admitted that the Saami took a longer time to complete their education at the university, for it was possibly a stigma for them to do so. The university did not offer preparatory courses for the Saami although an expansion of Saami courses was in the planning stage. In his opinion, the efforts to establish a Saami university were of a political nature, nothing more. Nevertheless he recognized it as an issue of paramount importance that was both psychological and complex.[63]

In refutation to the arguments raised by Gaski and others in the academic community, John Gustavsen insisted that an autonomous Saami university would assemble all the Saami resources for higher education. The fact that the University of Tromsoe and other universities were

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[63]Professor L. P. (fictitious initials), interview by author, 19 October 1987, Tromsoe, University of Tromsoe, Tromsoe, Norway.

predominantly "western-oriented" created conflicts for the Saami. He believed, contrarily, that a Saami university would reflect the Saami's international heritage and contacts in the East, North, and West. It would also attract non-Saami teachers and students. Saami internationalization would occur outwardly and inwardly. He claimed the competition for academic positions at the University of Tromsoe had never been easy for the Saami. For one thing, applicants for lectureships required competency in classical language, and few Saami had been considered for the decision-making positions for the Saami courses. At the present time, enough Saami had leadership and administrative skills that could best serve their own higher research and educational institution.[64]

Gustavsen suggested the Saami university's courses and elaborated on the mission. Among other disciplines, the courses would include Saami language and literature, history and law, philosophy and religion, art and handicrafts (duodji), family research and pedagogy as well as human ecology and peace research. The Saami university could produce teachers for every educational level, from preschool to university. Its mission would be to fortify Saami self-consciousness and abilities. An increased number of coastal and urban Saami had surfaced. Such a university would further encourage and support them. It would also serve as the infrastructure for educating Saami to have the best possible qualifications for the Saami Parliament or Norwegian political and government posts. Saami artists and their organizations had demanded a college for fine art. Of greatest value, Gustavsen believed, the

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[64]J. Gustavsen, "Samisk universitet?" Dagbladet, 13 juli 1987, 4.

Saami university could ideally contribute to human ecology and peace research, for hardly any people in the North had had a more peaceful relationship between the East and West than the Saami. They had no reason to be put on the defensive nor to feel ashamed of past flagrancy. Their tradition of nonviolence placed them in a position for negotiation and strategy. With the Saami university situated between the East and the West, it would attract international forces and bring a balance to them. Gustavsen asserted that the Saami university could contribute invaluably to inter-Nordic and international ambience and peace.[65]

In an interview, Professor L. M. revealed a recent Nordic Saami Insitute request that he provide professional consultation. He shared his plans with the staff in Kautokeino for an autonomous Saami university. It was NSI's decision to approve them and set them in a political framework. He believed a Saami university in a Saami community would assist in cultural development. The Saami community would retain certain traditional kinds of organization and use some of the present structures. The best of both the old and the new would be utilized.[66]

In Professor L. M.'s view, it was important to remember that the Saami people were "a little folk," a tiny minority, for they numbered only some forty thousand in a Norwegian society of over four million. They were a culturally intimate group who knew each other and each other's families. Family life and relatives had greater meaning to them than they had to non-Saami. Moreover, their relationship to nature had

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[65]Ibid.

[66]Professor L. M. (fictitious initials), interview by author, 15 December 1987, Oslo, tape recording, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway.

given them "existence." It affected their thinking and fight for survival. The professor also explained that duodji was a living element in Saami culture. Its formalization as a college subject showed how other elements of Saami culture might also be formalized. Another example was that Saami economic theory could develop from the production activities of the Saami siida (community). Professor L. M. had conferred with the Nordic Saami Institute on the many ways that Saami cultural phenomena might be understood and amplified in academic courses.

Professor L. M. stated that the Saami's level of education and their professional qualifications needed to be raised. Because they were few in number, they were in demand for political and administrative positions. They often had low qualifications. Therefore he found that recruitment and motivation for education had to be developed to attract adults and youth. Refresher courses were important. He also said that at the Norwegian universities there was much too little knowledge of Saami culture and multicultural education in general. For this reason, they were unable to assist in making wise decisions for the Saami. Most people needed to develop more humanitarian values and apply them equally to different kinds of people. If the Saami were to have the opportunity to develop their culture, they would need a specialized educational institution. A Saami university, for instance, needed to collaborate with other institutions and the Saami community. Then it would become a force for advancing humanitarian principles as well. The Saami university would function in relationship to Saami society at the same time that it functioned as a university. The Norwegian universities were no different in the respect that they functioned in

relationship to Norwegian society. However, he felt that it would be difficult to establish a Saami university on a Nordic basis in spite of its being the ideal. Professor L. M. made it a point to maintain that he was not politically motivated for the establishment of a Saami university. As a professor of pedagogical science, his role in its development had always been that of a professional consultant.[67]

Saami cultural politics by means of higher education continued at the Nordic level. In 1985 the Saami Culture Committee requested the Nordic Saami Institute to contribute to the issue of Saami higher education and research. NSI completed an extensive report in January 1986. NSI held the viewpoint that since the national institutions had centralized Saami-related research and education in the universities and colleges, the Saami component had fallen into low priority. It had also become distant from the Saami's actual situation. Around sixty Saami had formal academic qualifications for scientific research and teaching. About half of these were in the humanities. The present availability of highly educated Saami and of insufficient attention given to Saami culture and language provided the bases for creating an autonomous Saami higher research and educational institution or "university." NSI added to these reasons the premise of Saami rights and the emergency of Saami cultural retrieval and development.[68] In Sweden at a seminar in March 1987 designated "The Organization of Saami Research and Recruitment to Higher Education," Dr. Helander again spoke on the

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[67]Ibid.

[68]Anders M. Sara, Report on Saami Higher Education and Research, (Kautokeino, Finnmark: the Nordic Saami Institute, 28 January 1986), photocopied.

importance of Saami research by Saami and that such research had to gain acceptance from the rest of the research world. She explained NSI's focus on the humanities, followed by sociology and natural science, due to its relationship to Saami identity. NAVF, Norway's General Science Research Council, had a research program for Saami and Swedish history and culture. NAVF had recently offered NSI two professorships, an assistant professorship, a position for an archivist, and two stipends for Saami language research.[69]

Helander announced that at the XII Nordic Saami Conference in August 1986 the Saami organizations demanded that the Nordic Saami Institute offer higher education. She insisted that the plans for a higher academic and research institution could not be separated from the Nordic perspective. The Saami university would be Nordic with a clearly defined center and three affiliations: in Norway, Finland, and Sweden. It could be built from NSI's present structure with some adjustments. There would be decentralization to cope with the spread of Saami settlements. She felt it was necessary to lay down definite plans on how the institution should develop so that work for this purpose could be advanced soon. A planning body would have to be arranged with representatives from the Nordic Saami Council, the Norwegian Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs, and similar ministries in Finland and Sweden. The scientific contribution would be directed and administrated by the Nordic Saami Institute. The planning body would require some

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[69]Elina Helander, "Seminar on the Organization of Saami Research and Recruitment to Higher Education at Umeaa University: Nordic Saami Institute," trans. G. Roland (Umeaa: Umeaa samefoerening, 19 March 1987), photocopied.

three years and cost about 1.5 million crowns (about 250,000 dollars). Financing would be covered by Norway, Finland, and Sweden, each rendering a sum by its percentage of Saami population. There was a consensus at the inter-Nordic seminar that NSI should be the main organizer for all of Saami research and education and the Nordic Saami university.[70]

The Saami Culture Committee reacted favorably on the whole and acknowledged that the Saami university had broad political and cross-occupational support. The committee took up a few vague points in NSI's 1986 report concerning the Saami university's organization. They were in regard to the dispute among Saami about the structural model. Should it imitate the established universities or be comprehensively decentralized? Among other questions, there was the alternative short-range plan to develop the Saami Department of Alta Teachers' College. The Regional Board of Higher Education for Finnmark had proposed this solution in a 1983 report. In 1987 the board suggested that ATC's Saami Department be relocated to Kautokeino, at the home of the Nordic Saami Institute. At previous public hearings, the concept of a Saami higher educational institution was acceptable, but several complained of the sketchy description of content courses. Still others felt the Saami could complete their education at a Saami college and transfer to an established university for graduate work. The dominance of the Northern Saami dialect in Kautokeino posed some concern for the Southern and Lule Saami for whom higher education had been localized at the University of Trondheim and at Nordland Regional College. These were some of the questions that required additional discussion.

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[70]Ibid.

On the other hand, the committee agreed that work should proceed toward the Nordic Saami Institute's goal. In concord with NSI, the committee stated that it was "urgent" that hearings be conducted and plans be set. The committee enclosed in its report a Saami university structure that was built on existing institutions in the center of "Saamiland," the most prominent higher educational institution of which was Alta Teachers' College. There were also the Saami museums in Karasjok, Saemien, and Snaasa for research assistance. The committee recommended setting up a modern, computerized communication system to deal with decentralization and the vast Saami-inhabited area. NSI should weigh the consequences of overreaching its responsiblities when deciding on a Nordic or national (Norwegian) Saami university. The former could lead to serious financial and administrative difficulties. Principally, the committee fully backed NSI's call for a planning body who would substantiate the eventual establishment of a Nordic Saami university.[71]

Professor Hoem's reservations concerning a Nordic Saami university have coincided with other researchers and educators who have championed an autonomous Saami university. Many have agreed with his proposal for a process development by stages in Norway. Dr. Helander, whose indefatigable energy has been funneled toward the creation of a Nordic Saami university, remarked that it would take another four years before it could be established.[72] NSI has drawn a model of a higher

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[71]NOU 1987:34, 147-149.

[72]Elina Helander, interview by author, 6 October 1987, Kautokeino, Nordic Saami Institute, Kautokeino, Finnmark.

educational institution network with NSI at its core.[73] The institute has drawn many supporters to its ranks. Dr. Helander's repeated assertions and demands have found substantial response from NAVF and from Finnish and Swedish academic communities. They have legitimized and raised the status of NSI's research. The Saami Culture Committee has propitiously contributed to the cause by their overview and enumeration of Saami culture and education. They have given practical suggestions for achieving the goal of a Saami higher educational institution. The vision of the future has been clarified to and by most of the Saami leaders. They have listened to the criticisms but not lost sight of their goal. The University of Tromsoe has grown in the area of Saami research and education. Along with the Tromsoe Museum, it has provided the apparent "polish" to Saami research, and a few of its Saami academics have challenged the visionaries of an autonomous Saami university. By joining in the debate, Tromsoe academics have focused attention on Saami higher education.

In 1988 Stortinget appropriated 1.7 million crowns (ca. 300,000 dollars) of the state budget to establish a Saami higher educational institution or college in Kautokeino. The funds will be applied to the reconstruction and remodeling of the discontinued air defense buildings in Kautokeino, administrative personnel, and development of plans and instructional materials. The Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs has delegated the Regional Board of Higher Education for Finnmark to submit a detailed report of activities. NSI and the Saami Council of Education are to take part in writing the report. The Board of Higher

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[73]Sara, Report on Saami Higher Education, 1986.

Education in collaboration with Alta Teachers' College has been asked to decide if the available teaching position in the Saami Department should be readjusted to a position tied to the new Saami college.[74]

The Norwegian government has attained prominence in Scandinavia by the decreed establishment of an autonomous Saami college. It has provided the financial and professional backing. The Saami leadership found fertile fields on Norwegian soil where the Nordic Saami Institute was firmly planted. NSI's establishment in (Kautokeino) Finnmark, Norway has given Saami higher education a springboard to a Nordic university by way of a Saami college in Norway. Saami higher education has had to harvest in Norway's Saami midst. As one educator remarked, "What doesn't happen locally, won't happen," and this he said, he had heard elsewhere. With the support of the Norwegian government, the Saami have been in the process of developing a Saami university. It is believed that the attainment of this goal will secure a leadership force for the preservation of Saami culture and language and for a dynamic Saami community infused with knowledge and commitment.[75]

Summary

Chapter 3 has depicted how the economically strong Norwegian Reindeer Saami established the first viable national Saami organization. Norwegian officials and educators joined in discussions of reindeer economy and Saami education and status. Nearly a decade later at

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[74]Aasulv Froeysnes and Leif Stemre, Report to the Regional Board for Higher Education in Finnmark, [Det regionale hoegskolestyret for Finnmark], 26.1.1988, trans. G. Roland (Oslo: Det Kongelige Kurtur-og Vitenskapsdepartement, 1988).

[75]Interviewee W, interview on 13 October 1987.

a meeting on school reform, the Saami in Karasjok clashed in opinion on the value of specialized Saami education. Saami disunity led to a delayed response from the Norwegian government. In the 1960s and 1970s, school laws were adjusted to include the Saami language. Also in the 1970s, a small group of leaders or Saami "elite" effectively articulated to the Norwegian government an ideology of cultural preservation, retrieval, and development by means of Saami teachers' education. The Norwegian Saami and government officials shared the belief that education would help the Saami attain equal status in Norwegian society.

The Norwegian government's approval of major hydroelectric dam construction in Finnmark resulted in Saami protests during 1979-1981. These events drew attention to the issue of Saami rights to land and natural resources as well as to Saami representation in decision making in Norway. Chapter 3 has further revealed how the Saami dominated committees appointed by the government utilized democratic methods. It also has pointed out how strong has been the role of the Nordic Saami Institute which has stood at the center of promoting a Nordic Saami university. In 1987 the Norwegian government decreed a Saami Parliament or delegation, and in 1988 it decided to fund a separate Saami college to be located in Kautokeino, Finnmark.

The small group of Saami leaders developing the Saami college has had several obstacles to overcome. The most important one has been Saami factionalism. The Saami educators have roughly fallen into two groups: those that either support or do not support a separate Saami college in Finnmark. Arguments against such an institution have been raised by certain professors of Saami disciplines and alumni from the

University of Tromsoe. "The Tromsoe group" has believed that a university should not have political intentions, that is, that the objective and nonpolitical pursuit of knowledge should be the only goal of academia. They have seen the teaching of Saami traditional culture as detrimental to Saami opportunities and adjustment in a modern technological society. The other group (represented by the Nordic Saami Institute with Dr. Helander at the focal point and ATC's Saami Department staff) has advocated separate Saami higher education for over a decade. They have challenged the concept of "objective research and education" by citing Norwegian educational history, which has been biased and politically-oriented at all levels. Both groups have agreed to Saami schooling at the preschool and elementary levels by reason of its effect on cultural identity and self-esteem. The split in commitment of the Saami "elite" to a Saami college has made the possibility of attaining a stable and sufficient faculty at the Saami college seem remote. Also, few professionals, especially those without a strong commitment, have wished to live on the tundra of Kautokeino and work at an institution that has yet to gain academic prestige.

In all likelihood, teacher education will initially be emphasized at the Saami university. The Saami educators at ATC's Saami Department have already developed curriculum and course plans which can be transferred. The Saami staff has expressed the willingness to participate. If the Saami Department is moved to Kautokeino, then Jan H. Keskitalo, as head of the new college and located at Kautokeino, can direct the endeavor due to his admininstrative and diplomatic skills. As a bilingual, he has gained the respect of both the Saami educators

and Norwegian officials with whom he has maintained constant contacts for Saami higher education. The Saami college staff will need to test a structural and academic model; the Saami Culture Committee's model can be used for this purpose. The Nordic Saami Institute can supply other previously tested models for evaluation and possible adaptation through its international indigenous contacts. The Saami student body, such as those living dispersed over the northern cap, those in Saami majority areas, and those in urban settings, will need to be realistically considered by the planners of the college's organization and courses. Presently thousands of Saami live in the capital (Oslo), and the trend has been toward moving to the cities to seek employment. Keskitalo has planned decentralized courses, and a system or network can solve problems of Saami recruitment to higher education. In general, specialized higher education for the Saami has gained active supporters locally, nationally, and inter-Nordically.

In chapter 4, an historical overview will be given of Amerindians in the United States as a comparison to the Saami in Norway. Chapter 5 will identify the effects of urbanization on American Indians and will focus on Chicago, Illinois (the United States). Chapter 6 will describe how a group of selected Chicago American Indians developed specialized higher education along with their accomplishments and difficulties.

CHAPTER IV

AMERINDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF CULTURAL LOSS AND RETRIEVAL

This historical treatment of the Amerindians in the United States will be developed similarly to that of the Saami of northern Europe. The present chapter contains the following: an historical overview of Amerindian and Euroamerican relations, the reformation of the United States government's laws and policies, and the education of Amerindians and their efforts at self-determination. Origin, culture, and language, included as subtitles in chapter 1 on the Saami, will not receive the same amount of attention in reference to the Amerindians. The reasons are as follows: the shorter history of Euroamerican and Amerindian contacts, the absence of debate in the United States over whether or not Amerindians are indigenous, the difference in attitude held by the United States government toward the international community; and the government's lack of receptivity to legislating equal status to Indian languages alongside English.

First of all, for the Saami the differences in language and culture and the lack of Pan-Saami organization facilitated the exploitation of Saami labor, land, and natural resources for more than a millenium. The history of Euroamerican and native relations has been shorter and more intense. Advanced weaponry, massacres, and segregation of the Amerindian tribes on reservations were Euroamerican solutions to

land acquisition. Such extreme actions appear to be due to both racial and cultural differences between the American Indians and European colonizers and resistance by some Indian tribes. Whereas racial distinctions between the Saami and their Nordic oppressors were minor, cultural distinctions were more important. The dichotomy of white and Saami has been nonexistent in Norwegian law, documents, and other historically recent renderings. At any rate, the fact that native peoples lacked an effective means of resistence was primary in both Scandinavia and the United States.

Second, this historical overview of Amerindians differs from that of the Saami in the absence of debate over the question of Amerindian "indigenousness." Amerindian rights to land and natural resources received early recognition by the United States in that land and reservations were set aside for some Indian tribes and some tribal lands were acquired by treaty and/or by purchase. A discussion of Amerindian rights based on who the original inhabitants of the land were would be superfluous. Third, United Nations conventions and international agencies for indigenous and minority peoples' rights have had less influence on the United States government than they have had on the Norwegian government. Finally, for practical reasons, such as the volumes needed to review the thousands of unique Amerindian tribes by way of cultural and linguistic differences (and the fact that, in contrast to the United States, Norway was receptive to Saami language legislation), only particular aspects of shared Indian cultural experience will be mentioned. Furthermore, for reasons of the stated intention of this study, the focus on educational institutions for cultural

preservation, chapter 4 goes directly to the initial contacts with the united eastern states and reviews the beginnings of education for native Americans.

The expansionist policies of the United States and the joining of one territory after the other to the federal government led to the progressive exploitation and oppression of Indian tribes and bands. Territorial expansionism severely threatened Indian cultural existence. Therefore chapter 4 discusses the laws or acts, attempted or enacted, along with the changes in relationship and attitude of the Euroamericans toward the Amerindians. Chapter 5 reviews the more recent conditions of the Amerindians in urban settings, their developing organizations, and the initial establishment of specialized higher education for Amerindians with NAES College (Native American Educational Services, Inc.) in Chicago. Chapter 6 focuses on NAES College, its affiliations, and its present and future social significance. Generally, when comparing the two sections, the chapter titles, subheadings, and text may seem dissimilar in content due to the purpose of elucidating the historically dominant themes of each group, Amerindian and Saami.

An historical overview aids one in formulating the necessary perspective of the Amerindian struggle for the perservation of their lives and cultures. The ensuing overview culminates at the present in the era of Indian self-determination. The survivors and those non-Indians who have joined in the struggle have supplied the main characters in this account. Interspersions of the "bad guys," the former stereotypical designation of Indians in stories and films, is attributed here to the oppressors whose actions have served to dramatize the immensity

of that struggle. Major obstacles that have constantly hindered the efforts toward humanitarian treatment of American Indians will be identified. The several stages in the goal of American indigenous people to reach full human rights with universal acceptance tend to illustrate occasional surges toward success as well.

Discouragingly, many Amerindians in the United States have continued to live in substandard conditions and to suffer the loss of their cultural identities. When compared to other groups, even to recent immigrants of the past decade, the millennium-old Amerindians have been the ethnic group least benefited by the opportunities promised to all Americans. The Indian tribes were forced to drastically change in their beliefs and ways of life in a short span of time. The results of "white" dominance, the extent of Indian loss, and Indian reactions to reversals in governmental policies must be viewed with this perspective. Significantly in the past few decades, some Indian leaders and Indian tribes have gained ground in determining their own fates. This account of native Americans can still convey some optimism despite the genocide of the past (still taking place on other parts of the globe) and the ever-present paternalistic and assimilatory practices that have persisted in varying degrees.

Amerindians and the United States

Recorded in the early history of European and Amerindian encounters, there have been some good intentions and attempts at preservation of Indian lands and culture. The North American colonists followed the principle that the Indian tribes were to be considered separate nations and, therefore, be negotiated with by treaties and diplomatic relations

according to precedents established by international law. As a separate nation, the internal affairs of the Indian tribe were the responsibility of the tribal authorities, supposedly without interference by the white settlers. Subsequently, after the Declaration of Independence, any negotiations of Amerindians and Euroamericans were between the federal government and the tribes and not the concern of the states, with certain exceptions in which particular states and tribes had already established an official agreement of some sort.

The good intentions and attempts at friendship and respect were soon thwarted. George Washington remarked that the treaty with the Cherokee had been entirely violated by disorderly white people on the frontiers of North Carolina. The task fell to Henry Knox, the Secretary of War in August 1786, who felt the emigration of non-Indians should be regulated and restrained by armed force, if necessary, for the native population should not be allowed to become extinct. Instead, it should be preserved against the migratory pressures of the nation's citizens.[1] Since the new Americans desired land acquisition and the right to exploit natural resources, these could be accomplished by making presents of domestic animals to the chief of a tribe and by appointing people to teach the natives their use. Missionaries would live among them and as their "friends and fathers" would supply them with the "implements of husbandry" as well as with livestock.

The Act of 3 March 1819 stated that its purpose was to provide against further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes

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[1]S. Lyman Tyler, A History of Indian Policy, U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, (Washington D.C., 1973), 32-39.

adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States. Intended exclusively for Amerindians, it authorized the president, in every case where he found improvement forthcoming, to provide instruction. The native habits and conditions would need adaptation and a means of subsistence, such as an agriculture suited to their situation. It also stipulated that native children should learn reading, writing, and arithmetic, and regulation of their conduct. However, the program of education was left almost entirely to the Christian missionaries. An annual ten thousand dollars was appropriated among various missionary societies, and later treaty funds were made available. By 1842 thirty-seven schools were in operation with eighty-five teachers and 1,283 pupils. At the same time, native Americans were brought into contact with three main "white man" scourges: liquor and fatal diseases as well as improper seizure, occupance, and use of their land.[2]

After the War of 1812 relations between European and Indian Americans were changed by a turn in events. With the Treaty of Ghent, the British evacuated Prairie du Chien, Mackinac, and Fort Dearborn, leaving further relations to take place between the natives and the United States government. Twelve states joined the Union between 1816 and 1848 and masses of settlers demanded more land. Policing the areas and preventing the onslaught of land grabbing became increasingly difficult. In fact, for more than two centuries the English and Dutch had been committing Indian massacres. For example, of the Five Nations of the Iroquois, survivors were forced to escape to Canada or westward in

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[2]Ibid., 39-45.

spite of repeated attempts at peace. Many other tribes were assaulted in like manner.

In 1829 Andrew Jackson, whom Amerindians called Sharp Knife, and his soldiers had slain thousands of Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole Indians. Once he became president of the United States, Andrew Jackson's first message to Congress was to remove the natives who clung to tribal lands westward beyond the Mississippi. The remainder of the Five Civilized Tribes (the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, and Seminole) were removed to Oklahoma where they had to cultivate the soil in the Anglo-American fashion or become stock raisers, tasks at which they were soon adept. Mainly, post-Civil War Indian policy was concerned with the trans-Mississippi west and its nomadic Plains Indians. Opening new areas to white settlement and exploitation was the goal. The universal prescription of reduced acreage, a supply of farming equipment, English schools, and missionaries was expected to work with the Comanche, the Cheyenne, and the Sioux just as it more or less had worked with the Cherokee and Choctaw. Meanwhile, most land preserved for natives by decree or act or treaty was gradually taken by force.

The series of treaties imposed on Indians in the 1850s and in the late 1860s have revealed the paternalism of the United States government toward Indians. The treaties contained set provisions to transform the diverse Indian cultural patterns. The new circumstances of adjustment were based on the following: reduction of Indian landholdings and the designation of limited reservations, the provision of farmsized plots of land for individual Indian families, annuities that would be used for education and other means to civilization; and grants

for establishing farms, mills, blacksmith shops and employment for a period of years.

In 1871 Congress decided that no more treaties would be made with the Indian tribes, so the treaty system ended. In its place came President Grant's peace policy, the designator of reform. A ten-member lay board of Christian philanthropists infused with the evangelical religious zeal of the nineteenth century became advisors to the "Indian Office." To summarize, they decided that the legal status of the "uncivilized Indians" would be that of government wards, and the duty of the latter was to protect the Indians and to educate them in industry, the arts of civilization, and the principles of Christianity. The government ought to elevate them to the rights of citizenship and to sustain and clothe them until they could support themselves.

Carl Schurz, secretary of the interior under President Hayes from 1877 to 1881, had the greatest influence over Indian affairs in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. He also believed that Indians had the ability "to move down the path to white civilization and citizenship, but they must be carefully guided to the goal." At about the same time, many voluntary associations of Christian men and women were agitating for reform. In their view, Indians were to throw off tribalism and adopt individualism. The familiar formula to elicit this transformation took on these particularities: first, the reservations (the basis of communal life) would have to be broken up and the land allotted in severality to individual Indians in parcels of 80, 160, or 320 acres; second, the individual Indians would have to be made subject to white laws and ultimately accept the rights and duties of American

citizenship. Finally, the Indian children would have to be educated in English-speaking schools, not only in the three R's (reading, writing, and arithmetic) but also in vocational skills and in patriotic citizenship. To a large extent, the Indians could not resist the enthusiastic efforts of the Christian reformers.

With the exception of the Five Civilized Tribes, the passage of the Seven Major Crimes Act in 1886 took away major criminal jurisdiction from the tribes. This act, together with the agents assigned to them, eroded tribal custom. When Indians received their allotments under the provisions of the Dawes Act of 1887, which definitely broke up their reservations, they became citizens of the United States.[3] Most of the reservations were subdivided into 160-acre tracts and distributed to tribal members. The remaining tribal lands were purchased by the United States at minimal price. These were then opened to settlement by whites. In fact, the expansion of the administrative structure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) resulted from its concern for property management. Clearly both the natives and federal bureaucrats concerned themselves with natural resources, though from differing vantage points.[4]

Many American Indians were removed to reservations and forced to endure starvation, neglect, and humiliation. This part of their

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[3]Francis Paul Prucha, The Indians in American Society, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 16-23.

[4]Vine Deloria Jr. and Clifford Lytle, The Nations Within, (New york: Pantheon Books, 1984), 5.

history has been best told in Dee Brown's Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee,[5] which cited a period of Amerindian survival at its crassest, a gross setback in the preservation of a richly, culturally diverse indigenous people and the loss of numerous tribal groups forever. Depopulation was catastrophic. There were racial "line-crossers," the result of much interbreeding, and many offspring entered the non-Indian population as whites, Negroes, or "almost whites." Barring this occurrence, the socially distinct bands that were recognizably Indian in culture expired by the thousands of malnutrition and European diseases. The malnutrition was due to the erosion of Indian subsistence. The European diseases, to which the Indians had low resistance, was the curse of life conditions on the reservations and contact between Indians and whites. As the latter proliferated the land mass, smallpox and tuberculosis became pandemic with influenza, mumps, and diphtheria taking their toll in lives. By 1800 the native population was about 600,000 and fifty years later it was about 250,000. In 1837 smallpox reduced the Mandan from 1,600 to 31. In California, after the discovery of gold in 1848 and approximately from 1873 to 1909, deliberate massacres by miners eliminated nine-tenths of the native population. In another area, within a span of fifty years, the natives were reduced to less than half their original number as the result of both malnutrition and disease.[6]

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[5]Dee Brown, Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee, (New York: Washington Square Press, 1981).

[6]Herbert L. Marx Jr., The American Indian: A Rising Ethnic Force, (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1973), 14-15.

Amerindian Education and Goverment Reforms

The time between 1888 and 1912 spanned a quarter century of the great competition to assimilate Indians through the education of their children in white-controlled schools. It was the time when the Catholic Indian school system was the principal beneficiary of federal funds for mission schools and when the drive began in earnest for a public school system. In the 1890s, a national government school system was inaugurated for the Indians, inspired by Thomas Jefferson Morgan, commissioner of Indian Affairs under President Benjamin Harrison. The Office of Indian Affairs known as the "Indian Office" matured into an institution, and Indian education became its predominant mission. Its active assimilation of American Indians was based on the belief that Indian culture represented a lower evolutionary development than white culture. In the 1880s and 1890s, it grew by the means of increased expenditures for schools, school employees, and agency school systems. Morgan reduced the influence of the Catholic Indian Bureau and suggested turning the function of Indian education over to reservation school superintendants. Congress made the superintendant of Indian schools responsible to the commissioner of Indian affairs.[7]

One of the off-reservation government schools gained renown by challenging Catholic dominance. Richard Henry Pratt or Captain Pratt, the head of the Carlisle Government Indian Boarding School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was openly antagonistic toward the Catholics. He made several anti-Catholic statements, especially in the Red Man,

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[7]Paul Stewart, The Indian Office: Growth and Development of an American Institution, 1865-1900, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1978-79), 156.

a periodical put out at Carlisle with public funds. When officials ignored Catholic protests, (James) Cardinal Gibbon concluded that Pratt's statements were supported by the federal government administration. Nevertheless, Congress put an end to the contract school system in 1899, and the Catholics and Captain Pratt declared a truce and began to cooperate. By 1901 the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions began pointing to the "Carlisle Plan" as an arrangement to be imitated. Captain Pratt stated the following to the commissioner of Indian affairs on 7 November 1901:

> The Catholic sisters meet with the Catholic students in the school rooms from six to seven Tuesdays and Thursdays each week. They also have a meeting at the church between nine and ten on Sundays, the same hour we have for Sunday school for the remainder of the children here. In all these services the Catholics have all the boys and girls belonging to their denomination... We have a Sunday afternoon preaching service and a Sunday evening meeting at which all students without reference to creed are required to be present unless there should be some special service in town at which the minister requests the presence of his members, but such occurrences are very rare. There has been no objection on the part of the Catholic church to the presence of the Catholic students at the morning prayers of the school in the dining room nor at the Sunday afternoon and evening services.[8]

Commissioner Jones, in his attempt to satisfy all parties, Catholics included, issued Education Circular N. 87 on 20 December 1902 to all Indian agents and school superintendents. It was a detailed directive and became the fundamental document in providing uniformity of religious instruction throughout the government Indian schools. In effect,

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[8]Francis P. Prucha, The Churches and the Indian Schools 1888-1912, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 164-65.

the Catholic Indian school system was no longer the principal beneficiary of federal funds after 1912.[9]

The results of genocide and confiscation of Indian lands struck the sensitivities of humanitarian groups as they vied for some kind of Indian preservation, an echo of original good intentions. In the early part of the twentieth century, a series of proposals bent on suppressing Indian rights gave impetus to the reform movement of the 1920s. The Bursum Bill, introduced by Senator Bursum, was one of the most blatant in that it attempted to confirm all non-Indian claims to lands held for more than ten years before 1912. The struggle over the Pueblo lands began in this way. Another proposal, H.R. 9852, would have given the secretary of the interior authorization to appraise tribal property and pay tribal members a pro rata share and terminate them from the tribal rolls. However, by 1922 leading with the issue of the Pueblo lands, the forces of reform were attacking the Bureau of Indian Affairs from every direction.

Stella Atwood led the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and S. R. Brosius of the Indian Rights Association began a general attack on the Bursum Bill. Atwood asked John Collier to join them. Collier was a social science teacher at San Francisco State University. As a reformer and social worker, Collier accepted an invitation to the Taos Pueblo in New Mexico in December 1920. In his book, From Every Zenith, he wrote about his experience of watching the Red Deer dance:

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[9]BIA, Circulars Issued by the Education Division: 1897-1909, National Archives and Records Service, Washington D.C., cited by Prucha, The Churches and the Indian Schools: 1888-1912, 39, 167.

> The discovery came to me there, in that tiny group of a few hundred Indians, was of personality-forming institutions, even now unweakened, which had survived repeated and immense historical shocks, and which were going right on in the production of states of mind, attitudes of mind, earth loyalties and human loyalties, amid a context of beauty which suffused all the life of the group. What I observed and experienced was a power of art - of the life-making art - greater in kind than anything I had known in my own world before.[10]

Collier willingly helped to organize the Pueblos in fighting against the Bursum Bill and in securing a much more favorable piece of legislation. He expanded his activity by organizing the American Indian Defense Association in 1923 and remained its most important executive until the thirties.

President Harding appointed the "Committee of One Hundred" in 1923 to keep him informed on Indian matters and make recommendations. The committee was a mixture of activists and celebrities and included, besides Collier, Matthew Sniffen of the Indian Rights Association, some prominent American Indian spokespersons, such as Henry Roe Cloud, Sherman Coolidge, and Charles Eastman, and nine non-Indian anthropologists. The recommendations were the following: to support better-quality education for Indians, to provide scholarships for college and vocational training, to seek admission of Indians to public schools; and to secure more adequate health and sanitation programs on the reservations. In addition, the committee endorsed a new study of peyote by the National Research Council, and by opening the court of claims to Indian tribes, it urged the resolution of the status of executive order on reservations and concluding the Pueblo land question.

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[10]John Collier, From Every Zenith, (Denver: Sage Books, 1963), 126.

The new Coolidge administration moved quickly on many of the recommendations. In June 1924 it also secured the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act and the Pueblo Lands Board Act. The Indian Citizenship Act gave all Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States full citizenship but added that such status did not infringe on the rights of tribal and other property that the Indians enjoyed as members of their tribes. Thus, a dual citizenship existed although this distinction in which Indians retained their tribal rights was not always preserved. Another Act in 1924, U.S. Statute at Large 63:536, authorized the payment of tuition for Indian children in public schools.

During the 1920s, major reports and studies exposed the poverty and accompanying poor health conditions on the reservations and in the government boarding schools. One such report, the Meriam report, came out in a national election year and in this way received considerable attention. Basically the report stressed that the fundamental requirement of the Indian Service be primarily educational, in the broadest sense of the word, and that it devote its main energies to the social and economic advancement of the Indians. Still, the direction of the recommendations assumed that the Indians had to be led or driven to certain preconceived goals, which were either assimilation or isolation within small Indian enclaves.

In the wake of the 1930s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Senate Indian Committee had more information on the conditions of Indians than any previous administration or Congress. Such Indian advocates as Collier frequently forced administrative officials to admit mistakes and inadequacies. The Senate made its own investigation in 1928, and a

subcommittee of the Senate Indian Committee toured "Indian country," at the suggestion of Collier. The hearings subsequently conducted were invaluable in educating senators. Most senators were astounded that Indians had almost no formal way to express their wishes. The first reforms of Congress were a series of monuments that commemorated the worst abuses of the past that the government had inflicted on the Indians. Regardless, the only noteworthy effort in 1932 was the passage of the Leavitt Act. It gave the secretary of the interior permission to adjust or eliminate reimbursable charges on Indian lands within reservation irrigation projects which the Meriam report had recommended.[11]

Then, with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, major change was begun in the fertile years of the New Deal. His appointments of Howard Ickes as secretary of the interior and then of John Collier as Indian commissioner were bold steps toward making the change. In 1933 Collier took office. He had already been personally involved in the reform movement for ten years as executive secretary of the Indian Defense Association and for seven of those years as editor for the magazine, American Indian Life. Now he was to spend twelve years more in an unpredented term in office to effect the reforms he had been advocating.

When Collier became commissioner on 20 April, he selected William Zimmerman as assistant commissioner. Nathan Margold was appointed as solicitor of the Interior Department, and Charles Fahey and Felix S. Cohen as his assistants. All three were attorneys who had been active in the work of the American Indian Defense Association and had worked with the Pueblos during the struggle to protect their lands. In April

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[11]Deloria Jr., The Nations Within, Chapter 4.

Collier also held a long conference with the personnel of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in Washington describing his hope to form policies that he said later expressed a philosophy intended to reach beyond the United States Indians and to all colonial peoples and generally to the government-citizen relationship. He stated that in administration they related essentially to the equation between government viewed as a necessity, and the Indians viewed as a group -- thinking and striving in their own being.

Collier soon announced the Indians' right to practice religious freedom and to engage in their traditional ceremonies without fear of harassment from the BIA. In emphasizing this policy, he disallowed forced attendance of Indians at Christian religious services in federal boarding schools, canceled debts against tribal treasuries that had been incurred without tribal approval, and successfully convinced President Roosevelt to abolish the Board of Indian Commissioners which had not been responding to reforms fast enough. He also immediately acted to accelerate the Rhoads program of transferring children from the boarding schools to community day schools which would also serve as social centers involving all age groups in the entire population. Only a few became boarding institutions with special classes of Indian children whose problems were best served in that way. In his first year as commissioner, Collier was likewise successful in securing passage of the Pueblo Relief Act of 1933, which prohibited the secretary of the interior from spending funds on the Pueblos of New Mexico without their authorization.

The commissioner's experience with the use of Indians in projects gave him confidence in the Indians' willingness to work and their ability to work together. It was based on his observations of the Civilian Conservation Corps established under President Roosevelt who had assigned seventy-two work camps in fifteen western states to Indians. Later Collier expressed some concern about introducing a wage economy on reservations. He wondered what would happen to the then working Indians after the Depression was over and the emergency grants discontinued. His solution was to develop reservation resources to the highest potential. Whenever possible, local industries would be introduced. Also, the encouragement of Indian arts and crafts would fit naturally into the program so that Indians could gradually shift from relief work to subsistence farming, native crafts, and the establishment of reservation industries. The intention to provide employment of Indians in the Indian Service was accented by the appointment of Wade Crawford, a Klamath Indian, as superintendent of the Klamath Indian Reservation. By the end of June 1934, there were 489 new Indian appointments to the Indian Service, for a total of 5,325 classified positions of which 1,785 were Indian.[12]

Until 1934, Indian tribes had rarely been consulted on the legislation introduced for their supposed benefit. In preparing for Collier's major legislation, the Indian Office first sent all the tribes question-naires concerning the Indian problems that they considered central. Finally, congresses of Indians were held in all the regions, gatherings in which practically every tribe in the United States was

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[12]Tyler, History of Indian Policy, 128.

represented. Collier's Indian Reorganization Bill, as finally enacted, contained a requirement that every tribe should accept or reject it in a referendum held by secret ballot. Those who accepted the act could organize it for local self-government. Through a subsequent referendum, they could organize themselves as federal corporations chartered for economic enterprise. Ultimately, about three-fourths of the Indians of the United States and Alaska came within the act. A related enactment, the Johnson-O'Malley Act (also passed in 1934), provided for the devolution of federal power to states and other political subdivisions, and for the enlistment of private agencies in the Indian tribes, through a flexible system of contracts and of grants-in-aid. The principle goal was to provide Indians with the tools of democracy, the practice of which Collier considered an art.[13]

In summary, the Indian Reorganization Act (IRO) furnished a flexible system for devolution of authority from the government, including Congress, concerning the tribes. The Johnson-O'Malley Act furnished the machinery for devolution from the federal institution to local subdivisions of government. The Pueblo Lands Act placed the Pueblo tribal corporations in control of communal monies. Implicitly or explicitly these acts affirmed that federal responsibility would continue, no matter how far the devolution would go. Despite being under attack within Congress every year since it was enacted, according to Collier, the IRO had not repealed nor weakened in any item and had proved to be a conserving and stabilizing measure.

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[13]John Collier, The Indians of the Americas, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1947), 264-266.

In the main, the policies established by legislation in 1934 had withstood every attack, except the attack through appropriations. The appropriation subcommittees, particularly in the House of Representatives, were all but autonomous. Specifically in the Indian field, land acquisition for Indians authorized by Congress was blocked through appropriation bills. The situation was similar with respect to the expansion of the Indian cooperative credit system. Congress legislated that the Indian tribes and corporations should be given technical advice and assistance in their operations, and then an appropration act nullified the legislation. The United States entered into treaty with thirteen other western hemisphere countries and by the treaty pledged herself to maintain a National Indian Institute. The appropriations made by the House Subcommittee of the Interior Department flaunted the treaty commitment. In general, the appropriation acts had handicapped the Indian Service and the Indians in the realization of every democratic, libertarian policy that Congress had established as the law of the land.

The Johnson-O'Malley Act allowed the secretary of interior to enter into contracts with the states, territories and private institutions "for education, medical attention, agricultural assistance, and social welfare, including relief of Indian distress in a state or territory, through qualified agencies of each state or territory." By the act of 21 May 1934, certain discriminatory federal laws of early origin allowing military and civil control within reservation boundaries and hampering freedom of speech were repealed. The Indian liquor law and the law prohibiting sale of firearms remained in force, however.

After Collier's first four years in office, there were five major adjustments in the government's Indian policy. These were the following: (1) the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 with its Alaska and Oklahoma supplements of 1936; (2) the attack on problems of physical conservation of land, soil, water, and vegetation; (3) an overall endeavor to cause Indians to go to work; (4) stoppage of Indian land losses and restoration of some of the lands which had been lost along with the development of a credit system based on the principles of a credit union which would make possible the full utilization of all Indian lands; and (5) a shift in education goals from white-collar to agrarian ideas, from routine grammar school to community school ideas, from a ban on native Indian culture to its encouragement and utilization while emphasizing technical and professional training.[14]

Tribal goverments were given power to control, preserve andexpand their land holdings which were in and of themselves great improvements reflecting Collier's belief in preserving Indian culture and rights. The secretary of the interior was authorized to establish new reservations for landless Indians. Over the years, reservations had become fragmented when allotments were sold to non-Indians, and they lost their trust status. Until the land could be consolidated, Indians would not be able to put together economic units that would produce any significant income. Congress was asked to provide not more than two million dollars annually to implement this land acquisition and consolidation program. Whereas section 7 of the bill authorized the secretary to acquire additional lands which complemented the authority given to

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[14]Tyler, History of Indian Policy, 135.

Indian communities to obtain and purchase a tribal member's interest in reservation lands, section 8 was extremely controversial since it permitted the secretary, when deemed necessary, to transfer to the tribe any individual's interest in grazing, farming, or timber lands.

Some individual Indians who owned their own land were disgruntled at the transference of their land. The provision that stipulated that title to allotted land holdings of an Indian be reverted to tribal ownership upon the Indian's death was mandatory. Collier believed this would keep the land in Indian hands. Land had always been primary to Indians, yet Collier could not prevent future loss of Indian lands, for he could not erase the effects of half a century of allotment and forced land sales without overriding the rights of individual Indians who wanted to keep what little they had personally.

All in all, in the interpretation of the law, many questions remained and to remedy the situation, Collier and Nathan Margold came up with a document entitled the "Powers of Indian Tribes" which was issued on 25 October 1934. In essence, the powers were not to be delegated powers granted through acts of Congress, but rather, "inherent powers" of limited sovereignty which from time to time had been changed, modified, or surrendered. It followed that the Indians could exercise these powers as well as the three new powers granted by Congress in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. In the area of tribal powers, Margold was creating a tribal court system that existed or could exist in isolation from the federal courts and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The shift from Collier's original proposal to vest these same powers in federal municipal corporations which were "delegated" now went to the

emphasis on "inherent powers." The former would make tribal government a part of federal government whereas the latter would preserve an area of independence for the tribes across the United States. In a further interpretation of the law, Margold approached the issue of Indian identity or designation in that the law should be applied to "all Indian tribes recognized now or hereafter by the legislative or the executive branch of the Federal Government."

With regard to United States law, it seemed two concepts of Indian identity and preservation of Indian culture were emerging: "inherent powers" and "all Indian tribes recognized by the Federal Government." In an attempt to define what constituted an Indian living off the reservation, Collier suggested that an Indian have at least one-fourth Indian blood. Senator Wheeler accepted the half-blood mixture. The final bill, S.3645 or the Wheeler-Howard Act or Indian Reorganization Act, incorporated the one-half Indian blood standard. The Indian Reorganization Act resolved the issue in section 19. The term "Indian" was defined to include three classes of persons: (1) all persons of Indian descent who were members of a recognized tribe, whether or not residing on an Indian reservation and regardless of the degree of blood; (2) all persons who were descendants of any such members of recognized tribes residing within an Indian reservation on 1 June 1934, regardless of blood; (3) persons of one-half or more Indian blood, whether or not affiliated with a recognized tribe, and whether or not they had resided on an Indian reservation.[15] One can conclude that "Indian blood" referred to "Indian" as a distinct race, and its

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[15]Deloria Jr., The Nations Within, 61.

importance has been apparent in United States law.

In brief, it was by law and constant advocacy that Collier struggled to preserve the Indian right to be or to practice an Indian way of life. He was the first non-Indian to demonstratively appreciate the Indian tradition and once was appropriately called "the first true zealous reformer," a champion of the injustices inveighed against Amerindians of the United States.

Amerindian Self-Determination

From a haven of hope came the dismay of the next decade, for in the early 1940s Indian funds for the New Deal economic programs were cut. With the United States involved in World War II, the emergency economic programs were eliminated completely. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was moved to Chicago in 1942. From this distance, it not only became difficult to effectively secure the necessary congressional support, but the BIA also had to suffer a loss of qualified personnel.

The native Americans began to take the lead when, in November 1944, delegates from twenty-seven states representing more than fifty tribes met in Denver, Colorado to organize the National Congress of American Indians. The preamble to the constitution of the congress declared these purposes: "to enlighten the public, preserve Indian cultural values, seek an equitable adjustment of tribal affairs, and secure and preserve their rights under treaties." Judge N. B. Johnson, a Cherokee Indian from Oklahoma and a charter member, gave the following reasons that such an organization was imperative:

> Jurisdiction over Indians reposes in the United States Congress, with a federal agency to administer the laws passed by it. Indian affairs in comparison to national affairs, are small indeed. Few men in Congress have the time to make a thorough study of the needs and the desires of the Indian people. The few who do seriously study these matters are generally lost in the great storms and struggles which fall upon Congress.
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> The Indian Service, as the administrative agency, is not always in the best position to influence congressional policy. There are times when this federal agency is under fire by the public or by Congress. On such occasions, the Indian Service is often partisan and its recommendations must be viewed with skepticism by the Indians.
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> Thus in moments of crises Indian tribes and the Indian people are generally left without an effective champion.
>
> The Federal Government has failed again and again in its dealings with the Indians because there has not been any leadership among the Indians, or such leadership was negative and effective only in resisting the Federal policy. Indian leadership should contribute to the formulation of Federal policy. It should take the leading part in inquiring into needs of Indians and of making those needs vocal. Such leadership would perform an invaluable service.[16]

In the ensuing years, the vital leadership was slow to develop for the number of Amerindians in need of it, and the government performed to the expectations of Judge Johnson -- with hope and disappointment.

On 27 November 1945, a bill was passed by the House of Representatives and sent to the Senate authorizing the secretary of the interior to delegate certain of his powers to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, who then could delegate them to his subordinates. On 6 August 1946, the bill was signed by the president. The reorganization allowed the commissioner to set up five geographical districts with headquarters in Minneapolis, Minnesota; Billings, Montana; Portland, Oregon; Phoenix, Arizona; and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. This permitted forty "at large" offices or stations to be eliminated.

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[16]Tyler, History of Indian Policy, 135.

After two decades of recommendations to set up a special Indian claims commission to hear many unsettled tribal claims against the United States, President Harry S. Truman signed H.R. 4497 on 13 August 1946 to create the Indian Claims Commission. The three-man commission would hear and determine claims existing prior to the bill's approval for the next ten years. The Congress saw claims settlement as a necessary step toward preparing Indian tribes to manage their own affairs.

During the war period some sixty-five thousand men and women left the reservations to join the armed forces or to work in war industries. Fundamentally, the ideology of assimilation raised its head again in March 1949 when the Hoover Commission recommended reducing federal government expenditures. At the same time that thousands of Indians were entering the main stream of American life, they were experiencing the thrust of termination of federal services. The termination sentiment actually existed in 1943-44 and was, in a capsule, an attempt to reduce federal government Indian guardianship. On 14 November 1943 in Circular Number 3537, Commissioner Collier referred to Circular Number 3514 which contained the subject of a series of regional conferences and called for the preparation of basic programs for each tribe, band, or group. The objectives of these programs were to facilitate the federal government in dispatching its obligations by making it possible for the Indians to obtain independence. Furthermore they offered Indians an opportunity to acquire the basic necessities of life by according the political equality that would make available the privileges enjoyed by other elements of the population. The termination

sentiment enumerated by Congress again in 1953 had begun to be included in programs.

In 1954 the results of a questionnaire listed tribes and their readiness to be relieved by federal government support.[17] Those answering "yes" would have transference, through the necessary legislation and administrative steps, for management and supervision over their lives to individual Indians or groups, or to the states and local government subdivisions. Discontinuance or further operation of the BIA would take effect. House Concurrent Resolution 108 of the Eighty-third Congress in 1953 named specific tribes that were to be terminated "at the earliest possible time." It also named certain states where all the tribes were relieved; for instance, Texas had been relieved almost entirely for the past one hundred years when its Indians were removed to Oklahoma Indian Territory. In Florida, the Seminoles were far from termination. Though favorable to termination in 1953, California became cautious after a committee of her legislature studied the question, so a final date was not accepted. Likewise, the Seneca and the Six Nations of New York still refused to break ties with the federal government. The Indian Rights Association and American Friends Service Committee spoke out against rapid termination. Complaints continued to arrive by mail and telephone. Tribes from twenty-one states and Alaska sent the largest Indian gathering ever to appear in Washington, it was said.

Also in 1953, two laws were passed to end discriminatory legislation relating to Indians that had been in force for many years: Public Law 281, the purchase of firearms and the sale of agricultural

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[17]Congress, House, House Report No.2680 of the 83rd Congress, 1954.

implements; and Public Law 277, the sale of alcoholic beverages to Indians. Within the reservation, a system of local option was provided for wherever laws of affected states would permit. Still, the 1954 election year reverted Congress to conservative forces once again. Senator Arthur Watkins even went so far as to visit the Menominee reservation and to falsely state that the Indians could not bring claims against the United States unless they accepted terminal legislation. Final versions of the bills that were passed gave the tribes neither access nor control over their property. In fact the Klamaths of Oregon, Menominees of Wisconsin, and Affiliated Ute Citizens of Utah were at the mercy of private banking institutions, which became their trustees under the legislation. In short, termination meant the federal government would give up its trusteeship of Indian property and all federal services, especially education and health care.[18]

The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) held an emergency conference in Washington to protest the congressional subcommittee's work. NCAI developed sufficient political pressure to curtail the hearings that year, before more tribes were pressured into accepting terminal legislation. Then, when the Democrats again took control of the congressional committees after they had regained the majority of Congress in the 1954 fall elections, immediate termination was stopped or at least abated. Certainly, conservative ideology had not disappeared from Indian affairs. Although Democrats were in charge of

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[18]Tyler, History of Indian Policy, 128.

Congress in 1955, termination continued to be the official congressional policy and very few congressmen dared to oppose it directly.

A major breakthrough came when Congress authorized the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA) in 1961. Philleo Nash of Wisconsin took charge of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and as it had under Collier, saw this program as a chance to increase the amount of available funds for the reservations. The tribes were made sponsoring agencies eligible to receive funds under the act and were able to build a number of community centers and tribal headquarters buildings on the reservations through the ARA programs, later reauthorized as the Economic Development Administration (EDA). The ARA-EDA included tribal governments on the same basis as counties and local governments. Not even the New Deal programs had regarded Indians adequately responsible to subcontract large sums of money. Placing the control of funds and programs directly into the hands of reservation people was a radical shift in both legislative and executive perception of tribal governments.

Moreover during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, several significant events took place. First, some Democrats had the notion that the Indians would be saved from termination if enough interest in reservation resources were vested in a large corporation so that the tribe could not be terminated without disrupting the plans of corporate America. A great number of Indians were encouraged by the BIA to arrive in Washington during the 1960s for the purpose of acquiring ninety-nine-year leases on tracts of their reservations that had special potential for development. This meant a sale of the reservation since heavy investment by non-Indian developers would certainly be renewed a

century later. However Congressman James Haley of Florida, who led the House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, refused to authorize a blanket lease and insisted on hearing each present tribe's reasons why it should be allowed to lease its lands for the longer term, though the Senate Indian Subcommittee generally favored long-term leasing. The conflict inhibited legislation. Had Haley not stood firm against the policies of the Democratic administrations, there might be few Indian reservations today under Indian control.[19]

A second event that occurred in the 1960s was that important statements emphasizing "Indian participation" were made. One of the 1961 reports entitled "Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian," was given by an independent study group supported by the Fund for the Republic. It condemned the termination policy of the 1950s and stated that Indian programs should be based on Indian initiative. It asserted that it was the duty of the United States to assist Indians in acquiring a decent standard of living. It made recommendations about tribal government, education programs, and health services.

In the meantime, a third major event was the American Indian Chicago Conference held at the University of Chicago in June 1961. It was a general effort of the existing Indian leadership and some non-Indian sympathizers to influence the Kennedy administration. The anthropologists at the university and some of the leaders of the National Congress of American Indians had collaborated to call this national

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[19]Deloria Jr., Nations Within, 198; Prucha, Indians in American Society, 74-75.

Indian conference. There were 450 Indian delegates from ninety tribes who met for a week to discuss problems and proposals. They drew up a statement of purpose which they hoped would be adopted by the incoming administration. To summarize their formal "Declaration of Indian Purpose", they advocated an end to the termination policy and demanded economic assistance to tribes with full Indian participation in development programs. They wished to gain some measure of adjustment in "the America of the space age" based on the fact that they were the original possessors of their native land. Some Indians felt that the declaration did not reveal the real concerns of most reservation Indians; nevertheless, it did play on sympathies for the Indians, their citizenship, and their role in American history. It created good publicity for Indians.

After the conference, young Indians organized the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) with its program of instilling national pride among Indians. Its message was that Indians were no longer to bow their heads in humble obedience to the Bureau of Indian Affairs nor to the institutions of "white society." NIYC asked Indians to view their own great cultural traditions and make decisions based on the values they had always represented. This was the Indian counterpart of Collier's idea of self-government and the development of its ideology.

On 10 July 1961, the Task Force on Indian Affairs appointed by Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior under President Kennedy, came out with the most important report because it became the basis for official policy. Similar to other reports, it rejected termination and called for development of the reservations. The Task Force stated that they would attempt to do for the Indians at home what they had been

doing for those in the underdeveloped areas of the world. Philleo Nash, a member of the Task Force, worked with tribal leaders, civic organizations, and industrial groups to promote industrial development on or near the reservations. He established a new Division of Economic Development within the BIA. The funds provided gave a boost to Indian management of the various programs.[20]

Finally, of the important events effecting Indian lives in the 1960s, there came a war on poverty that eventually was to produce the "Great Society." The War on Poverty, which began with President John F. Kennedy and accelerated with Lyndon B. Johnson, was under the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and featured a special "Indian Desk." It channeled federal poverty funds directly to the tribes and reservations. The civil rights movement made the employment of minorities a federal priority. The doctrine of the Office of Economic Opportunity that the poor themselves should conceive and manage the programs designed to relieve them from economic difficulty further brought huge sums of money to tribal governments from a variety of federal agencies. With their enthusiasm for the poverty programs, many of the reservation people learned the bureaucratic short-hand to describe themselves. Now instead of identifying oneself as coming from a certain village or group on the reservation, an Indian would state association with "Title IV" or "Neighborhood Youth Corps," or any of the major programs operating on the reservations.

The Oneida Indian Robert L. Bennett, Commissioneer Nash's

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[20]Ibid.; William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle, The Indian: America's Unfinished Business, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966).

successor, initiated the continuing policy that the commissionership and other high-level administrative offices concerned with Indian affairs should be filled by Indians, not whites. He was supported by President Johnson's creation of the National Council on Indian Opportunity to coordinate efforts for Indian welfare and Johnson's request for more funds for Indian programs. However the old attitudes of paternalism were fortified by the Indians' fear of termination. In 1967 Secretary Udall promoted an Indian Resources Development Act which failed due to Indian objections. On November 1969, a special Indian education subcommittee of "the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare" submitted a sharp critique of Indian education. The committee was chaired by Senator Robert Kennedy and after his death by Senator Edward Kennedy. The report listed the latest statistical information and facts regarding the various ethnic Indian groups inhabiting all fifty states. It placed importance on the federal government's obligation to American Indians and on education as a solution to improving Indian conditions.[21] Nevertheless, almost all important decisions, including the population to be served and the guidelines for employment and operation of programs, were still determined by the bureaucrats in Washington or in a regional office. This trend extended into the 1970s under the government's theme of self-determination.[22]

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[21]U.S. Congress, Senate, Report of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare: Indian Education: A National Tragedy: A National Challenge, 91st Cong., 1st sess., 1969, Doc. 501 Serial 12836-1, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Offset, 1970).

[22]Ibid.; Deloria Jr., Nations Within.

Much of the advance in Indian self-determination came in the presidency of Richard M. Nixon. Nixon stated his principles clearly during his election campaign, in effect, that termination of tribal recognition would not be a policy objective and that in no case would it be imposed without Indian consent. In 1970 Nixon sent a special message to Congress on Indian affairs that formally restated this position in a phrase that was to become a slogan: "self-determination without termination." Nixon's goal was to strengthen the Indians' sense of autonomy without jeopardizing their sense of community. Very soon his administration was responsible for three important pieces of legislation symbolically issuing in the new era that he advocated. The first was to return sacred Blue Lake and forty-eight thousand acres of land to Taos Pueblo of New Mexico. The second was the settlement of the Alaskan natives' land claims, unresolved ever since the United States acquired Alaska in 1867. At the end of much discussion, the proposal of the Alaska Native Federation prevailed in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 18 December 1971. It granted native Americans legal title to forty million acres of land and provided compensation of nearly one billion dollars. The third was the reversal of the termination of the Menominee Tribe by the Menominee Restoration Act of 22 December 1973. This, Nixon declared, was an important turning point in the history of the American Indian people.

In 1968 the Civil Rights Act contained five titles dealing with Indians, but it was rejected by tribal governments. It was replaced by the Indian Civil Rights Act which stated that federal courts would not infringe on such matters as tribal membership, tribal elections, and

selection of tribal officers. (The Supreme Court case of Santa Clara Pueblo vs. Martinez in 1978 upheld tribal sovereignty and immunity to suit.) Another example of the new era of the reversal of some past policies was the Native American Rights Fund (NARF), a national legal defense organization founded in 1971. It was a group of young lawyers, two-thirds of whom were Indians. They used their funds to pursue cases and projects to vindicate Indian rights based on treaty guarantees or statute laws, particularly those that would create a national impact. Some of the land claim causes that they introduced led to revolutions in judicial and state laws. Court action was also taken for fishing rights and water rights. For example, Chippewa Indians won their case in the federal courts against the state of Michigan for violating state fishing regulations. The state was denied the power to regulate Indian fishing on the basis of aboriginal use and a treaty of 1836.

These and many more examples of Indian activism, unfortunately, did not affect a more universal principle enunciated by Nixon. He wished for active Indian participation in managing education, health, and other social welfare programs supplied to them by the federal government. On 19 April 1971, he introduced a bill to transfer federal programs and services to Indian tribes, at their own request. Afraid of a kind of termination, Indians rejected the bill in favor of limited contracting while the main responsibilities would still rest with the federal agency. The result was the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 4 January 1975. It was a compromise that assured maximum Indian participation in services that the government would continue to provide in order to assure "an orderly transition

from federal domination to effective Indian involvement in planning and administering programs." In 1980 the act allowed 370 tribes to contract for the operation of two hundred million dollars in programs in addition to 22.3 million dollars that went to the tribes for overhead in the contracts. Despite this, Indians claimed the federal departments still made basic decisions concerning the contracts. Tribal leaders accused BIA employees of resisting the contracting and the bureau of not providing adequate technical assistance, especially for the paperwork involved in the contract procedure. It seemed that a paradox existed: if the government retained responsibility for Indian programs, it had to maintain some control over them, and by its federal control full tribal self-determination was negated.[23]

Still another example of the United States government's efforts toward Indian self-determination was the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978. This law came about in response to the high statistics revealing the placement of Indian children in adoptive and foster homes among non-Indian families. It gave jurisdiction to Indian tribes in matters of child custody and the right of the tribe or Indian parents to intervene in state court proceedings. The act also authorized establishing child and family service programs on or near reservations to prevent Indian families from breaking up. Basically, it aimed to preserve Indian culture through stable Indian families. Yet, since the grants were governed by the BIA and did not come from Indian sources, federal intervention was justified to some degree.[24]

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[23]Prucha, Indians in American Society, 77-78 and 83-87.

[24]Ibid., 95-96.

In conclusion, on the historical pathway of the Amerindian struggle for preservation, many tribes were either destroyed or reduced in number. Most were forced off their traditional and sacred lands and onto "patches" of land elsewhere. After the period of physical force, Indian reservations became places where the "captured audience" was forced to listen to the foreign creeds of Christianity and coaxed into abiding by European living patterns. Government-controlled boarding schools took over the responsibility for educating Indians from the Christian missions. The schools were expressly for the purpose of assimilating Indians into the dominant society. Improvements in Indian health and reservation conditions led to an increase in the Indian population in the twentieth century. After 1920, reformers began a movement to encourage Indian cultural pride and respect in the dominant society for Indian heritage.[25] Most Indian tribes lived under substandard conditions. Once these conditions were discovered by some senators, it finally could be made clear that policies of paternalism and forced assimilation, or reducing adults to the expected abilities of children, had failed. Such attitudes led to a shameful waste of humanity. Collier, and a few others, had the determination to reverse major forces of assimilation and allow Indians to practice their cultures. Then in 1944, Amerindians began to take some initiative by establishing the National Congress of American Indians. Although the NCIA effectively stopped certain government terminal legislation in the 1950s, it did not solve the problem of Indian dependency that was encouraged by government paternalism toward Indians.

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[25]Prucha, Indians in American Society, 57.

In fact, the evolution of the federal government's rectifying the past and reforming the laws that hindered Indian self-determination progressed unevenly. In the 1950s, the government's postwar termination policies were met with fear and suspicion by American Indians who felt the policies would continue their disadvantaged conditions. In the early 1960s, the National Congress of American Indians joined with their university academic "friends" to hold a national Indian conference to set goals and to affect the federal administration. They advocated continued government assistance but with full Indian participation in programs for Indian development. Of even greater importance, besides attracting public attention to the Indian cause, the conference inspired young Indians to organize. In the second half of the 1960s, President Johnson's War on Poverty included federal funding for Indian programs, which emphasized improving education on a grand scale.

More significant were the events in the 1970s. President Nixon's leadership for Indian land rights and self-determination led to increased opportunities for Indian decision making. Legislation reversed some past injustices, and Nixon's administration accelerated the transition from federal paternalism to Indian involvement. Chapter 5 will identify the United States government's role in Indian urbanization and its effects. It will show the relationship of Indian organizations to the development of community leaders and introduce NAES College as a model of Amerindian higher education. It will describe the origination of NAES College in Chicago, Illinois by American Indian organizers and their early efforts and goals for raising Indian status in the dominant society by academic means.

CHAPTER V

NAES COLLEGE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: URBANIZATION AND ORGANIZATION

With the anthem of self-determination singing in their ears, Amerindian cultures were being threatened by the phenomenon of urbanization in the United States. In the course of increased Indian efforts at national reforms, the familial and tribal core of Indian existence was being eroded. The sudden rise in the Indian urban population occurred as an outgrowth of a federal policy whose goal was to move Indians into the cities with the purpose of accelerating the process of assimilation. This federal Indian policy and other elements of urban life posed grave threats to the preservation of Indian cultures and to the more insipid threat of identity loss. The Chicago American Indian community confronted the many difficulties of Indian adjustment to city life with the organizing abilities and dedication of its leaders. Even when the federal policymakers, in a repetition of history, attempted to reverse the damage, its lingering effects left Indians in a quandary of anxiety and confusion. In this environment, the Amerindian leadership painstakingly organized Indian people and established the NAES College in Chicago as a wellspring of Indian existence. This chapter is an overview of NAES College's historical development within the realities of the dominant urban society.

An Overview of Urbanization

Sol Tax, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Chicago, offered the following explanation of the federal Indian policy:

> Relocation has never been a part of the law of the land. I looked for that several times without success. There never was an act with the title of that sort. The Bureau of Indian Affairs in the 1950's was in a mood that promoted termination. There was a Joint Resolution 108 and a number of other statutes that reflected Congressional desire to terminate trust relationships with American Indian tribes. But relocation was not an act. It was a program which began in 1952. The idea was to terminate the older policy of developing and supporting reservations by helping Indians to assimilate in the general American population. The common feeling was "Let them become like us." Congress never stated, "Let's move them into cities." They did it subtly by changing the Bureau's budget.[1]

The program that began in 1952 and that continued for a number of years was called "The Voluntary Relocation Program." The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) placed agents on many reservations for the "voluntary" recruitment of Indians to move to the cities. Especially those individuals who had not adapted to life at home and wanted to leave were persuaded to do so. Subsequently, quotas were filled as outlined in the program, and the relocatees received a one-way ticket, housing in one of the five major cities, and a job. Then, after about six months, they were officially forgotten.[2]

The effects of the relocation program created complex and continuous reverberations. First, the reservation populations were so disrupted that the development of an educated and trained Indian leadership was impaired. Second, diverse tribes were cast into an urban

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[1]Sol Tax, "The Relocation Act and its Effects," in Urban Indians 4: Proceedings of the Third Annual Conference on Problems and Issues Concerning the American Indians Today, by the Newberry Library Center for the History of the American Indian (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1981).

[2]Ibid.

environment at odds with rural experiences. Until the 1970s, Amerindians belonged to the most rural group in the entire United States population; in fact, twice as many Indians lived in rural regions compared to other groups in the total population by a 1974 Health, Education, and Welfare report. Many relocated persons experienced cultural shock or great disorientation in the urban setting. Though the relocation program was not responsible for all Amerindian migration to cities, this program was significant and did receive the most attention. By the mid-1970s, the chief relocation centers were Los Angeles and Chicago.[3] In Chicago from a few hundred (274 by the 1940 census) to a sudden increase of several thousand, sizable Indian communities evolved.

The compilation of considerable statistical information has lent perspective to the Amerindian urban situation. By 1970 the cities with the largest Indian populations were Los Angeles with 47,000; Oakland, San Francisco with 18,000; Tulsa (Oklahoma) with 15,000; St. Paul, Minneapolis with 13,000; and 12,000 in both Oklahoma and Chicago. The 1970 United States census listed the total Indian population at 791,839. Of this number, 340,367 or about 43 percent was recorded as urban. Most projections indicated that by 1980 more than half the Indian population would be urban in cities of 100,000 or more.[4]

Other demographic observations were that urban adult Indians tended to be younger and that urbanization revealed a lowering of the birth rate. In general, Indian life expectancy was lower than that of

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[3]Russell Thornton, "The National Scene," Urban Indians 4, (1981), 31-33.

[4]Edward H. Spicer, The American Indians, (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1982), 162-166.

non-Indians. Another occurrence of urban Amerindians was intermarriage with non-Indians. Overall, the intermarriage rate of Indian and non-Indian was over one-third of Indian marriages. In 1970, for example, only 20 percent of rural Indian men and 23 percent of rural Indian women had a non-Indian spouse, but in urban areas 51 percent of all married men and women respectively had non-Indian spouses. Also nationally, some 21 percent did not give tribal affiliation whereas over 29 percent of the urban Indians did not report one. Therefore, the trend toward Indian urbanization has had implications for the survival of tribalism. Undoubtedly, urban Amerindians have been faced with the greatest challenges to their cultural preservation. However, it was also found that Indians had a pattern of circular migration in which periods of time were spent in urban areas, and then a return to a reservation or nonurban area was made. The return rate to the reservations was from 30 to 70 percent. Then a movement back to the urban area was made once again.[5]

At "The Third Annual Conference on Problems and Issues Concerning American Indians Today," Professor Sol Tax recalled the 1961 American Indian Conference at the University of Chicago. He stated that it had brought together both urban and reservation Indians who assuaged fears of conflicts that might arise if either group extracted more privileges from the federal government than the other. One of the demands in the statement of purpose document was that the federal government should recognize the Indian right to leave and return to the cities as desired. In other words, the government should realize its

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[5]Thornton, "The National Scene," Urban Indians 4, 31-33.

obligation to both nonreservation and reservation Indians alike. According to Tax, for the Indians themselves at the 1961 conference, the question of federal status was quickly resolved because no matter what their official status or circumstances of residence, they all were firmly attached to their tribal identities. Two decades later, in preparation of the 1980 census, Indians showed concern and resistence because they felt that money would be taken from their people back home on the reservations to support the Indians in the city. Without exception, the Indians identified with their home reservations.[6]

Still, the question of government status or the right of an Indian to receive government support (as an Indian) was complicated. Many urban Indians were members of nonfederally recognized tribes. Some Indian communities were terminated, and others were remnants of conquered tribes who were never given reservations. The lands of the majority of Indians in Oklahoma, for instance, had been terminated long ago. The main question was whether or not it was possible to get federal recognition for urban Indians entitled to the same funds that reservation Indians received. Thus many urban Indians faced the dual hardship of being cut off from their home communities and/or from government assistance. American Indian organizations have had to grapple with this reality when applying for government funds to assist individual Indians and to develop programs involving all urban Indians.

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[6]Tax, "Relocation Act and its Effects," Urban Indians 4.

Chicago Amerindian Organizations and their Role in Cultural Identity

In the 1950s, attempts were made by Indians and non-Indians to organize a club or association that would offer psychological support services as well as entertainment and recreation. The American Indian Center (AIC) was founded and incorporated as a nonprofit organization in Chicago in 1954. The center was set up by Indians who stated the policies and goals. The board of directors consisted of fifteen members elected by the Indian membership. One of their goals was to make various urban alternatives available, expressly not urging conformity to middle-class standards. The newcomer could receive assistance and information from the center. Contrary to the expectations of proponents for assimilation, it expanded in membership and financial support. It purchased a Masonic temple at 1630 West Wilson Avenue. While other organizations and locations supported Indians in important ways (for example St. Augustine's Indian Center founded by Father Peter Powell in 1958 with its Alcohol Drop-in Center and the Emergency Center for Abused Children and the Native American Committee among others), the American Indian Center became the principal focus of urban Indians. Its activities and offerings included a summer day camp and "Headstart" classes for the young. This program led to Little Big Horn High School. In general, it served an estimated five thousand people every year. The membership list for 1964-65 showed representatives of seventy-nine

different tribes participating in the center's activities. These tribes covered most of the United States and Canada.[7]

In the 1960s social activist movements spread to the Amerindians who created enthusiasm through their publicity. The "Black Power" or Afro-American civil rights movement aroused Amerindians for a "Red Power" movement. In this atmosphere of protests and demands, the American Indians United (AI-U) was formed for the purpose of nationalizing all the American Indian tribal groups. It was organized in Seattle, Washington in 1968 to represent off-reservation Indian centers and held its first meeting at the Chicago American Indian Center which became its central office. It coordinated educational, economic, social and other services and programs. By early 1970, regional and probably tribal factionalism began to disrupt meetings. To add to the difficulties, there was mistrust of the executive director who was believed to have misappropriated funds. For this reason, the only major attempt to organize nonreservation Amerindians on a nationwide scale was lost with the decline of the AI-U. Few participated in the other movements.

One movement attracted considerable attention in Chicago. It was the development of an "Indian Village," a reaction against housing deficiencies. The protestors set up a tepee as temporary shelter for an Indian family who had been evicted. Within less than a week the media publicized the action. Funds and aid from outside groups supported the erection of more tepees. This enabled the Indian village to subsist for about two years. Moving from the original encampment near Wrigley Field

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[7]Merwyn S. Garbarino, "Indians in Chicago," Urban Indians 4 (1981), 56-59.

to others, the protestors finally claimed federal land at Fort Sheridan. One man was considered the leader by the news media and thereby his position for the land claim strengthened in the many interviews during which he was referred to as the leader. The Indians who took no part in the protest were nonetheless delighted by the attention whereas some believed it shameful due to the stories of filth and drinking at the various sites. For the most part, Indians felt that at least someone was "doing something." The activists offered new role models for the traditionally passive Indian.[8]

To reach all the Indians in the city, Amerindian organizing efforts have had to cope with the following major difficulties: federal cooperation at the outset and the Indians' disadvantaged conditions along with low Indian self-esteem, cultural conflict, and passivity. It took the American Indian Center years of repeated attempts until the organizers obtained information from the government relocation office about Indians coming into the city. Only with this information could they form an effective organization for helping the newly arrived Indians.[9] Another difficulty was that Amerindians were reluctant to ask for help, a situation possibly due to lack of self-esteem and/or to urban estrangement. Besides the negative stereotyping that they had to endure in the city, they were subjected to substandard education and economic hardship. A related problem was the absence of positive role models for Indian youth. Parents from rural areas could offer poor guidance to young adults who found themselves in a complex urban environment.

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[8]Ibid., 62-64.

[9]Tax, "Relocation Act and its Effects," Urban Indians 4.

Some of the parents on relief checks presented no model of financial security nor success. This has been cited as a reason for the high dropout rate of Indian students.[10]

Together with the rush to assimilate into the general society and the accompanying discrimination against being Indian, Indian youth were discouraged from retaining their cultural identities in the greater society. The American Indian Center's organizers were concerned with raising Indian social status and self-esteem, and the young people could turn to the Pan-Indian cultural activities and programs at the center. However, here they were confronted with the dilemma of either abandoning Indianness altogether or of joining the diverse tribal cultures. A Cherokee once complained that he had to make the decision of dancing at powwows and wearing Plains Indian-style clothing or not joining Indian groups at all. Yet, the increasing intermarriage situation among Indians encouraged a Pan-Indian identity. One young man jokingly commented that his wife was Oneida-Mohawk and that he was Chippewa-Winnebago, but what would his children be called? In this way, the urban Pan-Indian experience was unique to Indians but similar to that of many other ethnic groups.[11]

One issue for Amerindians and their organizations has been in defining "successful adaptation" to the dominant, especially urban, society. "Success" may be seen from two vantage points: "success" in the estimation of outsiders and "success" in one's own terms. If someone has managed to attain a reasonable standard of living as measured

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[10]Garbarino, "Indians in Chicago," 67.

[11]Ibid., 61.

in the dominant culture's terms, then that person must be acculturated or assimilated and therefore not really be Indian anymore. (This has been related to the bureau's claim that to succeed an Indian had to learn to be Anglo and by doing so would cease to be Indian and become an ordinary citizen.)[12] It would seem that "a successful Indian" was a contradiction in terms. If an Indian became assimilated, he/she could no longer be considered an Indian. Yet, the 1970s found Indians, social scientists, and service providers, such as those at the American Indian Center, refusing to take such a stance. They asserted that Indians could be both successful and remain Indian. In anthropological terms, this view has been known as biculturation and contradicted the earlier acculturation theories. Moreover, success would be fairly easy to measure; it meant having a good job, a comfortable home and facilities, a decent education, and a certain level of psychological or personal adjustment. "Indian" in this context would refer to upholding particular behavior patterns and beliefs which might include returning to the home reservation.

While the proliferating Indian agencies, with the inclusion of the child-oriented ones, spoke to the persistent movement toward self-determination, they have also begged the question of what it meant to run a program from an Indian perspective for the preservation of an Indian identity. The latest standard BIA answer was that an Indian was someone who was at least "quarter blood" and enrolled in a recognized tribe. Here the official designation would have to be challenged by

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[12]Ann Metcalf, "Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area," Urban Indians 4 (1981), 106.

reality. There have been many nonrecognized tribes and some people with less than "a quarter blood" that have grown up in an Indian community. They might be compared to some "full bloods" who have grown up as non-Indians or have decided not to identify themselves as Indians. Indians themselves have engaged in long debates about who is to be regarded a "real" Indian.[13]

Much has been written about identity loss and its effect on self-esteem. The problem of an Indian identity may be solved for some by consulting one measure of Indian identity developed by Ann Metcalf. She used an acculturation scale and a traditionalism scale for interviews that she conducted for her field work in 1970-72. The measures for acculturation, synonymous for "successful adaption" included level of education, occupational prestige, residence, and material possessions. These were derived from other studies of urban Indians and seemed reasonably comparable to how the BIA and the Indian defined success. The measure of traditionalism included participation in sings or ceremonies, use of native language, participation in clan system, and number of visits to the reservation. They were also designed to be in accordance with the definitions of other researchers and Indians. The most successful urban migrants ranked very high on the traditional Navajo scale. Therefore, it did not appear to be necessary to give up being Navajo, for example, in order to be successful. In fact, it looked as if remaining Navajo meant being more successful. These findings supported the growing evidence of the success of biculturation. The Native American Research Group at Scientific Analysis reached the

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[13]Ibid., 105-107.

same conclusion with a similar measurement, a longitudinal study to test the biculturation hypothesis. For measures of personal adjustment, such as self-esteem and mental health (via the Cornell Medical Index), the bicultural families fared best.[14]

Nevertheless, the measure of success from a truly Indian point of view, ie., traditionalism raised taunting questions as to the value of formal and informal education and the content thereof. Moreover, success signified possession of material goods by Anglo-cultural standards, while by the standards of most Indian tribes it signified possession of wealth shared or given away to others. How a successful bicultural person balanced these conflicting sociocultural values might well place him on an entirely different scale of success. No doubt, such a gargantuan task has had Indians looking for means and models which would convince them of its possibility.

Amerindian leaders have been well aware of the problems, for the sad statistics have often outweighed the happy ones. Frequently, they have inquired about how to solve the problems; especially, they have wanted to help the "marginal Indians" who have seemed to belong to neither the Indian or non-Indian worlds and who have been limited in cultural identity, education, and job skills. Urban institutions that have incorporated the ideas of the Indian extended family and that have practiced a culturally-relevant approach, or therapy when needed, have emboldened the traditional or cultural aspects of living for many marginal adapters. Indianizing health and social agencies in addition to developing higher institutions for the necessary education of the

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[14]Ibid.

Indian leadership have provided the logical solutions. Indeed, based on a Los Angeles survey made in 1966 and Canadian data, when acculturation pressure built up, "social and school systems became crucial for the survival of the language (and culture)."[15]

The Indian problems of adjusting to Chicago city life and the slow improvement in their social situation could be partly attributed to their lack of political clout. This has seemed true because of both their population distribution and their traditional ethnic passivity. Presently Chicago's Amerindian population of approximately twenty thousand has a concentration of Indians following the distribution similar to other ethnic groups, although they tend to live in the poverty and working class neighborhoods of the white, Spanish, and Asian areas. Most Indians have lived on the north side, in the near-eastern section of Chicago, between the high rises along Lake Michigan and the Ravenswood elevated train. Uptown and Wilson Avenue have been the designations recalling "American Indian" to the minds of most Chicagoans. Actually, Amerindians have not been the majority ethnic group in the area. Appalachian whites and Puerto Ricans have been more numerous. Indians have not been the dominant population in any city ward. Also their cultural tradition has often mitigated against joining other groups for political purposes. On reservations, decision making was the prerogative of the BIA, despite claims to the contrary, so Indians have had little experience with modern political decision making. They have brought their years of political passivity to the city. Even recently,

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[15]John A. Price, "Comparative Studies of Indians in the U.S. and Canada," Urban Indians 4 (1981), 150.

there has been no sign of Indian awareness of a route to power through grassroot local politics. The age-old tradition of the noncompetitiveness of most Indian cultures has likewise exacerbated attempts along these lines.

Currently, Chicago has over twenty-seven Indian community organizations including educational institutions. They have striven to serve all American Indian people living in the Chicago area along with some Indians from other parts of Illinois and even Canada, who have participated in Chicago Indian activities regularly. Since the Chicago community has been dynamic and the population has fluctuated, exact Indian population counts have been uncertain. However more than a hundred different tribes have been cited. The existence of a scattered and diverse population throughout the city has created some concern in regard to extending services, particularly in educating Indian children in Indian schools (O-Wai-Ya-Wa elementary school and Little Big Horn High School).[16]

At a recent "Chicago American Indian Community Organizations Conference (CAICOC)," held at the American Indian Center, the statement of purpose was reiterated (unchanged since the conference of 1981): (1) the continued underrepresentation of the Chicago Indian community at all levels of national, state, and local government; (2) limited application of the special federal Indian recognition status to members of the Chicago Indian community; and (3) a need for an effective system of service coordination among Chicago Indian community

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[16]Garbarino, "Indians in Chicago," 65-66; American Indian Community Service Directory 1986/87, (Chicago: NAES College Chicago Study Site, Information and Assistance Center, 1987).

organizations. Workshops were arranged for issues on health, education, and economic and housing development. Faith Smith, the president of NAES College and the conference chair, joined seventeen other participants in the workshop for education. Among the issues discussed were Title IV funding of urban Indian education programs (extended till 1989), information dissemination of native Americans in the history and development of the the United States, and native language loss.

The education workshop group's important recommendation to the conference was to maintain a total educational system from preschool through graduate school. Therefore, bilingual teacher education at NAES College should continue. CAICOC blamed the 75 percent dropout rate of American Indian students who attended Chicago Public schools on the Chicago Board of Education. CAICOC also claimed that neglecting relevant sociocultural and psychosocial development (such as self-concept, cultural identity, and strong community base) seriously impaired not only the Indian student but also the social, cultural and economic health of the American Indian community. As a result, the conference resolved to establish an education task force comprised of American Indian parents, community members, and Chicago Board of Education personnel to design and implement educational services "so desperately needed to relieve the negative forces impacting upon American Indian students who attend Chicago Public Schools."[17] Actually the Chicago American Indian Com-munity organizations have supported Indian educational programs for a number of years. In the next section,

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[17]Chicago American Indian Community Organizations Conference, "Community-Wide Conference," (Chicago: CAICOC, 1987), 1, 6-10, 38-39, photocopied.

the development of higher education for Amerindians will be discussed along with a specialized Amerindian higher educational institution or NAES College in Chicago.

Higher Education and the Origin of NAES College

In the past, government funds were placed in vocational education for Indians. Scholarships to colleges were not made available in the greater part of the twentieth century. The late Reverend Galen Weaver of the United Church of Christ (UCC) was a pioneer of church involvement for Indian higher education. UCC was the first church group to establish a scholarship fund for Indians and has provided leadership in this field ever since. In 1960 the Episcopal Church and the United Church of Christ collaborated in laying down the Association of American Indian Affairs. It put pressure on the federal government to support Amerindian higher education. In 1967 the Ford Foundation and the Office of Economic Opportunity cooperated in establishing a program to help Indian college graduates enter law school. By the fall of 1967, nearly twenty Indians were in law school. The BIA funded Indian graduate studies as well. Community colleges were formed on a number of reservations so that Indians employed by the federal agencies could continue to work toward degrees. Also the protests of the 1960s inspired the creation of nearly sixty Indian studies programs at colleges and universities. However, in the 1970s federally funded programs became more rigid and complex in demands for accountability. As a result, the need became more apparent for professionally trained personnel who could deal with Indian tribes and communities for health, education, law, resources, and economic development and management. There evolved

a demand for more Indian programs within colleges and universities as Indian enrollment increased. Whereas there were fewer than four hundred students in colleges in 1960, in 1974 twenty-five thousand Indian students were enrolled in colleges and graduate schools.[18]

The establishment of NAES College in Chicago was for the purpose of meeting the need for academically qualified Amerindians within the realities of Indian cultural, psychological and economic conditions. In April 1973, the North American Committee began formal work on the Reservation Urban Learning Exchange (RULE). It cooperated with the Native American Committee Inc. (NAC) and the Uptown Field Center of Northeastern University in Chicago in order to provide a community-based program in Chicago. The original organizers were William Whitehead, Dennis Harper, and Robert Dumont Jr., who were graduates and faculty of Northeastern University. Stanley Newman, the codirector of the Uptown Field Center and a trustee on the executive committee of Antioch University, initiated the discussion with Antioch, which was located in Yellow Springs, Ohio. Antioch University was reputed for several "firsts" in the field of education. It could boast Horace Mann as its first president in 1852 and the fact that it was the first college (at that time) to appoint a woman as full professor and to institute a policy of racial equality in 1863. NAES College was to become another of its pioneering efforts. The Rural Urban Learning Exchange program eventually was transformed to NAES College under the initial proposal entitled "A Native American Program in Higher Education."

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[18]Vine Deloria Jr., The Indian Affair, (USA: Friendship Press, Inc., 1974), 79.

NAC took on two roles at this time, first as agent for the RULE Project until NAES became incorporated and second with the recruitment of students who were drawn from the NAC programs.[19]

The intention, as stated in the proposal, was to establish a university-without-walls leading to a Bachelor of Arts degree through Antioch University. The educational plan was to focus on students, their work positions, the organizational setting, and more importantly, the students' communities. The students were drawn from three communities: Chicago, Illinois; Leech Lake Reservation, Minnesota; and Fort Peck Reservation, Montana. The objectives that were presented were the same as today and will be stated in the next chapter under the subheading of "The NAES Sites." The incorporators were William Crazythunder, Nancy Dumont, and Faith Smith who became the first board of director. Later Dennis Harper was added. Providing a secondary education was included in the Articles of Incorporation but this never became part of the service plan. Faith Smith was named initial registered agent and served as NAES faculty, director, and later became president of NAES College. NAC was henceforth released from its obligation.

In April 1974, Antioch University sent word that it intended to sponsor the RULE project. Under the basic conditions, RULE would obtain sufficient funding to meet the project's budget and maintain a positive cash flow at all times. The education program would begin as soon as the following stipulations were met: (1) Antioch University was to receive legal authorization from the state of Illinois to operate;

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[19]Myvonne Solorio, "The History of NAES College: Chicago Study Site" (B.A. thesis for Field Project, NAES College, 27 June 1983).

(2) an authorized official from Antioch and RULE was to sign the "Terms of Agreement" prior to Antioch's application for legal authority to proceed; and (3) there was to be the approval of degree requirements and of the Academic Review Committee by Antioch Provost, the latter who would provide the admission of the first student.

On 22 July 1974, the Antioch University's Office of the Provost sent a draft of the responsibilities of the Academic Review Committee (ARC). This letter was a "charge to the Academic Review Committee for the Antioch-NAES Education programs" and stated that the committee was to meet quarterly to review the conditions and development of the curriculum, method of instruction and hiring of faculty, and make program recommendations. The committee was also to review student admissions to the program and to advise on the adequacy of the policies and admission practices. The ARC would be responsible for the approval of each student's degree plan from the initial concept to the final presentation for degree candidacy and recommend the student for graduation after fulfilling the requirements of Antioch's bachelor's degree. The degree requirements are contained in Table 1.

Table 1

DEGREE REQUIREMENTS

Work-Study Contract . . .	12 semester credits
Core Seminar	18 semester credits
Major Project	45 semester credits
Special Seminar.	12 semester credits
Basic Competency . . . . . (expository expression, oral expression and communication, and analytic skills)	12 semester credits
Elective course work . . .	12 semester credits
Minimum Academic Credits: 12	

The maximum time for degree completion was three years. However, students in advanced standing who had extensive amount of training and learning upon evaluation by the Academic Review Committee could be awarded up to the equivalent of two years of credit. Minimum time for completion of degree requirements was one year. The Faculty Review Committee which recommended granting of the degree consisted of one resident core faculty, a member of the ARC, and one adjunct faculty member.

The list of persons who served on the ARC changed quite regularly due to the fact that it was made up of persons interested in serving as consultants to the program. The original list included Sol Tax, Professor of the University of Chicago; Dr. Lawrence Towner of Newberry Library; Robert K. Thomas, Professor of Wayne State University; and Caleb Shields, member of the Fort Peck Tribe, Montana. These individuals continued in this capacity and eventually became members of the NAES Board of Directors. The ARC acted as the liaison between Antioch and the NAES program and met quarterly to generally oversee the

progress of the program and to report to the Dean of the Provost, Office of Antioch.

After reviewing the original proposal, it has appeared that the two additional sites beyond Chicago were determined by the first planners according to the reservations from which they had come. Dennis Harper returned to Cass Lake, Minnesota to become site administrator. William Whitehead also became the site administrator, and Robert Dumont Jr. became the resident faculty at the Fort Peck Reservation. Cass Lake, on the Leech Lake Reservation, received a grant for $15,266 from the Ford Foundation's Fellowship in Rural Educational Development in January 1974. This was to fund a full-time position for the development of the RULE Project. Leech Lake Reservation's Business Committee was in full support on 20 May 1974. Then after a year of developing the Cass Lake site (on the Leech Lake Reservation), it was decided to terminate it because of "staff inadequacy" and this took place in February 1975. The Fort Peck site began without a funding base. Both the site administrator and resident faculty were employed by the tribe. This site also received endorsement and support from the Fort Peck Executive Board for the RULE Project in January 1974. On 11 February 1980, the Fort Peck Assiniboine and Sioux Tribal Executive Board passed a resolution granting NAES authority to operate the Fort Peck site.

After NAES began to enroll its first students in Chicago, the students decided to return to the Northern Cheyenne Reservation to live. They both wanted to continue their studies at NAES, so to keep them in the program, another site was formed at Northern Cheyenne in July 1976. On 17 March 1980, the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council

passed a resolution that granted NAES College authorization to operate this site. In the following month, Julie Herrera, the director of the Native American Support Program of the University of Illinois, moved back to Santo Domingo, New Mexico. She took a position there as principal of the Santo Domingo Elementary School. Carrying the concept of NAES College with her, she requested establishing a site there. (Later she became a member of the Academic Review Committee for NAES College.) Her request was accepted by the central office in August 1976, and the Santo Domingo site began with the enrollment of one student. It has seemed that the formation of additional sites was not in the original plan but came about as requests were made and the availability of staff and students surfaced.

NAES College's Early Academic Program

NAES acquired a special grant from the Illinois Regional Program for fifty thousand dollars to develop a curriculum and training program. In April 1975, NAES began its first class in Chicago designated "Dynamics of Community Health." It carried six credit hours through Antioch University which were retroactive to the agreement. Twelve students attended under Edith Jones, R.N., who became a faculty member. NAES was enabled to design the curriculum for its core seminars. Up to this time, NAES students were regarded as developmental rather than academic due to the absence of formal admission. In September 1975, Antioch University was granted approval from the state of Illinois to offer the B.A. degree through the NAES program. The Chicago site's degree program began the same month with eleven students in the core seminar: community development and institutional change.

The beginning course of study was the work-study contract which contained nine units for mastery of basic competency skills: oral expression, communication and expository writing, historical and legal appreciation, analytical skills, and planning, as well as projection and validation. The core seminars, as they were officially named, consisted of three areas: institutional change and community development, historical process and Indian communities, and dynamics of community health. The major project in the area of specialization included a reservation and urban study unit with independent study. The three major areas of specialization offered were community development, historical and legal issues, and community health. The primary intention of the reservation and urban study unit was to have students travel to the technical resources or other sites to work with students in similar major project areas. The special seminars comprised five units, and the minimum academic units totaled twenty-seven. The year after (in 1975), noticeable changes took place. The units were adjusted to a more practical system of credit hours with a minimum of 120 credit hours required for graduation. Past learning experience and/or prior credits could be awarded up to two years of academic work. A minimum of forty hours or one academic year in residence at NAES was required.

In 1976 NAES acquired a new major area of study -- education. Educational planning was a course added to the first trimester. It was an introductory course which detailed NAES College's learning method and gave students the opportunity to work on their long term degree plan, ie., specific career and education goals, methods to achieve them, and the time schedule. The basic competency skills were narrowed

down to include reading, writing, and speaking. As NAES was concerned with and wanted to emphasize the community process within its courses, the titles of the three core seminars, with six credit hours each, were changed to begin with the wording "Dynamics of" plus the particular discipline. The first comprehensive student handbook was printed with this information in 1977.

During the developing stage, there were two major changes. There were four core seminars: community education, community health, community development and community history. Community history was dropped because it was absorbed in the core seminars by adding specific courses, such as: historical perspective, governmental systems, and legal and contemporary issues of Indian commuunities. Community health was absorbed into the general category of human services. The other change was discontinuance of the professional education development program which in time was to lead to teacher certification. The students had been drawn from the Alternative Education Center to improve its program. Unfortunately for the service it rendered, the program was discontinued since the state of Illinois recognized Antioch's degree only as a basic degree, and therefore its standards for Illinois teacher certification were not accepted.

The concept of NAES College, apparent in its academic content and structure, changed little throughout the years, but the requirements to accomplish the B.A. degree did change significantly. Each adjustment or modification arose from the prior experiences of what had not worked and of which innovations had been necessary to solidify the program. NAES had the good fortune to possess the expertise, whether it

was with faculty or resource people, to suggest and make the appropriate changes.

The goals and objectives have remained the same to the present time, though the wording has changed somewhat. (These are reviewed in the next chapter.) One additional goal (the second) states the following: "to provide a quality educational environment for the student to develop, within a historical framework, knowledge and understanding of the social, governmental, economic and educational foundation of the student's community." It was added in the 1981-82 NAES catalog. The educational goals were to assure that the responsibilities for learning remained with the students and that the faculty would assist them in the process.[20]

Accreditation and Expansion of NAES College

The Commission on Institutions of Higher Education formally recognized NAES as a candidate for accreditation in 1978. The accompanying restriction was that the relationship with Antioch University would continue until degree granting authority was approved by the Illinois Board of Higher Education. Subsequent applications to the Illinois board resulted in the granting of operating authority in 1981 and degree granting authority in 1983. The B.A. degree covered three areas: community education, community human services, and community development. The commission approved four study sites: Chicago Indian Community, Fort Peck Reservation, Northern Cheyenne Reservation, and Santo Domingo Pueblo.

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[20] NAES College Catalog 1987-89, (Chicago: NAES College, 1987); Solorio, "History of NAES College."

On 19 May 1979, NAES sponsored its first one-day intensive seminar open to the community which covered areas of board legal responsibilities, duties, liabilities, and relationships between staff and the board. Eight organizations in human services and education service participated. The consensus was that NAES should continue to provide training for the Indian community boards and executives. This was the start of the Community Board Training Project (CBTP). In November, formal work for this project came with the proposal, "Strengthening the Human Services Network in the Chicago Indian Community." It was submitted to the Coalition Committee of Chicago's United Way and the Chicago Community Trust. The proposal responded to the continuing need for stabilized leadership among local governing board and agency staff. It would be a two-and-a-half year project. The goals were as follows: (1) to strengthen the leadership capability in relationship to governance and decision making in Chicago Indian human service programs; (2) to design a comprehensive statement of needs and plan as defined by the Chicago Indian community; (3) to strengthen service capability and identify service gaps; and (4) to establish a forum for the coordination of existing services. To accomplish these goals, CBTP designed six different approaches described in Table 2.

Table 2

CBTP'S APPROACHES TO ACHIEVING PROJECT GOALS

Course Seminars:	five weeks in length meeting weekly for three hours to address broad and important areas of organizational operation and function
Full-Day Seminars:	one-day sessions following the course seminars to culminate activities of additional subject-related materials
Summer Institute:	short seminars on developmental issues and concerns to several of the Indian organizations
Independent Workshops:	one-time only workshops held monthly on specific topics within areas of organizational operation and professional development and determined by the Advisory Council through an annual community needs assessment
Technical Assistance:	The CBTP staff will respond to requests from the Chicago Indian community organizations in the identification of operational programs and the development of specific organizational policies.
Resource Development:	two approaches: interagency communication, such as the community newsletter, service directory of the existing Indian programs, and the advisory board activities and the organizational resource library, an information center housed in NAES

NAES received partial funding, thirty-three thousand dollars, from United Way for planning and implementation. A planning director, Louis Delgado, was hired part-time to develop the project with certain major tasks. He had to initiate a formal advisory board with by laws and a staffing plan including personnel policies, to design service approaches, and to provide a person and plan for the project evaluation.

In June 1980 the Community Trust awarded NAES twenty-eight thousand dollars for CBTP, so it was on its way.[21]

As the Community Board Training Project fulfilled the goals and objectives that it had orginally set out to accomplish, NAES began to realize the potential that existed to also meet the educational needs of the Chicago site. The work that CPTP achieved had been with support of all the Indian agencies. Indeed, the Indian community human service network had duly been strengthened. CBTP proved to be the model which enabled NAES to more effectively relate and provide its services to other agencies and still remain consistent with NAES's overall philosophy. As the project came to an end, during the CBTP advisory board meeting new areas of need and work had arisen requiring continued service and program expansion. CBTP had taken on most of the responsibilities of community service and was moving into the areas of research to support community information distribution. It had influenced the curriculum for the project and the development of a new degree model.

On the other hand, NAES was deeply involved in seeking accreditation and accelerating efforts to improve the quality of educational services. The other sites, besides the Chicago site, desired similar assistance and direction. Mainly for these reasons, a national office was formed to equally meet the needs of all the sites; this led to the separation of the national office and the NAES Chicago site. The site plan for all the sites comprised the community service degree program and research which came under the site director who would work closely

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[21]Ibid.; Robert G. Archiquette, "Dynamics of Community Board Membership," Proceedings of a Seminar, May 19, 1979, by Native American Educational Services, Inc. (Chicago: NAES, 1979).

with a site council or advisory board. The site component would involve any local activities and projects as well. In summary, the national office became responsible for central administration, that is, fiscal management for NAES, the development office, and the main library and bookstore and for ensuring academic quality across the sites.[22]

The next step for NAES College was accreditation. Previously, NAES was accepted as candidate for accreditation status in 1978. Two biennial evaluation visits were made, one in 1980 and the other in 1982. The first visit included meetings with the central administration at the NAES-Chicago site and with the Northern Cheyenne Reservation site in Montana. Both evaluation teams recommended that the college be continued as a candidate for accreditation.[23] After the 1982 North Central Association (NCA) visit to NAES College, NCA's team report identified certain areas of strengths and concerns. The concerns were incorporated by the college into planning and into self-study areas. The institutional self-study had thereby begun. At this time, NAES College offered the Bachelor of Arts degree in Community Studies independently and in cooperative agreement with Antioch University. Once NAES achieved accreditation, the relationship with the university would formally cease. Then the transition would primarily affect the report function of the registrar and financial aid officers so that NAES would alone be responsible for responding to official transcript requests. Internally, however, it would eventually effect change and stability.

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[22]Solorio, "History of NAES College."

[23]Accreditation in the United States is explained in appendix B.

In conclusion, chapter 5 has shown how Amerindian urbanization and organization were factors conducive to the development of NAES College in Chicago. As thousands of native Americans poured into the city, the American Indian Center was established to meet the needs of many disadvantaged Indian people from numerous tribal backgrounds. Other organizations developed and were conjoined, along with the American Indian Center, in the Chicago American Indian Community Organizations Conference (CAICOC). The organized community has served the Indian population in such matters as health, economic and housing development, education, and recreation. Several difficulties emerged and have persisted to this day. These have comprised government funding and recognition of federally recognized Indian status, Indian sociocultural and psychocultural adjustments, and formal educational success.

Part of the community's leadership initiated the formation of NAES College to afford Indian government administrators and organizational leaders the competency required for their positions. CAICO expressed dissatisfaction with Chicago's public school system and the conviction that specialized Indian education would enhance social and cultural status for American Indians in the dominant or "white" society. NAES College has sprung from the American Indian community and has had to respond to its directives, one of which has been to train bilingual teachers for Indian children in the Chicago area. As the only Amerindian college in Chicago, NAES has entered an arena of high expectations.

Chapter 6 will describe NAES College, its mission and goals, and its academic program in recent years. The next chapter will also describe the college's administration and student body in relationship to its dynamic organizational structure. It will identify NAES as an institutional system for preserving and developing Amerindian cultures through the retrieval and collection of historical data and through higher education and research.

CHAPTER VI

NAES COLLEGE IN RECENT TIMES: THE NAES SITES, CHICAGO STAFF, AND AMERINDIAN LEADERSHIP

The NAES College has become a model of higher educational institutions, particularly for selected groups of Amerindians in the United States. The ensuing description reveals NAES's unique character and how the factors of stability and flexibility have formed it. It illuminates the NAES philosophy and mission which have deviated from the traditional non-Indian established higher institutions in the United States. NAES has contributed significantly to the preservation of Amerindian cultural identity by reason of its academic quality and content and its potential for comprehensive leadership activities.

NAES College, Native American Educational Services, Inc., has been an independent college with an academic program leading to the B.A. degree in Community Studies for Amerindians, many of whom have been employed in American Indian organizations and schools along with government agencies and programs. The central administrative offices, recently designated "the National Office," and the original college have occupied the Chicago site at 2838 W. Peterson Avenue in Chicago, Illinois in the north-central region of the United States. NAES has included three other sites in different states, and all of them have reached beyond the major academic goal.

NAES has been governed by a Board of Trustees, who have met quarterly and who have had control over the officers, except as otherwise required by law or provided by the by laws. The by laws have remained in the office of the NAES president. The administrative staff and faculty have included persons with the following titles: the president, senior resident faculty, instructor, degree committee member, and academic consultant. To be considered faculty, persons must be appointed to work in an instructional relationship with one or more students. They must possess academic backgrounds commensurate with the requirements for the positions and experience in or knowledge of Indian communities, either reservation or urban. In certain instances, they must have expertise in a field necessary for the understanding or enhancement of the community and the NAES program in which the study site has been located. The faculty has been represented in academic governance by the Academic Affairs Committee, composed of the senior resident faculty at each site, the president, and the dean of academic affairs.

NAES's academic philosophy has comprised the western liberal arts view as well as the Indian tribal and community experiences in North American society. The college catalog stated that the foundation of knowledge was of the western world; however, it had been adapted to the tribal community by integrating their bodies of knowledge with western studies. NAES College, as part of the academic and tribal communities, considered the coequal relationship of both kinds of knowledge a necessity. In fact, the college emphasized the intellectual and philosophical traditions of the tribal worlds. Accordingly, NAES's mission was stated explicitly in the college catalog: "to carry out

college level instruction within the American Indian and tribal community, to afford Indian adults who have assumed positions of leadership in communities the opportunity to earn the baccalaureate; and to integrate tribal bodies of knowledge, learning and intellectual traditions into its academic curriculum and process."[1]

Also according to NAES's college catalog, the college had emphasized the importance of tribal knowledge from the beginning, for the Indian leadership would have to know as much as possible about its own community. Generally, universities had offered course content from perspectives outside the tribe. NAES stated that while such content often described the commonalities of the Indian experience in America, they were not based on definitions by which actual tribes lived. NAES discerned that tribal knowledge had rarely been articulated by higher educational institutions or academia. Indeed, for the NAES staff tribal knowledge was fundamental to the college's goal of specialized education for Indian students who served the Indian community.

Furthermore, NAES College stated that possession of tribal knowledge was knowledge of the environment from the tribal or community point of view. First, it was the oral tradition which traced the origins and classical cultural forms of the tribe to the present. Second, it was made up of the written or literate tradition as it was first incorporated at the turn of the century and those adaptations that were still in process. Third, it was the knowledge of the period of tribal-federal governance from the mid-eighteenth century to the

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[1]NAES College: College Catalog, (Chicago, 1987-89), 5-6.

present.[2] Contrary to non-Indian higher educational institutions, NAES was involved in developing cross-cultural frameworks for both its organizational structure and course contents. Most importantly, NAES had to respond to the Amerindian community's demands. This was based on the assumption that the community determined what the students would have to learn so that they would be capable of judging the value and the course of actions. Since the concept of serving the Indian community was not the goal of conventional higher educational institutions, in NAES's view, the prerequisite work of institutional and program development was complex.[3]

The NAES Sites

Tribal knowledge has been unique to each community or tribe in the NAES system. Each has offered a different history, culture, and language -- the Assiniboine, the Sioux, the Northern Cheyenne, the Santo Domingo Pueblo, and the members of various tribes residing in Chicago. Of NAES's four sites, Fort Peck in Montana has had two reservation-based tribes: the Assiniboine and the Sioux. The Northern Cheyenne in Montana with one tribe have been similarly reservation-based. The Santo Domingo in New Mexico have been one tribe and have lived on their own reservation as well.[4] In contrast, the main site in the urban setting of Chicago has been multitribal. Therefore, each has reflected radically different cultural, linguistic, and historical

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[2]Ibid., 5, 22.

[3]Ibid.

[4]The Santo Domingo site was in the NAES College 1984-86 catalog but was excluded from the 1987-89 catalog.

traditions. Notwithstanding the realities of extreme cultural diversity, each site has followed a common set of academic criteria with its own resident faculty and staff. These may include a site manager, teaching associate, and other faculty. Although each has had a different geographical location and tribal-cultural composition, all have operated not only within the context of the Indian-tribal community but also within the stated philosophy and mission. The specific objectives of all the NAES sites have been the following:

1. To provide a quality educational environment for the student in a community-related job or profession in order to develop communicative, analytical, and professional-technical skills directly related to that work position.

2. To provide a quality educational environment for the student to develop within an historical framework knowledge and understanding of the social, governmental, economic and educational foundation of the student's community.

3. To develop a professional, credentialed leadership accountable to the community.

4. To develop within the Indian community a system of higher education with a degree granting process based upon the intellectual and philosophic traditions of the tribal world.[5]

A description of a site's development would more specifically define the concept of "site." In the recent Self-Study Report, the sites were delineated as advancing through phases. Phase I began with the critical personnel, for example, a student, board or faculty who secured a small number of students from the community who saw the college as a viable educational institution for that community. Phase II was marked by a group of students, a resident faculty and possibly other staff. The phase ended with the graduation of a sizable group,

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[5]Ibid., 6.

six to ten, who created the nucleus of an alumni body. The requisite personnel then made the site a permanent part of the college. If any one of these conditions was not met, the site remained dormant.[6]

Phase III marked site stabilization. Student admission was to be maintained annually at ten to twenty students; alumni were to be organized; fiscal resources were to be generated by the site for operations, and faculty and staff were to have the capability of meeting all academic and programmatic standards. Finally Phase IV became one of site governance by which the site would have to hold a specified, delegated authority by the trustees in governance, administration and development, and the site would have to be wholly self-supporting.

At the initiation of the Self-Study for "the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education of the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools (NCA)", who granted NAES accreditation on 18 August 1984, three phases of site development were identified. It was expected that a fourth existed. Because of the administrative and developmental problems at the Chicago and Fort Peck sites, the work at Fort Peck to resolve these problems in the creation of a trustee-empowered site council and the tribe's funding of the site placed Fort Peck in Phase IV. Santo Domingo was placed in Phase I and became temporarily inactive. Northern Cheyenne was placed in Phase II and was destined to move soon to Phase III. The Chicago site was placed in Phase III with the likelihood of moving to IV shortly. Fort Peck reached Phase IV in the fall trimester of 1983.

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[6]"Institutional Self-Study: NAES College (1982)," (Chicago: NAES College), photocopied.

The original and main site has been the NAES College in Chicago, a city with a population of some twenty thousand multitribal Amerindians. The schools and study programs have been Little Big Horn High School of the Chicago Public Schools, O-Wai-Ya-Wa Elementary School, American Indian Business Training and Employment program, the Native-American Program of the University of Illinois, and St. Augustine Center. Some of NAES's students have held positions at these schools and at approximately sixteen Indian organizations. NAES, therefore, concluded in the Self-Study that the projection for recruitment to NAES was positive. Moreover through the Community Board Training Project of NAES, over a hundred different community service workers and volunteers participated in training programs on an annual basis in Chicago. Over 50 percent of them did not have B.A. degrees. Together with the continual movement of reservation people to the city in search of jobs, training, and other opportunities, NAES leaders were confident that the program would be able to maintain student enrollment in the range of from ten to twenty full-time students annually.[7]

The Community Board Training Project (CBTP), the beginning of which was mentioned in chapter 5, was created in 1980 for special training of consultation services to Chicago Indian community organizations and programs. As part of this project, an advisory board of community agency representatives was established to furnish general guidance in delivering services to the community. This was the first external body NAES allowed to advise on the operation of a specific program component. For this reason, the potential of moving CBTP from that of a

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[7]Ibid.

project to operating as a site became apparent. During the 1982-83 academic year, this process began and brought with it the transition from a purely community service model to that of an academic program. The advisory board began to explore becoming a site council with this added obligation. The present staff structure at the NAES Chicago site has relected this merger. The CBTP director became the senior resident faculty in charge of site with the steady delivery of CBTP services. The associate for academic affairs became responsible for coordination of instructional services; the administrative assistant for community affairs assisted in the delivery of direct services to community agencies; and a research assistant managed a data collection project in response to community informational and instructional demands.

Faculty development at the Chicago site has called for highly specialized people with the academic, intellectual qualifications and experience necessary to guide the student through the program and guarantee academic excellence. An individual with this kind of background has usually been in a responsible position in the community so that it has been difficult to draw on his/her expertise on a full-time basis. Steps have been taken to secure such people to work part-time with individual students and as faculty advisors. Through regular site faculty meetings, training of full- and part-time faculty advisors has been conducted. Additional part-time course instructors have been hired according to the requirements of the site. Approximately twenty-five people have been used part-time and, of course, have been chosen with regard to their experience in a particular subject area, formal academic training, and knowledge of the Indian community.

The Chicago Alumni Association was established in July 1982 with the approval of the NAES Board of Trustees. They have supplied the college with valuable support by their participation in resource development, fund raising, student recruitment, and general assistance to NAES sponsored activities. Alumni have served as models of educational achievement and leadership for others in the community to emulate. They also have served as course instructors, workshop leaders, guest lecturers, and consultants to the academic program.[8]

The Fort Peck Reservation, located in northeastern Montana and covering an area of 2.1 million acres, has had an Amerindian population of five thousand and about six thousand non-Indians. Established in 1888 for the Assiniboine and Sioux tribes, it was made a part of the Greater Blackfeet Reservation after the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty Territory, and it was part of the Assiniboine homeland. Allotted by federal law in 1908, about 100,000,000 acres have remained in trust for Indian ownership of which tribal ownership has covered 400,000 acres. The basic economy has been agriculture, oil and gas, undeveloped coal and geothermal resources, and three tribal industries which have employed five hundred people.

The tribal government has been made up of a twelve-member elected council: three officers who have served a two-year term and a secretary-treasurer appointed by the council. The first written constitution was adopted in 1927, amended in 1955 and revised through a secretary of interior order in 1961 empowering a 1960 constitution. The tribe has maintained extensive governmental operations and industries

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[8]Ibid.

employing an additional four hundred people. All social services have been provided.

In 1982 the tribe entered a special joint business agreement for oil development, the first tribe to do so under the Indian Minerals Act of 1982. In 1984 work was begun on a well which was entirely owned by the tribe. This tribe has also belonged to a small group of tribes who have invested tribal revenues in the market place. Generally the Assiniboine have lived on the west reservation and the Sioux on the east. Although there has been considerable intermarriage, the tribal distinctions have been carefully maintained and have been reflected in separate legal enrollments in one tribe or the other. Each tribe has had its own council for specific tribal and claims matters at the tribal headquarters in the east reservation.

Over the years, two very important organizational relationships, conducive to site stabilization and growth, have formed. One occurred with the Fort Peck Project Headstart which had six NAES graduates and one student. The site provided basic consultation to the project; the tribe in turn provided office and classroom space, and previously, basic supplies and services to the college. This affiliation allowed the Fort Peck Headstart to become renown as one of the exemplary Indian and migrant programs in the United States. The other organizational relationship has been to the Tribal Executive Board (Council) which has had one student and one graduate. (Two graduates vied for election recently but were defeated.) Another student was appointed as the tribal secretary-accountant. There have been one graduate and one student serving as tribal adminstrators. This relationship has allowed

for a number of major contracts, cooperative working relationships, and access to tribal consultants and professional staff for instruction and curricular development.[9]

Presently, the main college office is in Wolf Point (west) reservation), and a second office with tribal archives is located in Poplar (east) reservation. Classes and tutorials have been held in both towns. So far, there have been twenty-eight graduates (1986). The staff has consisted of one part-time and five full-time persons. It has included the senior resident faculty member, who has also served as the director of tribal archives and the dean of institutional development; the present dean (Robert V. Dumont Jr.) was one of the founders of NAES. Furthermore, there have been an instructor, a teaching associate, an administrative assistant, and two research assistants.[10]

In the beginning, the students were identified through family relationships and personal friendships. Currently, they are recommended by all members of the site, and the site council has admitted them with the authority of the college trustees. Students have worked in tribal accounting, environmental protection, Fort Peck Community College, Headstart, tribal minerals, tribal council, fish and game, Wolf Point Community Organization, and the State Water Rights Division. The Alumni Association, formally organized in 1982, has been consistently active. Even the site council has been comprised completely of elected alumni, two of whom sit on the NAES Board of Trustees. The site's

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[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid.; information taken from NAES College records and handed to the author by the dean of academic affairs, photocopied (Chicago: NAES College, 1987).

annual budget has been ten thousand dollars, all of which has been raised locally. One-half the cost of renting the Fort Peck Room and underwriting transportation for Fort Peck graduates and family to travel to Chicago each year has been covered by the national office of the college. This association of people and their families has been the vital group for attaining site stabilization; in fact, it has also been responsible for the site's becoming a tribal institution, and for securing the hundred thousand dollars in tribal funding approved for the year's program.

In a cooperative effort with the Fort Peck Tribal Executive Board, the NAES-Fort Peck faculty has been directing the work to establish the tribal archival and records center which was funded by the Fort Peck Tribes. Faculty began work in 1982 to develop a comprehensive historical record of the tribes with research locally, in the National Archives in Washington D.C. and in Chicago's Newberry Library. This work has served as the basis for the tribal authorizations to establish the center. Selected records have continued to be published biweekly in the tribal newspaper, Wotanin Wowapi. Annual exhibits of records and photographs have been presented in the tribal communities and schools. In addition, the faculty has served as the coordinating body of the Fort Peck Bicentennial Committee for the 1988 reservation activities, among other cooperative agreements. NAES preceded Fort Peck Community College and eventually became a part of its whole system. For example, students have enrolled in NAES tribal language and studies courses; Wolf Point High School has also contracted with NAES for site faculty to teach tribal studies, and CERT, Council of Energy Resource Tribes,

has contracted with NAES for training and credit granting for Fort Peck participants in a national tribal prototype fiscal system project.[11]

The Fort Peck site could not function without access to tribal and community resources, services, consultants, and professional staff. The reciprocity required has involved the site in diverse tribal and community activities. Activities for education and information have included the operation of a statewide youth practicum in tribal government for 150 high school students, a thirty-hour course on Indian studies for local high school teachers, an Assiniboine historical photographic exhibit, and continuous consultation for tribal government ranging from computer systems to an analysis of law-and-order fund profiles for the past ten years. Social and traditional contributions have been made to the tribal celebration committees, Christmas youth parties, and others. This reciprocal relationship has been more a matter of man-hours than dollars, but the dollars donated or contributed have come through local alumni organized fund raising.

The major development at the site due to its stability and tribal support has been the Site Council of Fort Peck as a model for the institution and for its responsibility for site operation, especially for delegating this responsibility to alumni and students. The site has become a permanent part of the tribe and communities. In achieving this permanence, innovative approaches to teaching and learning have had to be developed. Most prominent have been the degree model and tutorial systems developed at this site. Universal and general Indian studies

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[11]Ibid.; interviewee A, interview by author, 22 June 1987, Chicago, tape recording, NAES College, Chicago, Illinois.

have been linked to specific tribal knowledge in instruction and in the seminars. This has been regularly applied to the resolution of problems and future development of the tribe. Due to their responsible positions in tribal government, students have learned, discussed, or resolved problems that have had immediate and lasting applications. For example, the idea of investing tribal revenues at a higher rate than that obtaintainable in the trust was pursued. This led to the investment of 500,000 dollars of tribal trust monies in tribal claims. This kind of application has become usual for the tutorium and seminar.

The Northern Cheyenne Reservation in southeastern Montana has held the next NAES site. It has had four thousand Cheyennes. The number of graduates has been seventeen (1986) or half that of either the Chicago or Fort Peck sites. The students have been employed in various areas of tribal government operations: Dull Knife Memorial College, tribal health, legal systems, and schools. NAES has been located physically in Dull Knife Memorial College with which it has had a cooperative agreement. The Santo Domingo Pueblo site situated between Albuquerque and Santa Fe, New Mexico and has had a population of eighteen hundred. It has had one graduate and has recently become inactive.[12]

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[12]"Institutional Self-Study: NAES College;" NAES College records.

The NAES College Student Body

With the completion of a site model which reflected the by laws, organizationally and administratively, it became clear to the NAES staff that students played a special role in NAES College, one quite different from that of a conventional college. They believed that the student was at the marrow of the institution in contrast to a conventional or non-Indian higher educational institution. Clearly, the students have been part of the NAES system whether on a reservation or in the urban setting of Chicago. The students have held positions in the Indian tribal and/or urban organizations as well as in government agencies for Indian affairs while attending a NAES academic program. Upon graduation, they have continued in their positions and in turn have become supportive alumni. The majority have been in positions with significant responsibilities. These have ranged from technical manager for regional Indian housing in the Department of Housing and Urban Development to chair of the Finance Committee for Tribal Government with purview over a 35 million dollar budget. Therefore, "site" has taken on a substantive definition to NAES leaders. It has appeared that it was through this structure that a student was identified as an essential part of the NAES system and of the Amerindian community that had generated NAES in the first place.

NAES students have ranged in age from twenty-four to sixty-two, but most of them have been in the range of thirty to forty-five. More recently younger students have been admitted with a minimum of sixty transferable course credits from an accredited higher educational institution. Since the average NAES student has been older than many

students entering conventional colleges, expectedly over 90 percent of them have been parents or heads of households. In addition to their family and school obligations, they all have had a strong commitment to the overall development and maintenance of the Indian community and to the preservation of tribal knowledge. This has been reflected in the extent of their personal and family concerns, and by the fact that they have usually been the first in their family history to attend college, placing an even greater challenge on achieving success. They have demonstrated their sincerity in a variety of ways, such as by serving both as paid staff and volunteers with specific jobs and by working as supportive staff or as line-staff which has enabled them to provide direct services to clients, administration and management. They may also take part in governance through membership on boards of directors or advisory boards. A student's prior life experience has been greatly valued at NAES in that it may be applied directly to the completion of requirements for the NAES baccalaureate degree, toward the pursuance of which the average NAES student has applied the maturity of being responsible for his/her own learning. It has been in these ways that NAES students have been considered unique.

The long-range goals of the students have been quite diverse. A common concern of the graduates has been whether to return to the reservation to work in the tribal community or to remain in Chicago where they have established social relationships and community responsibilities. Often the decision has relied on the length of time the student has lived and worked in the Chicago community. For example, as of 1984 out of a total of twenty-one NAES graduates, seventeen remained in the

Chicago area and continued to serve the community. Besides, there has been an increasing interest in pursuing advanced degrees. For many students, the NAES experience has clearly demonstrated the importance of formal education. In a poll among students, over 50 percent voiced the desire to attend graduate school. By the fall of 1986, eight students received advanced degrees.[13]

NAES has been a small college, but according to its official statement, it has had a slow but steady increase in enrollment. Still, when compared to all other colleges and universities, there have been some impressive facts that have made the staff optimistic about NAES's future. From 1974 to 1982, 119 full-time and 300 part-time students attended NAES institutions. The student retention rate was 86 percent compared to the national retention rate for Amerindians which was about 5 percent in college programs. NAES was one of the first B.A. degree granting Indian institutions of higher education. Of the others, only a 10 percent retention rate has been recorded. By April 1984 at the NAES Chicago site, forty-five students received the B.A. degree, and all of them were the first in their families to obtain college degrees. A recent breakdown of graduates from the sites revealed that of the forty-five graduates, eighteen were from the Chicago site; nineteen graduated from the Fort Peck site; from the Northern Cheyenne site there were seven and one graduate from Santo Domingo Pueblo. Of the tribes represented, there were nine Assiniboine, four Chippawa, two Menominee, one Mohawk, five Northern Cheyenne, four Oneida, one Ottawa, one Potawatomi, one Santo Domingo Pueblo, ten Sioux, and three Winnebago.

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[13]Ibid.

The total enrollment for the 1983-84 school year was thirty-seven, twenty-four of whom were women and thirteen men. From 1975 to December 1986, the NAES Chicago and Fort Peck sites had a total of fifty-seven graduates, and in 1986 there was a retention rate of 70.8 percent. In addition to the representatives of the above mentioned tribes, more recent graduates have included Blackfeet, Caddo, Choctaw, and non-Indians.[14]

Besides becoming supportive alumni, some of these graduates have joined the staff. With a three-year grant from the fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education (FIPSE) in Washington D.C., the college was able to employ, as members of the faculty, three people in five concentrations: the coordinator of the Indian Management Program, the coordinator of the Alcoholism Studies Center, the program associate of the Indian Social Services Program, and two vacant positions have awaited coordinators of Indian Preprofessional Teacher Education and the Tribal Research Center. Others helping to plan these concentrations were alumni. All the graduates have been either working on behalf of the Indian community as professionals or have proceeded to graduate study at the University of Chicago, University of Berkeley (California), etc.

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[14]Ibid.

NAES College: Admissions, Academic Programs, and Support Services

As stated in the NAES College catalog, the process of admission to NAES was the joint responsibility of the registrar and the senior resident faculty member, the latter of whom was at the center of the whole degree program, ie., he/she was the first person to see the student upon application for admission and the last person the student was to see at the final degree committee meeting. For admission to the college, the student requirements were the following: the student would have to (1) be employed or a volunteer as a professional or paraprofessional in an Indian organization or in an agency that served a substantial number of Indian people in the community in which the study site existed or one in which the student resided; (2) have a high school diploma or an equivalency certificate; and (3) be at least twenty-four years of age, or have an Associate of Arts or Science degree or have successfully completed at least sixty semester hours of transferable credit. However the senior resident faculty might require entrance examinations as a condition for admission. Student applications for admission would be accepted at any time during the year, and students would be admitted at the start of any trimester. Upon presenting the appropriate credentials, a student would undergo an interview.[15]

NAES offered financial aid services and deferred payment plans. When applying for admission prior to registration, students would have to prepare a plan for tuition payment. This involved application for financial assistance with the completion of all the necessary forms and

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[15]NAES College Catalog, 1987-89, 17.

an agreement to a deferred payment plan pending the amount of financial aid awarded. With the exception of a fifty-dollar graduation fee, no other fees were charged although students had to purchase textbooks required for course use. The average cost for textbooks was 250 dollars a year. Recently full-time tuition was 1,350 dollars a semester and 675 dollars for the summer session or 3,375 dollars for an academic year.

Financial aid included various federal government grants and loans: the Pell Grant, the Supplementary Educational Opportunity Grant (SEOG), the National Direct Student Loan (NDSL), and College Work Study Program (CWSP) and others. In addition, there were Veterans Administration benefits for Chicago only and the BIA and Tribal scholarships. NAES also established the NAES Scholarship Fund for students who demonstrated need but who were not fully eligible for financial aid. Allocation of these funds followed specific guidelines, such as, good academic standing, availability of funds, etc. Other scholarships were available, so prospective students needed only contact the NAES financial aid officer or the program associate at the reservation or tribal site. NAES itself was primarily financed by tuition. Nonetheless, it had to rely, for its continual improvements and expansion, on external support from foundations, corporations, and private citizens.

NAES, as well as most United States colleges, had a placement office for its full-time students and graduates at no charge. The credential file contained the registration form, resume, cumulative academic record, and letters of recommendation. Although not obligated to start a credential file, students were encouraged to do so. Another way in which NAES promoted its students was at the yearly graduation

exercises. The NAES President's Council and Board of Trustees would present an honorary award to a past NAES graduate who exemplified the best characteristics required for Indian community leadership. Also starting with the 1980-81 academic year, selected graduates were honored by inclusion in Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges and on the National Dean's List. Twenty students from NAES achieved this honor between 1981 and 1984.

According to the college catalog, all full-time students were candidates for the B.A. degree in Community Studies. As at other higher educational institutions, full-time status signified that the student took 12 to 20 credits each semester. There were two semesters and a summer session during the calendar year. The requirement for graduation was 120 semester credits with at least 54 semester credits taken in residency at NAES for one calendar year; these included the field project and the seminars. The credits were to be accrued in these ways: NAES courses, credits for prior learning, or transfer credit. The credits have been divided as follows in Table 3.

Table 3

NAES COLLEGE'S ACADEMIC CREDITS

Total Semester Credits Required		120
Field Project/Tutorial.	18	semester credits
Core Seminars	36	" "
Core Areas of Study	36	" "
General Education	15	" "
Electives	12	" "

Up to 15 percent of a student's tuition could be used for concurrent registration which permitted full-time students to enroll in courses at other colleges. However, four conditions had to be satisfied: (1) the course (or courses) was not offered at NAES during the student's enrollment period; (2) it fit within the student's degree plan; (3) the student received approval from the senior resident faculty; and (4) the student's tuition at NAES was paid in full, or NAES was assured the tuition would be paid. Part-time students might enroll at NAES during the summer session for courses designated by the senior faculty member and for special programs, such as, the information and assistance center or teacher training project, either for credit or audit (without credit).[16]

Even though the academic program had one major area of study, community studies, it offered a wide range of studies through the field project and the core areas of study. The field project was tutorial; in other words, it was faculty-student directed and required in residence. The student was to identify the structure of the course of study and the content areas, which were to be charted out on a worksheet and accompanied by a narrative. The focal point of this study plan would also have to be the subject of the graduation paper for which the field work/research and literature review were completed. It was recommended that the subject selected by the student be related to the student's job or profession, past experience, and one to which all other elements of study related. In the process of developing the subject, the student was required to cover the following core areas of study:

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[16]Ibid.

tribal/community knowledge, external tribal-community studies, American Indian studies, regional American studies, universal knowledge, and professional/technical knowledge. The emphasis was to be determined by the student. The tutorial took place each semester and was finalized at the end of the first semester with the first meeting of the degree committee, a group of faculty and experts selected by the student. The committee was to review the field project and provide appropriate consultation. In the last semester of study, this group of people was to reconvene as the degree committee to evaluate the field project presented in the graduation portfolio and to make recommendations for graduation.

The community studies core seminars were critical to the maintenance and development of the tribal community. Each seminar presented an overview of tribal community or professional technical knowledge by integrating and examining theories and concepts and applying them to events and processes at any point in time. Social relationships were emphasized. Each of the six seminars was designated "Dynamics of" followed by these courses of study: Indian history and culture, Indian religion and philosophy, language and learning, government and law, finance and management, and economics and development. The student was to identify appropriate study units within each of the six areas. General education comprised composition, speech-English, art, literature, science, mathematics, and language-tribal. Composition, speech-English, and a choice of three additional courses were required. Students could take Assiniboine and Dakota languages during the summer sessions or regular sessions at Fort Peck; the Chicago site offered Assiniboine,

Dakota, Winnebago, and other languages in response to student request. Certain electives were advised if they supported the student's field project. A complete list of current course offerings may be found in the most recent college catalog.[17]

Recognizing the serious shortage of qualified American Indian teachers in the Chicago area, a bilingual/bicultural teacher training project was initiated in September 1984. Through a grant from the United States Office of Bilingual Education, the Chicago site designed a program which extended the degree in community studies to include an intensive program in bilingual/bicultural education. It led students to teacher certification through the Chicago Public Schools and the Illinois State Board of Education. In this program, students were eligible for full tuition, fees, and living stipends. Awards were granted according to need and merit. As part of the college's outreach program, NAES carried on extended in-service training programs for teachers on the Fort Peck reservation and in Chicago. At Fort Peck, the training was given to Headstart teachers and administrators, besides public school personnel. In Chicago, it took place in the Winnetka, Oak Park, and in Chicago public schools. This interchange was initiated by one of the Winnetka teachers working with the Headstart teachers at Fort Peck.

NAES has not only provided a comprehensive academic program and support services for its students but also has developed and maintained vital information for the preservation of Amerindian history, culture, and language. The Information and Assistance Center (IAC) has served as a recourse to Chicago area Amerindian organizations and programs

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[17]Ibid., 22-28.

through the delivery of technical assistance. There have been five approaches entailing the coordination of support services to the Chicago American Community Organizations Conference (CAICOC) to keep an ongoing forum for effective community-wide planning and development. There have been seminars, workshops, and individual technical services addressing specific areas of organizational problems that have been analyzed and discussed within the context of the community. Community-based publications have been designed to increase communication and understanding among and about Indian community agencies. There has been a statistical information bank for the American Indian population of Chicago, and the resource library has contained literature and reference material for added support. The NAES College library has held five collections, e.g., books, cassette tapes, articles and pamphlets, microfilm, and archives. There have also been books for children. NAES students have been able to acquire information about their own and other schools, find resources for their papers, and consult the papers of former students. Often visiting scholars have found invaluable bibliographies. In proximity to each study site have been other libraries. In Chicago, there have been the Newberry, Chicago Public, and university libraries, plus the Chicago Historical Society and the Regional Archives that have offered additional sources for Amerindian research.

Each site has had a bookstore, open to the public, but the NAES-Chicago bookstore has carried the largest amount of Indian literature of any other in the United States. The selection has been expanding due to increasing sales. All the books have been approved for inclusion by the NAES faculty or other Indian experts. NAES also regularly has

published a newsletter, NAES RULE, which has been distributed free of charge six times a year to students, graduates, and others. NAES occasionally has published other materials for general distribution. In these ways, NAES has served as a major information center for American Indians and non-Indians alike.[18]

Interviews with the NAES Staff

Interviews were conducted with the appropriate individuals concerning NAES college.[19] The faculty and staff have expressed a commitment to Amerindian higher education. Their experiences and views can lend insight to the college's development, operations, and directions. Interviewee A has been an example of the non-Indian "friends" employed by NAES. The appointment of interviewee A to NAES came about when an Indian graduate student at Harvard University had finished making a legally required evaluation of the American Indian Center's alternative education for Indian dropouts. She told her professor that she needed someone to carry out the recommendations. The professor suggested contacting interviewee A in Chicago, who was a professional consultant at the time. Interviewee A began at NAES by providing instruction in theory to three teacher candidates who lacked high school diplomas or G.E.D. high school equivalents. They applied the theory to the classroom experience. This method of putting theory to immediate use proved successful. Though the student-teachers lacked qualifications and

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[18]Ibid.; "Institutional Self-Study: NAES College (1982)," passim.

[19]The NAES staff have not been identified by name but will be referred to as interviewee A, B, C, E, F, and/or by position; see appendix A for the interview questions.

skills, he was impressed with their good wishes and attitude. Later when he was asked if the student-teachers could receive college credit for their work, he replied affirmatively. He was also asked to join the staff. Although he refused the offer, a dean of NAES College arranged a meeting and also asked "A" to join the college. Interviewee A explained that he did not feel it appropriate for a "white man" to tell Indians what to do. The dean responded by calling this answer the most racist thing he had heard. He said, "Every time the Indians want to do something, the "white man" tells them whether they can do it or not and that is what it seems to me you are telling us now. We want to hire you and you say 'no' that we can't hire you." Since the dean insisted, interview A complied to his request.[20]

Since the fall of 1976, interviewee A has been a part of NAES's development. He said it was a totally new direction for him. He brought his experience and knowledge of higher education, which was "the form of higher education," and not the substance. He felt that the substance or tribal knowledge had to be developed by the Indians. He listened to the suggestions and applied them to college forms, such as credits and accreditation, semester hours, and the like or as he put it "the crown jewels" of education. In time he became the academic dean, the acting registrar, and interim resident faculty. He has viewed his main function to be guarding the "jewels" ever since.

Interviewee A has planned to stay at NAES, which has been on the verge of increased student growth, in order to carry on NAES's

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[20]Interviewee A, interview by author, 22 June 1987, Chicago, tape recording, NAES College, Chicago, Illinois.

expansion. Sites have been planned for Pennsylvania, Mississippi, Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin to name a few. The sole major (community studies) and various minors have been enhanced by cooperating with other colleges and universities, such as Felician College and Governors State University. When asked about who made decisions at NAES, he gave an example with the recent acceptance of a group of Koreans who desired to learn about NAES's methods and structure and who called themselves the Korean American Educational Services or KAES. Before the KAES group started attending classes at NAES-Chicago, their request was discussed for eighteen months by interviewee A, a dean, a chairperson of the board, and the president. Although they never really met as a whole group for the discussions, they did carry on communications by letter, by telephone, or by meeting when convenient. The chairperson was especially interested in the development of an international student body. The above mentioned sites were planned to have this dimension. All policy decisions, as well as hiring of faculty and curricula, were made conjointly and proceeded informally along these lines. Practical administrative decisions were made arbitrarily by interviewee A.

One thing "A" learned while working at NAES was that patience was a requirement. In late 1985 discussion began for commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the American Indian Chicago Conference to be held in 1986. It was not completed in 1986, and a publication on it came out in 1987. A series of conferences and seminars were also held; the ones at Seabury Seminary and at the Field Museum on 23 June 1987 were examples of a series on the theme "American Indian Tribalism in

the 21st Century." Interviewee A learned patience earlier and reflected philosophically that "When you rush to get things done, they are not as good as they ought to be."

As to the origin of NAES, interviewee A stated that it definitely was first conceived by Indian leaders. In their initial collaboration with Antioch University, the Indian organizers met Antioch's recommendations that were contrary to their beliefs by simply not implementing them. In time, Antioch accepted NAES's procedures. Often policies were developed after the fact. The staff examined past behavior and formulated a policy based upon it. There had been no predictive policy. In regard to NAES's conscious development of a leadership, "A" found that it was indirect or implicit. For example, a NAES graduate worked on Indian claims of oil and gas for the Fort Peck reservation and became the regional expert. Because of his expertise, a new office and position were created for him.

Sometimes telephone calls from the other sites came to the central office (Chicago) requesting specific information. One such urgent call came from Fort Peck while the instructor was in the middle of teaching the dynamics of government and law course. The students wanted to know why the Burlington Northern railroad had gotten the mile-and-a-half right of way right through their reservation in 1927. The reservation concerns of Fort Peck were site specific. Treaty rights that took the land away from Indians in all of Illinois were important for Indians in Chicago to know, ie., why there were no reservations in Illinois. Therefore, such information was contained in the dynamics of

government and law course in Chicago. "A" said that each site had its parochial concerns that became part of a course.

The general interest of NAES students was the improvement of their own community. This was a requirement of admission to the college which was established during the interview-discussion process. The academic dean and other members of staff members interviewed each prospective student to find out if this was the student's goal. Otherwise, it would make more sense for him/her to study at another higher institution. Tribal knowledge, illustrated in the course seminars, was defined as the needs, information, and culture of the tribe.

When asked if there were any problems at NAES, interviewee A answered that there were two main ones: never enough money and low student enrollment at the Chicago site. He said that usually "our nose is above water" but that they always had crises. One solution to the enrollment problem was the establishment of NAES as a national site to oversee a particular local site until it could operate on its own. Also recently the NAES staff met with a white Chicago policman who took courses at NAES. He identified some Indians on the police force and told them about NAES. It was important for the Chicago site to be as strong as the Fort Peck site, but it was not, interviewee A stated. Nationally, it had more importance, but not right in Chicago due to the small student body.

Interviewee A explained that student adjustment problems were not pronounced at NAES since most of the students had already resolved personal trauma, such as alcoholism, sexual abuse, and child abuse when they decided to come to NAES for a new life. The private three-hour

one-on-one tutorial sessions with the instructor had been very effective. Most student were dropouts from other colleges and could overcome any fears of failure through the tutorial. On the other hand, NAES students knew how to deal with discrimination, but if any special problems surfaced, NAES came to their support. Discrimination at work was usually handled directly between the employee and employer. When Harold Washington became mayor of Chicago in 1986, many persons friendly to Indians came in with his administration. Several discussions at city hall took place between NAES representatives and city officials, to inform them of the size and problems of the Indian population in Chicago. The president of NAES College was active on various boards and kept up city government connections on behalf of Indians in Chicago.

Interviewee A related the following anecdote of white and Indian relations: when an Indian gave a presentation or speech to an audience, composed of blacks and only one white, the Indian usually directed his comments toward the white. "A" found this to be a common behavior of a minority people. White people could contribute to better relations by learning and studying about Indians. By "hanging around" Indians and taking courses with them, whites could increase their knowledge. It was through interaction that one learned best about other people, he asserted. Indians, on the other hand, needed to learn how to speak, read, and write from the dominant culture. NAES faculty particularly needed to know the relationship between tribal language and the English language. Interviewee A said they were working on it through the term paper and speech. These skills would enhance Indian leadership.

Interviewee A believed NAES was unique because of the way its content was developed. It came from the Indian community. In Indian country and majority populated areas, there was almost nobody who brought the curriculum out of the community regardless of the number of Indian students there. This was the case at Truman College (in Uptown Chicago) and at Montana State University, because the same subjects and textbooks were used as those at other higher educational institutions despite the presence of many Indians in their communities. For the most part at NAES, textbooks had been seldom used because they were deemed "unreliable" (not suitable due to an Anglo-American slant). Also for the most part, the instructors were NAES graduates and knew how the curriculum was developed. Interviewee A declared that NAES was fulfilling its mission and objectives dynamically. "All the knowledge was not in yet" and the NAES faculty was aware of this basic fact.

Interviewee A went on to say that human rights as an international function was not covered (in the courses) at NAES except in its application to United States and Indian treaties. However, NAES was developing in the direction of international awareness and cooperation between indigenous peoples. An aborigine who had completed a degree at an Australian university came to the United States for the purpose of studying NAES's system. Interviewee A hoped to expand international contacts. Beyond the primary goal of becoming a national higher educational institution on reservation and urban sites, interviewee A hoped NAES would branch out as an international institution. It seemed to him that they were developing a community-based model that was important to indigenous people around the world. In concluding the interview, he

reiterated his primary concern of solving NAES's major problems, of attaining financial and enrollment stability for the Chicago site.[21]

Interviewee B, another non-Indian friend of NAES, was an anthropologist from the University of Chicago. She was a member of the American Indian Council, the Native American Rights Fund, the National Indian Youth Group, and other Indian related organizations as well as many professional or academic ones. She had been the director of the Community Studies Program at NAES for about the past three years although she had taught at NAES earlier. Previously, she did her field work and taught as a high school teacher on the Northern Cheyenne reservation. A resident of Chicago, she returned to the city and worked for ten years with Indian organizations, mostly with the American Indian Center. She began her association with NAES as a member of its building committee which was searching for a separate building site. Williard La Mere, NAES's first graduate and head of the Building Committee, asked her to join the NAES faculty. The low salary was not a deterrant due to her financial independence, so she remained at NAES.[22]

Interviewee B remarked that decisions at NAES were usually made by the president of NAES, and the dean of Academic Affairs, neither of whom was autocratic. They tried to involve the staff and faculty in the decision making process but "the buck stops" in the main offices. "B" explained her view of how NAES emerged as a higher educational institution. It resulted from a recognized need for higher education for

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[21]Ibid.

[22]Interviewee B, interview by author, 1 July 1987, Chicago, tape recording, NAES College, Chicago, Illinois.

Indian people. A very low percentage of Indian people went to college. Especially those in reservation situations had difficulty leaving their families, communities and jobs and of legally losing tribal financial resources once they were off the reservation. Many usually dropped out of college. Another problem affecting the reservation was "brain drain," since the positions for educated Indian people were mostly on the reservations, and Indians who left them rarely returned. The founders of NAES were set on alleviating these problems. The purpose of the college was to both spring from and feed back to the community. Interviewee B also mentioned Flo Wiger's presentation at the Field Museum. Dr. Wiger, coordinator of Minority and Special Student Affairs at the University of Minnesota, stated that Indian studies progams had not been successful. They had not "touched" the community of the learner. This resulted partly in the large Indian dropout rate; in California it was 40 percent of the Indian high school students, and in the nation as a whole there was a 25 percent Indian dropout rate. Wiger commented that Indians were not the only ones leaving school.[23]

As to the question of developing an Indian leadership, interviewee B replied that it was not that education made the leaders but that it supported them. Nationwide, all NAES campuses had graduates in leadership positions. In commenting on the courses, she said that questions of national or government laws affecting Indians were discussed in the government and law course. In the context of domestic law there

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[23]Ibid.; Flo Wiger, "Tribal Governments as Nations Within: Tribal, State, and Federal Control," in a speech given at this NAES sponsored conference (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 23 June 1987), author attended.

was no way to establish sovereignty. Therefore, she noted that Indian people had gone beyond the national laws and sought recognition by the WCIP, the United Nations, and other international organizations. The international scene was conducive to the reestablishment of tribal sovereignty. Also touched upon in the government and law course was the government's designation of an Indian. The issue of Indian identity was discussed in this context.

Interviewee B believed the college was fulfilling its mission, but its biggest problem was recruitment. The requirement of admissions to show seriousness of commitment to Indian organizations and the Indian community seemed to be more lax in recent years due to the recruitment problem. The Indian organizations still needed to reach the people in the community who had not heard about them. This (inadequate information dissemination) was an obstruction to the mission of the college. Presently at the Chicago site, one class had one student and another had two. Ideally for classroom interaction, ten students would be preferable for each class. Finances, fund raising, and retaining qualified faculty on the low salaries were problems as well. Also the students had often been absent from the classroom for a number of years. For example, a current student who was fifty-three years old had trouble adjusting to academic skills, particularly writing, and the long evening hours of study. Working full-time days and family responsibilites contributed to student fatigue, interviewee B stated.

As a faculty member, interviewee B elaborated on course content. All the courses clearly came under the humanities within the social sciences. Specifically, a course like government and law, was not

exactly the same as the one at the University of Chicago. In theory, it was comparable, but it was modified to Indian concerns. The recently developed special majors or concentrations followed the recognized needs of Indians and included alcoholism studies, social services, and Indian business management. For alcoholism studies, the college was committed to the notion that it was important to have Indian counselors. In social services, there were many competent Indian people but certification was required to gain government funds. In Indian business management, the students could learn nonprofit and profit management. Another course, religion and philosophy, dealt with Indian stereotypes. In teaching this course, many identity issues emerged. Interviewee B did not condone contrasting methods of explaining Indian belief systems. An experiential approach was emphasized, such as, the feelings of participating in ceremonies.

According to interviewee B, the dominant society should know the political and legal relationships between Indian people and the government from an historical perspective. Next in priority should be learning the worldviews and understanding the way culture influenced behavior and interfered with interacting. It was important for people to become less ethnocentric and understand different belief systems. She believed that Indians were good at this because of the various belief systems from tribe to tribe. Non-Indian teachers had to be made aware that cultural differences did not always stand out like "beads and feathers". Symbols and exemplifications might have a whole different sphere of understanding. Teachers needed a sense of culture, an ability to recognize that belief systems influenced the way one learned.

Language interference patterns created problems too. Commonly, Indian languages differed in tense structure, ie., in Algonguian languages and others. To use the future tense meant something that was not manifest or sure, but in English the use of the future connotated a positive control over the future such as "I will be there at three o'clock in the afternoon." Plans made for the future, for example, were not understood in the same way by Indians as by Anglos (the English-speaking non-Indian majority). It caused misunderstanding and induced negative responses, for example, that Indians were lazy or irresponsible.

Interviewee B, in referring to George Cornell's speech at the Field Museum advocating more Indian public relations and political involvement, stated that Indian political action should be encouraged. She felt the college should help Indians find ways to express their grievances in the general society. She had no definite ideas on how this might take place. She also answered that no other institution had been a model for NAES. NAES was the only Indian-owned and administered, B.A. degree granting college in the country. There was another Indian college in Oklahoma, Flaming Rainbow, but it was not a private institution like NAES, "B" said. She considered NAES unique.[24]

Interviewee C, the coordinator of Alcoholism Studies, had been at NAES since September 1986. He came to NAES to pursue a bachelor's degree. In fulfillment of the degree requirements for the field project at NAES, he decided to research alcoholism and its effect on the Indian community. Part of the field project was to teach an introductory course of the same topic. "C" had been in the alcoholism treatment

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[24]Interviewee B, interview by author.

field for seventeen years; his knowledge and experience so impressed the staff that he was asked to join the faculty. He looked forward to a number of years at NAES since the field of alcoholism had never really been given comprehensive study from the perspective of the spirituality of recovery which was one of the dynamics of alcoholism treatment. Another approach was studying both alcoholism and drug abuse from the dynamics of individual responsibility. He wanted to make clear that he did not take up religiosity but spirituality in his course. Mental health, general health care, law enforcement, and supervisory personnel came to his course to learn how to deal with alcohol problems. One requirement of his course was for the student to study a family problem, or a family suffering from the alcoholism of one of their members.[25]

As interviewee C had first heard of NAES through a friend three years previously, his knowledge of its historical background was limited. It was clear to him that the president and the academic dean were the major decision makers at the college. Therefore he was not involved with decision making and concentrated on his courses instead. His concern was the individual decision toward the cure because it was this focus he was compelled to follow in treating alcoholics. Interviewee C found that the only outstanding problem at the college was that people who wished to seek higher education did not have the financial means to do so. Some did not qualify for grants. In his view, the lack of scholarship monies was serious. Obtaining financial support for students would greatly solve the recruitment problem. The only student

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[25]Interviewee C, interview by author, July 1987, Chicago, tape recording, NAES College, Chicago, Illinois.

adjustment problem was alcohol and/or drug abuse in the student's family. Indians also needed to objectify the negative stereotyping in the general society. He thought that they even needed to assert themselves against white anthropologists who wrote negatively about Indians. People leaned toward the written "white word." More information should be given by Indian people about Indian people. Interviewee C cited Red Cloud who once said, "Learn the ways of the white man." He did not say become a white man. There was a difference, in interviewee C's opinion. (Apparently Amerindians wished to retain their cultural values along with achieving some adjustments to "white cultural values.")

In answer to the question of pursuing international indigenous contacts, interviewee C stated that he was interested in the harmonious existence of the Indians before Columbus and in those concepts that came with an international perspective. He felt that inviting people from other countries, such as Indian people from Canada, should be encouraged. International indigenous and nonindigenous people should be allowed to participate at NAES College. He said that within the framework of human nature, breaking the barriers of cultural, religious, or social prejudices and emphasizing human rights and universalities were important. Therefore, he, too, looked forward to seeing an international student body at NAES.[26]

The next interview was with interviewee D who had been at NAES since 1981. She began part-time as the assistent for development and was promoted to the Development Office and then to her present position of assistent to the president. She came at the suggestion of her

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[26]Ibid.

husband. After attending the 1982 summer session, he convinced her to study at NAES. They made an appointment with the academic dean for the interview during which they related their individual and educational goals. She became both a part-time member of the staff and full-time student. She had prior college experience, and by her hard work and determination, she fulfill the academic requirements in one year. She and her husband had three children who helped their parents by encouraging them and by being independent. In the winter, traveling one way from the suburbs had sometimes taken them three hours. Despite the sacrifices, they managed to graduate together. She stated that NAES's study program demanded personal sacrifice but was "worth it." She said for most students adjusting to studying again after years of absense while taking care of their families were the biggest problems. Interviewee D intended to continue working at NAES, but she felt the need to move on, to do other things, and to allow someone else to learn about NAES and contribute to its accelerating growth.[27]

When asked about decision making at NAES, interviewee D said that decisions were made by the president of NAES College and the board who received various suggestions from the staff or those directly involved with a particular decision. (In this way her answer deviated somewhat from that of interviewees B and C who also mentioned the academic dean.) In terms of policy, the president made recommendations to the board, and upon approval she implemented them. The dean of academic

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[27]Interviewee D, interview by author, 1 July 1987, Chicago, tape recording, NAES College, Chicago, Illinois.

affairs oversaw the hiring of faculty, however. The supervisor of an area discipline conducted interviews and made some limited decisions.

In answer to the question about problems at NAES, interviewee D said that NAES students examined Indian issues in their course and research work and learned to solve problems. Indians were still confronted with either negative or romanticized stereotyping in the dominant society. Those at NAES were enabled to strengthen their Indian cultural identities and to contribute to the Indian community. Rather than reacting, they learned to act positively in the general society. However to cope with the enrollment problem, a recent pilot project, the National Student Body, allowed students to enroll at NAES whether they were residents of Illinois or not. The NAES staff also lowered the entrance age to twenty-four due to the enrollment problem. A requisite for admission was a student's willingness to serve the Indian community regardless of prior academic performance in other schools. Another problem, according to interviewee D, was daily coping with the volumes of rules and regulations involving student financial aid from the federal and state governments. She wanted to see the systems change; for example, computerization at NAES was a very positive change, and the entire staff was enthusiastically learning to use computers.

Although a recent resident in the Chicago community, interviewee D knew NAES was organized by Chicago Indian community leaders. She felt NAES lived up to its mission every day, in terms of the community, the students, the staff, etc. She stated that NAES promoted leadership qualities and inspired those already in leadership positions nationwide. Many of them had contacted NAES with requests for information and had

pursued the educational program. NAES served them by facilitating the acquisition of knowledge requested which might include information about other indigenous people. This could support a leader's decisions for actions that were needed in a particular area. "D" laughed when asked if NAES was a unique institution, for she believed it definitely was for the following reasons. First, NAES's structure and curricula were different from those of other higher educational institutions. Second, there were the special student body and staff representing numerous Indian tribes. Also there was a spirit of cooperation, willingness, closeness, mutual respect, and good Indian humor. They learned a great deal about other tribes as well as their own.[28]

Interviewee E, an instructor, member of the Board of Trustees, and chair of the Alumni Asociation, had been at NAES since 1980. However he had heard about NAES, before arriving in Chicago from Washington, and knew its purpose was to improve conditions for Indian higher education. He came to Chicago to work for the federal government and made contacts at the American Indian Center. He intended to continue teaching and functioning on the board due to NAES's importance in the Indian community. "E" commented that he had great trust in the president of NAES and was satisfied to leave most decisions up to her.[29]

Interviewee E felt NAES was in the process of fulfilling its mission but had not yet reached its goals. NAES needed to expand its student body. Many people had never heard of NAES, so public relations

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[28]Ibid.

[29]Interviewee E, interview by author, 13 July 1987, Chicago, tape recording, NAES College, Chicago, Illinois.

was important. He traveled around the country "spreading the gospel" about NAES. Recruitment usually went by word of mouth in this way. He mentioned the immense competition from the other schools in the Chicago area and the necessity to improve NAES's methods of recruitment. Another problem was that many students came to NAES from local organizations which lacked leadership and administrative responsibility. They had their "little political wars." At the college, the staff avoided internal politics and just taught the systems that would hopefully solve the external problems, of their work and the society, that the students were confronted with. A NAES graduate was capable of solving problems. In his view, one could easily distinguish a NAES graduate. A greater problem was with federal bureaucracy which was slow in giving scholarships; at NAES they were often caught between the tribe and the BIA. Other federal financial programs came through the Federal Department of Education. He said NAES was one of the few Indian colleges with a special relationship to the federal government. Despite some difficulties, NAES had an "edge" or advantage when compared to other educational programs. He predicted additional growth for the institution, especially in the development of more sites and in its relationship to the government in Washington D.C.

According to interviewee E, the development of an Indian leadership was definitely part of the institution's mission through education and other means. On the urban and reservation sites, he believed NAES should be commended for its efforts in strengthening and developing Indian leadership. In fact, he felt that international initiatives would have to be delayed until national efforts could be established.

He mentioned that international rights had been discussed in the classroom but not in depth. The NAES curriculum basically concentrated on Indian history, culture, etc., and therefore was unique.

Interviewee E said that at NAES there was a dual approach to education "working both sides of the street," that is, between the two cultures. He stated that NAES faculty tried to "bridge the gap" or to create a balance. He believed that the teacher-training program created more harmony with the non-Indian community. Working through the Chicago school system offered the opportunity to reach the dominant society and affect its attitudes toward the Indian. Most important was to teach mutual respect. According to him, Anglos were very outspoken, while Indians were good listeners and did not interrupt. At NAES, the faculty conditioned or "seasoned" the students for the dominant society and its attitudes toward Indians. Of course, the students had to learn about the dominant society and weed out what was inappropriate to Indian beliefs. Interviewee E recalled that his grandmother had made his mother discontinue her formal education after elementary school so that her daughter would retain her cultural identity and traditional customs. However, his mother taught her family to acquire an education and learn as much about the "ways of the white man" as they could.[30]

The next interview was with the coordinator of the Title VII Bilingual Teacher Training Program. Interviewee F initially came to teach a class at NAES in 1979 and then was asked to apply for a position after talking to the dean and president of the college and some others on the staff. Although hired as a bilingual coordinator in August 1984,

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[30]Ibid.

in the middle of her first year, she became resident permanent faculty and taught five classes. She continued as coordinator, though she was not a bilingual. She said the college designated her as the director, but she viewed her position as the coordinator since she could not make decisions affecting the program. To her, the person who made the decisions was a mystery. However, since she was Indian and had previous experience in Indian programs and an academic background (as a college graduate), she was accepted. She tried not to become enmeshed in the politics of the program and concentrated on her students. As the academic dean of students had already recruited her students, she had not taken part in making this decision; she would have given them all the standardized tests before admittance. The students had G.E.D.'s (high school equivalency examination); however, the question was how one tested these people who had only eighth grade or a little more education in three years including the summer sessions. This was her greatest concern because if her students failed she felt that she failed.[31]

Many of her students (all women) were parents as young teens and had a lot of personal problems. Interviewee F believed that giving the students personal consideration motivated them, so she assisted them in developing confidence and academic skills. Also she insisted on hard work and excellence since the students had to learn how to fulfill the requirements for teacher certification and the bachelor's degree in community affairs. In addition, she worked toward developing a cohesive group by encouraging openness in the classroom and social activities

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[31]Interviewee F, interview by author, summer of 1987, Chicago, tape recording, NAES College, Chicago, Illinois.

outside the classroom. In class she would not ignore psychological elements that the students felt safe to divulge. She said she was criticized for this approach despite the fact that "it worked" (apparently by motivating the students to fulfill their classwork requirements). She was acquiring additional knowledge of education and psychology as a graduate student at Loyola University of Chicago. One method of achieving class cohesiveness was the quilt project. Each student was responsible for researching her own totem, making a corresponding quilt patch for the "class quilt." She felt that allowing the students to talk about themselves, prepare food for their breaks, and participate in the quilt project led to a cohesive group. It was also important for nurturing the student's cultural identity.[32]

However, interviewee F did not expect to continue in the position due to the uncertainty of the program and her position. FIPSE offered funding for the position through Felician College, but she was not asked to accept it. She thought NAES considered the program experimental and therefore would not pursue it. (It seemed to the interviewer that she wished to remain in her position because she continued to explain her qualifications.) She said that she had studied at the Universities of Wisconsin and Minnesota and had run Indian programs before, so she wished to bring this knowledge and experience to NAES. In her view, the accreditation process for the teacher training program should begin as soon as possible because it would take years to complete.

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[32]Interviewee F, interview by author, summer of 1987, Chicago, tape recording, NAES College, Chicago, Illinois.

Interviewee F believed in the NAES mission as stated in the college catalog and in the importance of NAES expansion. For exam-ple, one NAES graduate, a Choctow, was returning to Mississippi to develop a site there. She felt that NAES had enormous possibilities as a national and international model of Amerindian higher education. For this reason, she thought the administration should "think big" and take on more risks. The biggest problem, however, was financial since NAES needed money to hire additional full-time personnel, such as a librarian. Instead, she said, many professional people just donated their time. She also felt NAES lacked interest in developing an Indian leadership. Another problem was spreading information about NAES in the Chicago area. In her opinion, there had been no full-blown marketing effort.[33]

The final interview was with the president of NAES College. She was active in the Chicago community Indian organizations and represented NAES in expressing Indian concerns in the city government as well as in the Association of Community-Based Educational Institutions (ACBE) in Washington D.C. NAES was one of ACBE's seventy-five nationwide members. She related her role in the origination of NAES in 1973-74. That year the Native American Committee actively pursued Indian issues, especially in the Uptown community. In Northeastern Illinois University's Field Center program in Uptown, people attended a classroom in the community and seldom went to the university's campus. In another program, called the university-without-walls (through Antioch University), a student could define course work with a minimum of classroom time and a maximum of time in the community. Most of the six

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[33]Ibid.

students, enrolled in the program, graduated and eventually returned to their home reservations. She and a group wished the program to continue. Therefore, through their efforts NAES became the twenty-third program or institution to join similar ones in Antioch's network. At the time, no other higher educational institution was interested in NAES, owing to the small Indian population. Then since Antioch University was in financial straits, the the NAES group was left alone to develop an educational program.[34]

The president stated that because some of students had radical political convictions, NAES extended the curriculum to community studies. Various academic models used in the United States were tested, but the NAES group felt they had to respond to the community's demands. Also the money for the health program attracted interested people and supported NAES's development. At the time of institutional accreditation, the NAES group set to articulating the college mission. Explaining why a student should choose NAES and not another higher educational institution depended on the type of student that NAES would serve. Mainly these students had had little success in a conventional college or university. The president noted that NAES-Chicago was the most complex of the sites because of the impact of acculturation on the Indian urban community. It was difficult to emphasize cultural factors. Larger Pan-Indian issues were more prominent at the Chicago site. In addition, the forces of power, money, and so on affected some Indian decisions. Another problem was justifying NAES's existence as a higher educational

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[34]President of NAES College, interview by author, 8 July 1987, Chicago, tape recording, NAES College, Chicago, Illinois.

institution in an area of so many other higher educational institutions. The recruitment committee specifically tried to solve the problems of enrollment within the realities of functioning in Chicago. The president also stated that NAES-Chicago could raise Indian awareness for Indians and for non-Indians. Cultural differences needed constant attention, such as, how Indians related to one another and to others. One difference was that Indians did not maintain direct eye-contact in conversation. Male and female contacts and attitudes toward age were different as well. These factors often limited Indian participation in the greater society. Counselors would have to know the differences to be effective when assisting Indians.

Since every time the NAES staff solved a problem, it became emulated by others; the president said that NAES had become a model institution. She felt that people were watching them. However, she expressed concern about institutional stabilization and said that the academic dean was responsible for finding ways to achieve it. She hoped that NAES would become a permanent part of Indian people's lives. As the destruction of institutions was commonplace, she wished to make NAES a permanent establishment for Indian higher education. Still, the decision of accepting Korean students required flexibility. For this reason, some adjustment to the mission was necessary. She believed that the faculty and staff should continue to be mostly Indian despite the lack of qualified Indian teachers.[35]

Although the president expected to continue in her present position, she felt that, because NAES changed in response to changes in the

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[35]Ibid.

community, other people would have to replace those at NAES presently. The transition of a younger group of organizers had been difficult for the older ones to accept. In spite of organizational difficulties, the staff at NAES worked hard to keep agencies active so that they would not lose their funding. One change was that NAES could not become too politically involved since it had achieved a broader national community base which affected funding possibilities. As to the question of international indigenous community support, she stated that she had not maintained such contacts.

The NAES College National Office and Leadership

In the quest to encourage nationwide Amerindian leadership and understanding and cooperation among its non-Indian supporters and friends, the NAES College National Office or central office has conducted eduational programs, conferences, and seminars. Mostly educators and scholars have attended these events. For example, the NAES College Annual Summer Institute took place in two sessions during 16-26 June, 22 June, and 2 July 1987 in cooperation with the Illinois State Board of Education and the Illinois Humanities Council. It was developed to present information on native Americans to NAES students, teachers, and interested community members to help in the creation of new methods, concepts, and materials for the classroom. The topics were general and included the following: Indian literature, Indian children's literature, historical overviews, history of Indians in Illinois, introduction to Indians of the Midwest, native Americans in films, native American art in traditional and contemporary perspectives; and curriculum development and revision seminars. There was interaction among

teachers, Indian students and Indian community members. It allowed for broader understanding of issues facing Indians in the present and of how they coped with the same issues in the past, as well as of the issues that teachers were confronted with when presenting materials relevant to native Americans. Most of the summer institute's instructors were Indian people; all were experts in their respective fields with extensive experience.

"Tribal Governments as Nations within: Tribal, State, and Federal Control" was the title of the seminar held at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary on 16 May 1986. It was the second of a two-part series sponsored by NAES. The overwhelming message reflected on both past and future themes. Ada E. Deer, guest speaker from Columbia University (a Menominee), emphasized NAES's pivotal importance for its nurturance of Indian leaders, each with a special sense of tribal identity. She stated that educators had to address the needs of the twenty-first century and identify leaders at an early age. Leaders, such as Deer, have had their own tribal constitution that has provided continuity and a value system base. She insisted that Indian leaders be assertive. She also alerted the assembly to Nixon's affirmative policy of placing people in government with Indian interest and to the present danger of another Klamath restoration bill "in the works." She concluded that now was the time to support "friends" in appropriate positions since federal protection, without federal domination, was important.

Robert Dumont Jr., dean of Institutional Development and senior resident faculty at Fort Peck, advocated the English language, "the written word" or reading, writing and speaking skills, be brought into

the tribe, schools, and especially at NAES College as the necessary medium of communication between the tribe and federal and state governments. It bound the tribe to action and control. He stated that translation and interpretation had been essential in negotiations with the federal and state governments and with private organizations. He cited several examples from history. Then he revealed that the previous year the tribal council had held hearings on a new civil law. The administration showed a fundamental lack of understanding of the law until it was tested. Throughout the legal history, the right to govern or Indian sovereignty had been more and more regulated. Language created a forum of communication by which Indians could define and determine the way in which they should live and negotiate, in Dumont's view.

David Beaulieu, chair of the NAES Board of Trustees and state director of Minnesota, spoke of his state as a model for providing Indians with the largest scholarship program, school-based grants, housing, child welfare, etc. Whereas education was exemplary, "land claims" of Fond du Lac and downtown Duluth still needed work due to eight dumping sites of nuclear waste with some on Indian reservations in Minnesota. Land claims and rights to natural resources were persistent problems. Nevertheless, the State Board of Education, with three Indian members, made Indian education its priority. The Tribal School Equalization Bill brought in four tribal schools. Many Indians left the public schools to attend them. Another reoccurring problem, however, was designating who was an Indian. Professor Tax, one of the assembly, asked why others did not establish their own grassroot schools since they were so successful. Armin Beck, academic dean at the NAES Chicago

site, agreed that Indian survival depended on "the written word" and also on non-Indians.[36]

In a paper, "Tribal Government and the 21st Century," Robert Dumont Jr. and David Kaudy concluded as follows:

> Both, the capacity of a tribe to govern and to act judicially, rest upon a "full and complete record." For tribes this is their written word in English, writ large. How then shall a tribe proceed into the 21st century: Simply, it is to be determined by the degree that its oral tribal tradition can control the English written word to reflect the tribal, which in turn can be integrated into fundamental law.[37]

As NAES College has been intricately involved with facilitating this possibility, it was hoped it would still be as effective in the twentieth century.

Summary

The interviews with the NAES staff and faculty and the recent NAES sponsored events with Indian leaders have revealed Amerindian involvement with raising their social status in the United States. The NAES staff has expressed the conviction that NAES uniquely has served the Indian communities for this purpose. NAES has not only become a specialized Amerindian college system and thereby has promoted Indian culture across some states, but also it has developed an information center, a library, and archives for cultural preservation.

However, the Chicago Indian (urban) community has contrasted

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[36]NAES College sponsored seminar, "Tribal Governments as Nations Within: Tribal, State, and Federal Control," attended by author (Chicago: Seabury-Western Seminary, 16 May 1986).

[37]Robert Dumont Jr. and David Kaudy, "Tribal Government and the 21st Century," (Chicago: Planning Committee for the 2nd Chicago Indian Conference, 1984), photocopied.

sharply to the Fort Peck reservation community. In recent times, the NAES College Chicago staff has been mainly concerned with expanding NAES's concept and model nationally. Still, the NAES staff has had difficulty with securing financial and institutional stability and of raising student enrollment. The dominant society of the city has placed more pressure on Indians to assimilate than the reservation society has. Chicago's Pan-Indian community likewise has led to a degree of acculturation. Furthermore the urban Indians have differed from the Fort Peck Indians and those on the other NAES reservation sites in that many urban Indians have lived under economically depressed conditions. They have been more strongly motivated to seek a higher standard of living. As a result, mental and physical health, housing, and jobs have had greater importance to the Chicago Indian organizations, although they also have wished to improve education for Indians. The economic situation has delayed extending specialized education for Indian children and teacher education in the Chicago area in addition to recruitment to NAES College. The Chicago NAES site has also had to deal with a scattered Indian population and with the competition of many higher educational institutions in the area.

Yet, the Amerindian leadership of both sites among other Indian leaders have expressed the importance of taking part in decision making on federal and state government levels and of attaining respect in the dominant society. Especially urban Indians have demanded recognition for special status from the government. Also the leaders have emphasized proficiency in the English language as the key to their success in this regard. All have seen education in general as the means.

Many Indian leaders along with those at NAES College have seen NAES as a higher educational system and national office that will afford the necessary guidance and direction. For the past two decades, NAES's faculty and staff have pioneered Indian higher education based on community demands for flexibility and dynamism as well as for provision of academically qualified leadership.

The NAES College group has significantly contributed a deeper knowledge of past oppression and of present Indian status in the dominant society. This has helped them to both comprehend and develop the academic content and structure of specialized Amerindian higher education. Moreover NAES has enabled some Indians to gain qualifications for responsible positions including those for Amerindian leadership. All in all, NAES has been deeply contained in the complexity of the United States' culturally pluralistic society and its continuation as an Amerindian institution will depend on its addressing the problems of recruiting Indian students to its mission and goals and of securing financial stability.

In the next chapter, the conclusion, the methods of comparison used in this study will be discussed. Then major Saami and Amerindian achievements and difficulties in higher educational development will be compared and contrasted. Suggestions will also be offered for future initiatives of the specified college groups, in Norway and the United States. Besides commenting on possible weaknesses of this study, recommendations will be given for further studies or research projects.

CONCLUSION

This study has been initiated according to George Z. F. Bereday's prescription for area studies: knowledge of the languages and areas under study, residence abroad, careful observations and, as far as possible, control of personal biases. In accordance and for accurate description, the data have included primary, secondary, and auxiliary sources. For the interpretation of the data, the study has drawn upon the social sciences and humanities which have been conducive to a basis for testing the social relevance of evaluating the happenings. The methods employed have been determined by Bereday's four steps in comparative education: description, interpretation, juxtaposition, and comparison. A description has been given of the historical development of the indigenous and minority groups in Norway and in the United States, of the indigenous pilot groups' efforts at providing specialized higher education; and of possible external and internal socio-political influences that have led to the attainment of these efforts. Juxtaposition by similarities and differences has been used. Finally the study is to culminate in comparison whereby interpretation and juxtaposition are to lead to tentative hypotheses and conclusions. According to Bereday, one is to proceed to comparison, a simultaneous analysis of education across national frontiers. In the case of the present study, the nations of Norway and the United States have been

and will be compared in regard to education and the indigenous minority.[1]

In addition to Bereday's methodological approach, Noah and Eckstein's scientific research strategies have been consulted; in essence, institutional structures, such as those for education, are to be supplemented by study of their functions. For this purpose, the functions of the institutions under study have been described and explained within their social realities or contexts. The functional relationships have been compared between the two institutions in their historical contexts as a way of explaining how the past has generated the present. Based on Noah and Eckstein, cross-national work is to be mandatory when a generalization cannot be tested by using data from one country alone. For example, to test the tentative hypothesis that from the evolution of an educated class of indigenous people, a selected group of this class will feel compelled to develop specialized higher education both for cultural preservation and raising social and cultural status, data have been collected cross-nationally for validation and/or enhancement.[2] That a selected Amerindian minority group has established specialized higher education whose traditional rationale and structure have been Euroamerican, with the mission to serve the Indian community by teaching tribal knowledge, more greatly will induce the question of "why" when juxtaposed with a selected Saami group who have likewise done so in a dominant society with similar traditions.

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[1]George Z. F. Bereday, Comparative Method in Education, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964), 27-28.

[2]Harold J. Noah and Max A. Eckstein, Toward a Science of Comparative Education, (Canada: The Macmillan Co., 1969), 96.

Furthermore, Reijo Raivola's considerations of the methodology and philosophy of comparison have been taken into account in the concluding comments of this study. In effect "The units being compared can be powerfully described by means of comparison variables, which according to Nurmi form equivalence criteria for the classification of phenomena." The equivalence classes created for descriptive purposes would make a preliminary comparison possible and form the first step in constructing a theory. In this study of Amerindians and Saami, equivalence can be seen in their treatment by dominating nation-states along with their nationalistic attitudes of forced assimilation through schooling. Also Raivola stated that demonstrating that a claimed relationship held true in a given community would not be particularly useful unless the nature of the relationship were understood. In order to reach such understanding one should consider the initial circumstances of peoples at different levels of development, the attitudes of different communities to performance motivation, and the kind of structure and policies practiced, including historical development. In making cross-cultural comparison, Raivola further contended that comparative research was not only a tool of technical elaboration and control but also the only way of demonstrating the ethnocentric nature of many generalizations. By comparing indigenous peoples cross-nationally, the author has intended to remove the barriers of ethnocentrism.[3]

The fact that the Saami and Amerindian groups have either claimed and/or are considered to be indigenous peoples and the focus on

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[3]Reijo Raivola, "What Is Comparison? Methodological and Philosophical Considerations," Comparative Education Review 29, no. 3 (August 1985): 362-365.

their respective higher educational institutions have created constant or controlling factors for this study. In his "Minority Status and Schooling in Plural Societies," John U. Ogbu categorized and defined minorities by three groups: autonomous, immigrant, and castelike. Of the three, the Saami and Amerindian indigenous minorities have ressembled the caste-like group the most: "Unlike immigrants, castelike minorities have usually been incorporated into their societies more or less involuntarily and permanently." Ogbu selected black Americans (Afro-Americans) as his example of a castelike minority in the United States; however, he mentioned that Indians, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans were other possibilities. Ogbu further defined the castelike minority as traditionally regarded by the Anglo white as inferior and ranked lower than whites in all desirable respects. They often had little or no political power, a reality reinforced by economic subordination, and they experienced disproportionate school failure.[4]

The present study of the Saami and Amerindians has suggested that they have occupied a castelike status for the past century or so. It has, therefore, been justifiable to conduct a study of the historical events, social conditions, and the reasons for the rise of an educated indigenous leadership (from castelike status) who have held the belief that a solution to higher social status lay in specialized higher education based on cultural preservation. The author has found it more justifiable to compare one group not tainted by racial discrimination to another group that has been thus tainted. In this way, the

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[4]John U. Ogbu, "Minority Status and Schooling in Plural Societies," Comparative Education Review 27, no. 2 (June 1983): 170-171.

matter of race may be excluded from the formulation of a hypothesis on educability and/or on status; it has also been separated from the popular notion in the United States that indigenousness has related to racial difference. By selecting the Saami, this study has revealed that difference in race from a dominating society has not been a requirement for castelike status. Cultural factors may take priority. The findings have also shown that once the "castelike minority" peoples have accepted and attained the cultural status symbols of their respective majority societies, assimilation may acquire a new dimension -- that of biculturality.

This comparative and educational study of selected groups of Norwegian Saami and Amerindians in the United States has emphasized the forces of cultural preservation and retrieval. Its frame of reference has been that historical, national, and international perspectives have contained significant elements in understanding cultural preservation. It has commented on historical attrition and the most recent developments that have affected the cultural stability of these selected groups since the Second World War. Two phenomena have determined these developments: the positive change in attitude and actions of dominant societies toward indigenous peoples and the emphasis on human rights in the western democracies, with focii on Norway and the United States. Also, the rise of indigenous organizations and their use of education to retain their ethnic distinctiveness has been commented on in the study. This conclusion continues by highlighting the main similarities and dissimilarities in the development and establishment of higher educational institutions by the selected groups.

The governments of Norway and the United States reacted differently to the demands made by indigenous peoples. The United States virtually ignored the conventions of the United Nations and of other international organizations, such as the ILO and WCIP, concerning indigenous peoples. While Canada participated officially in the formation of World Council of Indigenous People, the United States did not. Norway, along with its Scandinavian neighbors, responded affirmatively to the United Nations' directives regarding indigenous peoples and human rights in general. The United States and Scandinavian governments differed in their commitment, in concrete terms, to equality of economic and educational benefits for all their citizens. However, these governments have shared northern European heritages, especially in their established educational institutions, a history of oppressing indigenous peoples, and democratic systems of government. They have also shared a major change in the indigenous population itself since a group of indigenous leaders in both nations took the initiative to establish specialized higher education for the purpose of improving social status and preserving their respective cultures, two examples of which are identified in this study.

The Norwegian Saami leaders who acquired governmental support for Saami higher education had certain advantages over the NAES Amerindians. The Saami citizens of the three democracies, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, used each nation's sense of rivalry against the other and tested the commitment to equal rights in the view of the inter-Nordic and international communities. After World War II, the Scandinavian nations actively strove for peaceful relations and cooperation with

their neighbors. Their geopolitical importance to the major powers (the USSR and the United States) and their war wounds motivated them to support the United Nations and other international organizations. They held the conviction that an international organ could regulate relations between nations for the purpose of peace. International protection was a primary objective of the small Nordic nations along with raising the economic and educational level of their citizens. They were specially sensitive to United Nations conventions. Once they were made aware of those for the protection of minority and indigenous rights, they responded positively. The Nordic Council of Ministers established the Nordic Saami Council, an agency that supported Saami organizations in the "Saami lands."

All five Scandinavian welfare nations had equal rights to economic benefits, health, and education as their goal. Preparation for educationally tearing down class distinctions was carried on in the 1960s, and in the 1970s Norway's gymnasium, for example, became the "continuation school," a collective name for all former secondary schools with multiple career concentrations. The new continuation school or <u>videregaaende skole</u> structurally allowed graduates to enter higher educational institutions. National egalitarianism, in addition to international convictions for peace and human rights, supplied the backdrop when the Saami took the stage to demand their rights. Also official reports of poor Saami conditions compelled Finland and Norway to extend their mission of human rights, equality, and democracy, to their Saami minority. The disadvantaged conditions of the Saami minority was a contradiction to Scandinavia's espousals of and efforts for equality. The Nordic

Saami Council and the IWGIP, whose main offices have been located in Copenhagen, Denmark, provided a proximate fora for Saami organizations and indigenous/minority issues. Incidently, the Danish and Swedish governments were forerunners in Europe for humanitarian and equal treatment of Jews and other minorities for about a hundred years. Norway, as a Scandinavian nation, had "good neighbors" to emulate and to impress.

The North Amerindians in the United States have been proximate to Canada's indigenous peoples. Still, the governments of Canada and the United States have pursued separate courses in support of their indigenous minorities. In the early 1970s, President Nixon's Indian reforms created another wave of government recognition of Indian rights to land, water, and participation in decision making in government services for Indians. On the other hand, when Canada supported the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada and the World Council of Indigenous Peoples in the mid-1970s, the United States was not officially involved. The Canadian government took a leadership position in responding to their indigenous leaders' endeavors. George Manuel collaborated with the National Congress of American Indians in the United States to plan the international conference. Officially the United States, unlike Canada, just ignored the indigenous peoples' international accomplishments and the support of their nonindigenous government "friends."

Similar to Sweden's initial attitude toward the Saami, who were mostly seminomadic reindeer herders in a reservationlike area in the north complete with special schools and over the border agreements, the United States recognized only reservation Indians. Nonreservation Indians were included among other citizens living below the poverty line in

the 1960s. In the 1970s, Indian status was dependent on presidential initiatives, but in the 1980s, Indian social and cultural status was ignored once again. Instead, President Reagan reendorced the concept of Indian self-determination and established the Presidential Commission on Indian Reservation Economics.[5] In the main, economic reservation rather than cultural and social status factors have ruled United States solutions to "the Indian problem."

Moreover, unlike the Scandinavian countries, the United States has seen itself as a major world power and a protector of human rights internationally. It has not recognized the need for international protection of its indigenous peoples through the United Nations or other international agencies. As it provided the United Nations with a great deal of its financial support, the United States relationship to the United Nations developed along different lines from that of the Scandinavian nations. Apparently for this reason, WCIP's universal proclamation of indigenous status has not been considered by the United States government. For the NAES College organizers, international protection and influence have seemed remote possibilities within the realities of their influencing United States policies and of the United States government's shifting attitudes toward Amerindian cultural status.

Nevertheless, the United States has been committed to human rights and, as a world leader, can be called upon to respond to the needs of all of its native American citizens. United States Amerindians still have no clear-cut universally respected and accepted definition

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[5]U.S. Indian Policy Tribes and Reservations BIA: Past and Present Economic Level, (Washington D.C.: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1984).

of "federally recognized Indians" and no central depository for data, whether national, state, or by area. Amerindians have not achieved recognition and unique ethnic status to the extent that Norwegian Saami have. In every instance, the status of Indian students enrolled in BIA contract or public schools has continued to be inferior to the status of non-Indians. This has been attributed to the generally poor quality of Indian reservation life, high unemployment, alcoholism, drug abuse, child and spouse abuse, suicide rates, and unstable homes. As stated in the Journal of American Indian Education, "Not only is 'a nation at risk' but nations within a nation are at even greater risk."[6] In contrast to the United States, the Norwegian, Finnish, and Swedish governments have consistently responded to Saami disadvantages in the past decades by developing economic, cultural, and educational structures available to the Saami and by appointing committees with a majority Saami membership for their development. These efforts of the Scandinavian governments, especially of Norway, intended to improve the social and economic conditions, have exceeded the efforts of the United States government to improve Amerindian conditions with maximum Amerindian participation in decision making for that purpose.

NAES should not rule out the possibility of appealing to the United States government's sense of world prestige and desire to be an effective, leading democracy for human rights protection and equality. The NAES College Chicago site should explore the advantages of expanding its national office as an international coordinating link similar

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[6]Glenn I. Latham, "The Educational Status of Federally Recognized Indian Students," Journal of American Indian Education 25, no. 1 (October 1985).

in function to that of the Nordic Saami Institute. With a dedicated group of leaders advocating a Pan-Indian ideology and presenting international models, such as those in Canada and Scandinavia, NAES would possibly revitalize its staff and draw more support from the Indian communities. Both the Norwegian Saami and NAES Amerindian groups would need leaders and centralized direction if they are to achieve their goal of serving their ethnically distinct communities and of preserving and developing their respective cultural and linguistic heritages.

Most of the NAES staff have been open to making international contacts. A definite plan, with short- and long-range goals, should be formulated for this purpose and made part of the curriculum, seminars, and conferences. Leadership training and an Indian ideology would need to be developed further. An Indian ideology was formulated by the National Congress of American Indians in 1944 accompanied by a rationale for an Indian leadership. In 1954 NCAI successfully stopped government termination of Indian programs and funds. The 1961 American Indian Conference made clear a common Indian denominator: cultural identity with the home reservation. American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century, a text used at NAES College, has contained adequate information on international bodies and United Nations conventions on human, indigenous, and minority rights. The Treaty and Aboriginal Rights Principles by the Joint Council of the National Indian Brotherhood (Canada, 1981) and their Declaration of the First Nations (1980) have offered commitment-inducive beliefs and rationale. The NAES group should consider the possible benefits of ongoing contacts with national and international indigenous organizations and of increased effort for developing

a unified Indian advocacy.

NAES has been founded on both a commitment to the Indian communities and to their organizations, in urban and rural settings, and on NAES's mission to raise Indian status, expertise, and leadership through higher education. NAES has likewise been committed to the teaching and dissemination of tribal knowledge in tune with the Indian reservation and urban communities' desires. The Nordic Saami have expressed similar commitments. Undoubtedly, the Nordic Saami's cultural politics were also in harmony with their nations' democratic beliefs and methods. United States Amerindian leaders have expressed the need for Indians and their Indian "friends" to lobby in Congress for their special interest: economic, cultural, and educational support. Amerindian cultural politics need not threaten nor diminish federal and state support, contrary to the fears of some NAES staff members. Their ideology would need to be conveyed by appropriate articulation and methodology.

The Scandinavian Saami needed to turn their nations' international attentions inwardly, from general human rights to minority rights. For this mission, inter-Nordic Saami had a two-fold task: to develop Saami solidarity and to learn democratic methods for achieving participation in government decision making. Democratic methods have required communicatory skills and universal knowledge of issues. A small group of Saami leaders acquired knowledge and skills by participating in Saami organizations and by achieving a higher level of education. The development of Saami solidarity required an ideology that appealed to the diverse Saami groups and made sense to non-Saami.

Included in the Saami ideology was attainment of equal status of the Saami minority and indigenous people to that of the majority society. Saami leaders learned how to express their beliefs and desires, and by using democratic methods in Saami organizations, they were enabled to transfer this acumen to the government-appointed committees.

Norwegian Saami educators addressed Saami education at all levels, from preschool to college, and recommended specialized Saami teacher education as a solution to the low competency of Saami teacher candidates, both Saami and non-Saami. They also identified the relationship of such teacher education to raising the general level of Saami education. The Nordic Saami Institute voiced this need for over a decade. Although NAES has existed as a higher educational institution for over a decade, it has not shown a strong interest in teacher education and its possible impact on the total configuration of developing Amerindian culture as well as of improving Indian status and economic conditions. In 1984 due to a recognized shortage of qualified Indian teachers in the Chicago area, the United States Office of Bilingual Education provided funding for an intensive teacher-training program at NAES College. Headstart teachers and administrative personnel for public schools were given instruction at Fort Peck and Chicago-NAES sites. The subsequent financial instability of the program or organizational conflicts weakened NAES's potential leadership role in Indian teacher education. NAES's 1987 Summer Institute, which was attended by educators and scholars in cooperation with the Illinois State Board of Education, should be established and expanded.

In addition to strengthening past efforts, NAES would have to

set goals for teacher education and specialized curricula for public schools with Indian pupils, whether at its own campuses or at other campuses. Decentralized courses on Indian culture, history, and languages could be developed at NAES and taught by NAES faculty and/or by non-Indian professionals in the appropriate fields who would take "booster courses" in multicultural education with emphasis on the Indian minority. To meet the shortage of Indian teachers, NAES should be at least partly involved with training teachers who wished to work in Indian populated districts and should find ways to affect the Illinois State Board of Education for teacher certification. For example, this could be suggested as a student field project. Involvement in teacher education and visiting the public schools in Indian populated districts to promote Indian educational achievement might help to solve NAES's recruitment problem.

The Amerindian community would benefit from a strong vanguard of educated Indians and Indian leaders who would influence local, state, and federal governments for Indian education at all levels. NAES should make this part of its mission and obtain the Indian community's support. The Chicago Indian organizations have already expressed their concern for Indian education from preschool through college. In view of the Saami's efforts in this direction, the process has taken considerable time and must soon begin. The Nordic Saami Institute and the Saami Department of Alta Teachers' College have utilized the above tactics for developing Saami culture through education. At Alta expanding general teacher course requirements and developing Saami arts and crafts as an academic course were initiated. Some Alta-Saami faculty also

expressed the importance of instigating a multicultural perspective for both Saami and non-Saami students at Alta Teachers' College.

NAES's model of higher education, its structure, academic content, and methods, can offer valuable insights to the Saami in the development of their higher educational and research institution in Norway. Similar to the Saami academics, the NAES group has dealt with the preservation of traditional culture by collecting materials and developing archives. The native history, traditions, and languages have been recorded by both groups; however, history and traditions have been taught by the NAES group. Both groups have made efforts for information dissemination as well. The NAES staff and faculty have made progress in assisting their student body to learn about subsistence economy, occupations, natural resources, and law. The Fort Peck site has used them well. Whereas the Norwegian Saami have opted for teacher education within the realities of their situation, they could learn from NAES many ways to develop academic structure and substance for other professional occupations that would require specialized education. NAES has possessed a model of higher education that can offer practical solutions. On the other hand, the NAES group should broaden its scope and take on the leadership, as a higher educational institution and national center, to affect Indian education from preschool to college. The Saami have just entered the process of building curricula for an autonomous educational institution; NAES has not yet seriously considered precollege education.

The most apparent difference in the Saami's goals for specialized education has been the consideration of language. For the

Norwegian Saami, the native language has been vital to cultural identity. Norway has complied with laws and economic support for its development. In contrast, NAES Amerindians have emphasized English, the language of the nation-state, in their courses. Most Saami have already attained bilinguality, and the Saami in higher education must become trilingual with the requirement of English at this educational level in Norway and for their international contacts. The Saami have been faced with the difficulties of academic trilinguality.

On the other hand, as English has been the language used at all levels of schooling in the United States, some Amerindians have needed only to become bilingual to attain educational success and to retain cultural identity. English has also served to unify the linguistically diverse tribes, especially those in the midst of rapid urbanization. This has led Amerindians, particularly at the NAES Chicago site, to seek the direction of national and Pan-Indian common interests more than the Saami group has. Moreover facility with English has helped the NAES group to relate to the federal and state governments for the funding on which most of them have been vitally dependent and for the government jobs that most of the NAES students and graduates have had. Indian leaders and educators have complained of the general lack of Indian proficiency in English and its influence on acquiring government funding for Indian programs and on understanding government Indian policies. For these reasons, English has taken a decided prominence in the Amerindian quest for unique cultural and social status in the dominant society.

An advantage of the Saami in recent times has been the decline of discrimination against them in Norway and the fact that Saami leaders have gained the respect of the authorities. This has contributed to increased government funding of Saami cultural and educational enterprises. Clearly, the legal and funding practices of Norway and the United States in regard to their indigenous populations have been crucially different. Norway has shown a commitment to the Saami as a distinct ethnic people. The United States government, however, has viewed its indigenous peoples as separate and multiple tribes. It has also not recognized many people claiming to be Indian. As the Amerindian leaders in the United States have possessed the potential of easy communication (through English) with the international indigenous leaders, they need only to accelerate the process by their own wishes. With the forces of the international community supporting them, the Amerindians in the United States should achieve universally recognized Indian status, government respect with participation in decision making, and a stable economic base from their nation-state. Without such a base, a vast number of Amerindians will be lost to higher education. Once established, the problems of educating a generally nonacademic Indian population and of developing Amerindian leadership can more significantly be solved.

The shared problems of the indigenous peoples, in Norway and the United States, have been low self-esteem and educational achievement. Conscientious leaders in education, with the foresight and sensitivity, could address these problems. A specialized education for Amerindians at all levels would possibly increase their numbers in higher education and their prestige in the dominant society, including their influence

on people in the appropriate positions who could help them. Especially if the NAES group were unified in commitment to developing not only national but also international Indian leadership, they could contribute more effectively to obtaining Indian rights and improved conditions. It seems they should listen more intently to Indian leaders, such as Ida Deer, and take to heart the message of directed political action and formulate a feasible plan for leadership development.

Notwithstanding nor ignoring the economic necessity of improving conditions for indigenous peoples, humanitarian and ecological principles have seemed to be at stake. It may be beneficial for dominant societies to encourage the indigenous peoples' pursuit of their cultural identities, for, on the whole, indigenous peoples can more readily recall the importance of community and respect for the earth and its resources. Their traditional spirituality has been earthbound and personal. A Saami leader advocated a Saami university as an important base for global peaceful relations. The Saami leadership in the Oslo and Alta actions inspired non-Saami conservationists to join in defending the delicate environment above the Arctic Circle. An Amerindian leader expressed his concern about nuclear waste in his state at a recent seminar. Both the Saami and Amerindian peoples' accomodation to natural phenomena, apparent in their traditional beliefs and lifestyles, has given them the inclination to learn more about conservation. Their concern for environmental protection has placed them in a position to remind the dominant societies of the value of conservation beyond short-sighted exploitation of natural resources for monetary

gain. Their sense of community may contribute to advancing universal human rights and peace.

In recent decades, indigenous peoples' sense of community, in defiance of the northern European sense of individualism that has often appeared distorted in view of present realities, has been expanded to include national and international communities. The international indigenous community made a solemn declaration to "recover its humanity," and as one of its members declared "to do our little bit to humanize the present world as it is." It was partly in deference to this grand aim that this study was initiated and pursued to completion. The primary aim, to compare selected groups of indigenous peoples in their establishment of specialized higher education along with drawing certain conclusions, has been to provide incentives for further research.

Studies of social phenomena may often contain weaknesses due to the existence of many variables. In this study, a methodological approach that included quantification would have helped to maintain increased objectivity. For this purpose, more information on Amerindians, such as the extent to which NAES graduates have become acculturated, could be measured against that of the Saami Department's graduates and to another group of college educated indigenous peoples who have not had specialized education. The success of specialized education for indigenous peoples has yet to be tested, especially in Norway. "Success" would also need to be defined by those who have pursued higher education, that is, what their real motivations were, how such education changed them, and whether culturally slanted education would be necessary in the long run. This study has focused on selected groups

holding certain ideals of cultural retention that in reality may be impossible to maintain given other motivations by the population they have wished to serve.

The forces of modernization have been especially problematic. The younger generation has been confronted by the constant barrage of the media that have contained the dominant society's values, one of which has been individual attainment of wealth and/or material goods in the United States, with Scandinavia not far behind in this respect. Research into the Saami and Amerindian media programs would be important, particularly their impact on cultural retention and/or on self-esteem. The Saami and Amerindian leaders' educational endeavors through the media have not been covered in this study.

Cultural conflict in youth should be explored as well. In controlled environments, such as on Indian reservations and in majority Saami communities, youth have undergone constant checks. However, in Karasjok (about 60 percent Saami populated) cultural conflict has been named as contributing to an increase in Saami youthful suicides. In the United States Indian youthful suicides and general alcoholism have been concerns in urban and reservation settings. Studies on these tragic phenomena and cultural conflict need to be undertaken. There may or may not be a causal relationship between the two. Claims of identity crises should likewise be explored and tested against quantitative and other types of data. The role of education in abating cultural conflicts and identity crises has not been adequately discussed in this study. Other focii have been chosen instead. Yet, the viability of specialized education at various levels for indigenous and minority groups, who have

seemed to be most effected by these problems, should be investigated, tested, and compared.

Recommendations for Further Research

Further research on indigenous peoples in the Northern Hemisphere from the viewpoint of education should include longitudinal case studies from home upbringing to completion of formal education. They should cover a cross section of culturally diverse indigenous groups. These, then, could be compared to similar studies in the Soviet Union or in other nonwestern nations with indigenous peoples. It would be especially interesting to gain insight into the educational achievement of indigenous and minority peoples, factors contributing to success and those hampering success, who have lived with majority peoples and governments starkly different from Scandinavian and North American governments (which share European heritages and democratic forms of governments).

For the same purpose, to gain insight into educational achievement, another recommendation for further study would be to compare indigenous students with a focus on a certain grade level, the watershed level that typically has had the greatest dropout rate. Such a study should involve two or more schools and should find out reasons for failure from the school perspective and from the home/child perspective. At the Saami Council for Education in Kautokeino, one such study used interview methods.[7] It would be a valuable source for ideas and

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[7]Report issued by the Council for Saami Education, given to the author by Synoeve Solbakken, administrative representative, in the House of Culture, Kautokeino, October 1987, photocopied.

this kind or another kind of method. Recommendations for preventive actions or detailed ways to keep pupils in school would also have widespread application possibilities in the United States.

A comparative educational study of Soviet Saami, on the Kola Peninsula and in a city, and Scandinavian Saami would bring this study to full circle. One suggestion, for this purpose, is to conduct the study in Finland. The Finns have maintained some contacts with the Soviets concerning reindeer research. Despite Finland's Continuation War with the Soviet Union, finally resolved by armistice in 1944, Finland has had a peace treaty and kept good relations with the Soviet Union since World War II. Knowledge of Finnish, Russian, and ideally, Saami or Lappish would be necessary to such a study. Finnish speakers have tended to learn Saami more quickly than speakers who have known only Indo-European languages. Therefore, Russian and Finnish proficiency would suffice at first. The Scandinavian governments and Saami academics have expressed concern about Soviet Saami. Some support for the study may come from these sources: the Nordic Saami Institute, the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education (KUD), the Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs (for higher education among other areas), the Nordic Saami Council, and the Saami Delegations or Parliaments in Finland and Norway. Equivalent Finnish and Soviet sources should be explored.

Studies on the Saami language and culture, ie., history, legends, beliefs, music, arts and crafts or duodji and on Amerindian language and culture have also been requested. The Saami and Amerindian educators have struggled to develop instructional materials.

Since "all knowledge is not in yet," studies of this kind and producing course materials have had publishing possibilities, for they can contribute references and texts to Norway's developing Saami higher educational and research institution or, in the case of the Amerindians, to the NAES College network. Other schools in Scandinavia and the United States with minority/indigenous peoples would also benefit from such studies and/or publications. For the same purpose and for adding depth to the knowledge of indigenous peoples, a comparison of Amerindian and Saami legends, beliefs, and forms of music, etc., should be conducted.

Another suggested study would be a comparison of urban Saami to urban Amerindians. Norway's capital has had a few thousand Saami inhabitants. Travel patterns back to Saami homelands, degree and kind of acculturation, level of education and type of occupation, and the efforts to maintain ethnic identity should be investigated. In the United States, studies on Amerindians with these themes have already been made and may be updated and used for comparison to the Saami. These have been just a few recommendations of interest to the author and to the organizers and educators who have contributed information to this study. It is hoped that they will inspire more international and comparative educational research.

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APPENDIX A

Appendix A

INTERVIEW-QUESTIONNAIRE*

The following questions were used to ask the originators, administrators, and instructors of the higher educational institution or college under study. The majority of these principals were also alumni of the institution. The lack of response from other alumni has forced the author to abandon further research in this area. The questions have undergone few adaptations. Any adaptations were mainly due to the avoidance of repetition or to the informant's lack of direct knowledge or willingness to respond.

1. Please state your name, position, and the length of time you have been at this institution.

2. How did you come to this institution and why?

3. Do you expect to continue here in the same position?

4. Who makes the decisions regarding your policies, program, hiring of faculty, curricula, seminars, and conferences?

5. How has this institution emerged from the Indian (or Saami) community itself? To your knowledge, how has this come about? (or how do you see this institution in relation to the Indian community?)

6. Do you know or can you provide the statement of mission and objectives? In you understanding, is the development of a leadership an important part of the stated mission? If so, does this leadership involve nationwide cooperation? Does it involve international cooperation, especially for the furtherance of Indigenous people's rights? What is the purpose and extent of this leadership?

7. Do you have any specific criteria for the selection of students? Who makes the final decision on whether a student may attend your institution or not?

8. Do you place emphasis on any particular area of knowledge, such as language, politics, economics, social problems, etc.?

9. What kinds of problems do you acknowledge, and if any, how do you try to solve them?
   Are there institutional, enrollment, student adjustment, or community problems? Are there political or government problems? Are there problems with the greater society? Are your students taught to solve any of these problems?

10. In your view, which cross-cultural differences require special knowledge and sensitivity, especially in the training and/or education of teachers?

11. What importance do you give to the student's identity with his/her culture and heritage?
    What do you consider important for the student to acquire from the dominant culture? Do you help students to express grievances effectively in regard to the government and to other institutions?

12. Do you provide information on human rights, including the rights of indigenous peoples as set forth by the United Nations and the rights of Indian (or Saami) people in their nation-state?

13. Is your institution unique? In what way? Do you have another institution or program as a model for yours?

14. Do you have connections with any other institutions or organizations both nationally and internationally? Which ones?

15. What future directions can you possibly predict for your institution? What do you untimately intend to accomplish? Is there anything you would like to develop or change?

16. Is there anything that you would like to add to this interview?

*The Interview-Questionnaire was translated into Norwegian by the author.

APPENDIX B

Appendix B

ACCREDITATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Some historical explanation of accreditation in the United States will elucidate its significance to international readers as well as its relation to NAES College's evolution as a unique Amerindian higher education institution. As frequently quoted from Alexis de Tocqueville: "In no country of the world has the principle of association been more successfully used, or applied to a greater multitude of objects, than in America."[8] The process of voluntary accreditation has been held to be uniquely American. It has been voluntarily sought by the institutions, and its nongovernmental and voluntary nature has been shaped by the continuing American emphasis on self-reliance and local control.

On 29-30 March 1895, thirty-six school, college, and university administrators from seven midwestern states met at Northwestern University in response to an invitation signed by the presidents of the University of Chicago, the University of Michigan, Northwestern University, and the University of Wisconsin including Grand Rapids High School, Michigan Military Academy, and Michigan Normal School. They were called to organize an association of colleges and schools of the north central states. The constitution, drawn by these educators, stated that the North Central Association's object would be "the establishment of close relations between the colleges and secondary schools" of the region. Within a short time, the improvement of communication between secondary schools and colleges led to extensive examination of the quality of education at both levels which, in turn, led to the accreditation of secondary schools and later to that of colleges and universities. Today the association serves colleges and schools in nineteen states along with the American Dependents' Schools operating overseas for children of American military and civilian personnel. Its day-to-day operations have been conducted by two commissions: the Commission on Schools, located in Boulder, Colorado, which has accredited institutions below the postsecondary level; and the Commission on Institutions of Higher Schools in Chicago, Illinois, which has accredited postsecondary institutions.

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[8]Alex de Toqueville, Democracy in America 2 vols., trans. Henry Reeve, (New York: George Adlard, 1838).

There have been two types of educational accreditation in the United States: institutional and specialized. The former has evaluated an institution whereas the latter has evaluated particular units, schools, or programs within an institution. Institutional accredition has been provided by six regional associations of schools and colleges, each named after the region in which it arose -- Middle States, New England, North Central, Northwest, Southern, and Western, besides several national associations which have limited their scope to particular kinds of institutions. The fundamental purposes have been to provide public confirmation of acceptable institutional quality and to assist in making improvements. The Commission on Institutions of Higher Education of the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools (NCA) has fulfilled these purposes by formulating criteria appropriate to the task. It has required periodical on-site visits by peers, assisted institutions engaged in self-study, monitored institutional change, and published materials bearing on institutional improvement and evaluation. The commission has evaluated more than the formal educational activities. It has also assessed governance and administration, student personnel services, financial stability, and physical facilities. Because of such widely different institutional purposes, the criteria have been broad enough to both encompass and encourage innovation without jeopardizing academic quality.

All institutions may hold affiliation with NCA voluntarily and may agree to meet institutional obligations which entail periodic review, payment of dues and fees, and making reports as requested. With accreditation, an institution's degrees, as well as its faculty and student body, have been honored by other higher institutions. In addition, to determine eligibility for federal government assistance under certain legislation, the United States Department of Education has consulted the lists of postsecondary institutions affiliated with nationally recognized accrediting agencies that the government has viewed as reliable authorities on the quality of educational institutions and programs. Since the NCA, a member of the Council of Postsecondary Accreditation, has been among these governmentally recognized authorities, affiliation with the commission has helped an institution become eligible for various federal funds. Accordingly, the commission has maintained communications and discussions with officers of states by coordinating, and with higher boards by clarifying, the functions and concerns of the commission with respect to the affiliated institutions which have been affected by these two types of boards.[9]

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[9]Commission on Institutions of Higher Education of the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools, A Handbook of Accreditation (Chicago: North Central Association, 1986), 1-7.

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Grete Roland has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Gerald L. Gutek, Director
Professor, Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
Loyola University of Chicago

Dr. Steven I. Miller
Professor, Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
Loyola University of Chicago

Dr. Joan K. Smith
Professor, Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
Associate Dean, Graduate School
Loyola University of Chicago

Dr. John M. Wozniak
Professor, Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
Loyola University of Chicago

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

18 June 1988 Gerald L. Gutek

Director's Signature