Indigenous Adult Language Revitalization and Education

Indigenous Adult Language Revitalization and Education

By

Erika Katjaana Sarivaara,
Kaarina Määttä
and Satu Uusiautti

Indigenous Adult Language Revitalization and Education

By Erika Katjaana Sarivaara, Kaarina Määttä and Satu Uusiautti

This book first published 2019

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

AUTHORS

Erika Katjaana Sarivaara Ph.D. is currently working as a Sámi language and culture university lecturer in teacher education at the University of Lapland. She has also conducted Post Doc projects in Inari Saami language technology project at the University of Lapland. She has been working as a post doc researcher in the Finnish Academy project MinorEuRUs (Empowerment and revitalization trends among the linguistic minorities in the European Union and the Russian Federation) at the University of Helsinki. She defended her doctoral thesis in 2012 at the University of Lapland, Faculty of Education. In 2013, she was granted the Israel Ruong- Sámi academic prize on her doctoral thesis "*Statuksettomat saamelaiset- paikantumisia saamelaisuuden rajoilla*" [Non-Status Sámi. Locations within Sámi Borderlands] (2012, Sámi allaskuvla: DIEÐUT 2/2012), "*Kuka on saamelainen ja mitä on saamelaisuus – identiteetin juurilla*" [Who is Sámi and what is Sáminess – at the roots of identity] (E. Sarivaara et al. 2013, Lapland University Press) and "*Saamelaispedagogiikan ydinkysymysten äärellä*" [The core questions of Sámi pedagogy] (P. Keskitalo, S. Uusiautti, E. Sarivaara, and K. Määttä (Eds.) (2014). Rovaniemi: Lapland University Press). She has also accomplished Master in Education 2001 in University of Lapland and Master in Indigenous Studies 2005 in University of Tromsö, Norway. Dr. Sarivaara's research interests are indigenous research, Sámi education, cultural identity, indigenous education, critical Sámi research and revitalization.

Kaarina Määttä Ph.D. is the professor of educational psychology at the Faculty of Education, University of Lapland, and vice-rector at the University of Lapland, Finland. Määttä's research interests are in human relationships and love, teacher training and education, university pedagogy and supervision, as well as indigenous research. Her latest publications include The Psychology of Study Success in Universities (authored by Määttä and Uusiautti, 2018, Routledge, New York).

Satu Uusiautti Ph.D. is a professor of education, especially educational psychology, at University of Lapland, Finland. Her personal research interests are in positive psychology and human strengths, happiness, success, and well-being in life diverse educational and work contexts.

Uusiautti and Määttä have published dozens of scientific articles and books together in which they discuss the opportunities of caring research also in indigenous contexts (e.g., The Basics of Caring Research, 2016, Sense Publishers, Rotterdam; and Critical Eye on Education, 2015, United Press Global, Tallinn) in addition to publications written in collaboration with Sámi researchers.

FOREWORD

This book is based on research focusing on indigenous language revitalization and adult education. Indigenous peoples around the globe are experiencing relatively long-term assimilation processes, and as a result, shifts in language use. Language shifts affect indigenous societies at both the micro and macro levels, causing both individual and collective pain. As a result, revitalization processes are greatly needed among indigenous peoples, as they aim to increase language domains and the number of speakers of endangered languages. This book deals with adult education and their reclamation of their ancestral languages. The themes cover indigeneity as well as individual identification with and/or membership in an indigenous group. We will contemplate the preconditions of belonging to an indigenous group and the definitions of indigeneity at the personal level.

At the beginning of the book, we set the context to language revitalization among the Sámi people in Finland. The focus is on political identity and indigenous Sámi status, as these factors remain the gate to revitalization; that is, to an extent without Sámi status, people of Sámi descent cannot access the processes and practices of language revitalization. To ensure a strong understanding of this setting, it is necessary to explain Sámi status and its context.

The Sámi people are the only indigenous people within the European Union. The legacy of assimilation among the Sámi people forms the basis for contemporary Sámi identity and multiple identity-forming processes. For decades, the discussion has been centred on the controversy of Sámi identity among assimilated members. In the ancestral homelands of the Finnish Sámi, the phenomenon of Sámi assimilation has been portrayed in media as a rather homogeneous and definitive process. To an extent, assimilation is understood as the end of indigeneity, of Sámi identity and as a major cultural shift. This perspective can be described as essentialist, as it is based on a rather essentialist concept of culture and identity, and may also be an obstacle against revitalization. In this book, we want to give voice to Sámi people who are actively working towards language and cultural revitalization, thus helping spread hope for the future and offering practical tools to enhance these processes.

Our aim is to provide a means to enhance the revitalization of Sámi languages and develop Sámi education. We are proud of our long-term

research at the University of Lapland, which considers the wellbeing of northern environments and cultures, including those in the Arctic, as one of its main research objectives. Modern society necessitates collaboration, tolerance, and a willingness to support each other and take care of individuals and communities. Our location at the heart of Lapland has enabled us to engage in indigenous research in a way that respectfully draws from both indigenous knowledge and culture as well as western perspectives. Positive attitudes, hope, sharing and research towards the flourishment of indigenous populations are the keys to success!

At the University of Lapland, Rovaniemi, Finland, 14 December 2018

Erika Sarivaara, Kaarina Määttä, and *Satu Uusiautti*

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION:
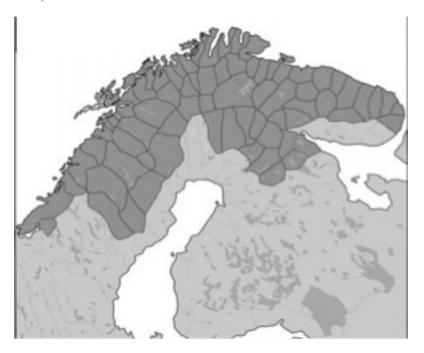THE SÁMI AS AN INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

Part I: Sámi People, Then and Now

The Sámi people, *Sápmelaččat,* are the only Indigenous people within the European Union. Starting from 1995, they have been recognized as Indigenous People by the Constitution of Finland, and as Indigenous People, they have the right to maintain and develop their own language and culture, as well as their traditional sources of livelihood. Since 1996, the Sámi have, according to the Constitution, had linguistic and cultural self-governance within their homeland (Pääkkönen 2008). The Sámi's status as Indigenous People is based on their unique worldview, history, livelihoods and language (Keskitalo, Uusiautti and Määttä 2012; Sarivaara, Uusiautti and Määttä 2013a). The concept of Indigenous People is complex, with diverse definitions. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO) (1989), Indigenous People are defined as:

> …Peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions. (ILO 1989)

Sápmi, the region inhabited by the Sámi, expands from Central Norway and Sweden across the northern part of Finland, reaching as far as the Kola Peninsula in Russia, and is therefore located in four countries. Sámi society was previously well organized in traditional Forest Sámi communities, *siidas*, which were winter-village-based communities of 100–250 people. The community structure was thus centred in the winter village, providing hunting and fishing grounds for individual families residing within the community. Traditionally, the Sámi have had a hunter–gatherer culture, and their sources of livelihood were based on multiple activities, such as fishing

in seas and lakes, wild reindeer hunting, bird hunting and berry picking. Their communities were spread out all over northern Fennoscandia (see Figure 1). This siida-based organizational system is characterized by solidarity and respect; for example, land resources were shared between and within siidas (Hansen and Olsen 2004; Joona 2013b; Saarikivi and Lavento 2012).

Figure 1. Traditional *siida* network (Kulonen, Seurujärvi-Kari and Pulkkinen 2005, 186–187).

Assimilation

The Sámi have experienced a long history of colonization and assimilation, which began hundreds of years ago. According to Kuokkanen (2006), colonization is based on an ideology and mode of action created during the Renaissance, which involves appropriating other people's lands and resources and settling on their territory. The aims and forms of colonialism are, in one way or another, related to power. Franz Fanon (1959, 1961, 1967) started a discussion about how colonialism influences people's thoughts, that is, its psychological effects. The colonization process involves

the pursuit of authority to assimilate indigenous peoples. In the ancestral lands of the Sámi, the dominant languages of Swedish, Danish/Norwegian, Finnish/Karelian and Russian have widely replaced the Sámi language, and much of the Sámi cultural and spiritual practices disappeared due to the spread of Christianity (See Kuokkanen 2006, 2; Lehtola 1997, 32). According to several studies (e.g. Hirvonen 2008; Minde 2005), based on the cultural subjugation of the Sámi, resettlement of their ancestral homelands, and the breakdown of their traditional social and cultural structures, the Sámi people have been described as subjects of colonialism.

As a result of assimilation, many Sámi people have experienced language shift, a process through which speakers of a language do not transfer that language onto their children and/or no longer use the language (e.g. Fishman 1990; see also Bettoni and Gibbons 1988). Language shift is typically a consequence of inequal status between minority and majority languages, which may be due to direct or indirect assimilation policies (Rasmussen 2014). Some of the areas inhabited by the Sámi have encountered more intense assimilation than others. The Sámi languages spoken within the Finnish taiga zone have mostly disappeared, including the Kemi Sámi language, which is now extinct but attested by literature (Saarikivi 2011, 78). In contrast, the Sámi language has been better preserved among reindeer herders in the fell area and the tundra zone, such as Utsjoki in the Teno River Valley area. The assimilation process in the taiga zone gained strength after the Sámi people in this area began transitioning into a settled lifestyle, starting in the middle of the 1700s (Enbuske 2008). In addition, in 1858, the Finnish Senate significantly redefined the traditional boundaries of the Sámi territory: only one third of the land was preserved as a Sámi district. With these new borders, only the three northernmost municipalities (Enontekiö, Inari, Utsjoki and the northern part of Sodankylä) were considered part of the Sámi territory. The letter of the Senate prohibited any person to enter the tax records as a 'Lapp', other than those residing within the Utsjoki, Inari and Enontekiö parishes. Crucially, in the southern part of the historical Sámi territory (i.e. Kittilä, Sodankylä, Kuusamo and Kuolajärvi), inhabitants were no longer marked as Lapps in the authorities' papers (Wirilander 2001, 48–49). Furthermore, the new border of the Sámi homelands also formed an ethnic border, leaving out members of the Sámi who did not live within this newly defined territory.

The idea of otherness lies behind colonialist justifications for the subordination of indigenous peoples, which has determined the relations between indigenous peoples and nations up to the present day. The aim of colonialism was also to govern the region in order to make economic use of

the area, using both its natural resources and workforce. Furthermore, colonialism renders indigenous peoples socially inferior compared to the dominant population (Keskitalo, Määttä and Uusiautti 2011). The counteraction to colonization is decolonization, which is closely connected with the concept of self-determination (Dehyle and Swisher 1997; Kuokkanen 2006). Decolonization refers to a long-term process that involves tearing down the administrative, cultural, linguistic and psychological bastions of colonialist power (Smith 1999).

Terminology

Sámi identity is linguistically performed through the ethnonym (i.e. the name of the ethnic group). The name of the Sámi people has undergone several transitions over time and is derived from the Sámi word *sápmelaš* (North Sámi form). It was adopted into common use in the Finnish and Scandinavian languages in the 1970s, and is now considered the politically correct denomination (Lehtola 2012, 27). Before this period, the Sámi were generally referred to as 'Lapps' (Fi. *lappalainen*), which was an ethnic term used mainly among non-Sámi, such as Finnish and Swedish people, to distinguish between peasants and indigenous people (Enbuske 2008, 16–17). The concept of Lapp has diverse interpretations as well as a close historical link to the district of Lapland (Lapponia in Latin). Janne Saarikivi (2011) noted that there are different scientific viewpoints on whether Lapp historically referred to people who spoke the Sámi languages; for example, according to one view, Lapp refers only to one's source of livelihood (Saarikivi 2011, 107). The term has likely been used in both ways, albeit in different contexts. The term Lapp still exists in colloquial or spoken languages among both the Sámi and non-Sámi people.

Sámi Languages

The Sámi language belongs to the Finno–Ugric language family. Traditional linguistics distinguishes between ten Sámi languages, nine of which are still spoken in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia, and all of which are considered endangered. According to the definition for endangered languages, the North Sámi language (15,000–25,000 speakers) is endangered; the Lule Sámi (2,000 speakers), South Sámi (700 speakers), Inari Sámi (300 speakers) and Skolt Sámi (430 speakers) languages are seriously endangered; and the Ter Sámi (< 20), Pite Sámi (20 speakers) and Ume Sámi (20 speakers) languages are critically endangered. The last speaker of Akkala Sámi died in 2003 (Seurujärvi-Kari 2011; Ylikoski

2009), and even more Sámi languages, such as Kittilä Sámi, Kemi Sámi and Kuolajärvi Sámi, have already disappeared (Aikio 2000; Itkonen 1948a; Itkonen and Äimä 1918; Saarikivi 2011; Tegengren 1952).

Sámi Institutes

The Sámi people in Finland have had their own political body for over 40 years. The former Sámi Parliament (Sámi Párlameanta) operated between 1972 and 1995, thereafter replaced by the new Sámi Parliament (Sámediggi) via The Act on the Sámi Parliament 974/95. The Sámi Act addressed cultural autonomy within the Sámi homeland: 'The Sámi as an indigenous people shall, as is further detailed in this act, be ensured cultural autonomy within their homeland in matters concerning their language and culture' (Josefsen 2007, 10). Currently, the Sámi Parliament in Finland has 21 representatives, and elections are held every fourth year. Unlike the other Nordic Sámi Parliaments, the candidates/politicians in the Finnish Sámi Parliament do not represent any particular parties or groups, and thus there are no parties behind the representatives. Elections are purely individual in nature, in which '[f]amily, friends and neighbours seem to be the electoral basis' (Eriksson 1997, 140; see also Josefsen 2007). However, each candidate/politician also represents the area in which they live.

Sámi Parliaments were also established in Sweden in 1992 as well as in Norway in 1987. Cooperation between the Nordic Sámi Parliaments began in 1956, when the Nordic Sámi Council (*Sámiráđđi*) was established. The Council is funded by the Nordic Ministerial Council (Josefsen 2007). The Sámi population is estimated to include a total of 70,000–90,000 people. Norway has the largest Sámi population, which is estimated to include 45,000–50,000 people, while in Sweden and in Russia, the populations are 15,000–20,000 and approximately 2,000, respectively. A more accurate figure is available for Finland, as the authorities have reported a Sámi population of 9,919, which represents the number of people eligible for enrolment in the Sámi parliament electoral roll (Seurujärvi-Kari 2011, 13).

Individuals on the Sámi Parliament electoral roll in Finland are also accounted for in the official statistics, but they only number at 5,483; thus, not all of those who fulfil the official criteria for being Sámi are reported in the Parliament's statistics (Sámi Parliament 2011). The Norwegian Sámi Parliament electoral register, for example, currently lists around 15,000 Sámi; however, it is generally assumed that this number is only a fraction of the total Sámi population in Norway. According to Pettersen (2011), the low number of 'Status Sámi' is essentially related to the issues of ethnicity and assimilated identities. In the Norwegian Sámi Parliament 2013

elections, 15,500 Status Sámi were identified (Samediggi 2013), while the Swedish Sámi Parliament reported 8,322 Status Sámi in its 2009 elections (Sametinget 2013).

Sámi Language Education

Sámi language teaching started in 1970 at the primary school level, with significant variations in development between the education of each Sámi language. In addition, the linguistic situations and assimilation processes of each language have different features. Here, we focus on the revitalization of the North Sámi language in Finland. Currently, adult education courses on the North Sámi language are available at the University of Lapland, University of Oulu, University of Helsinki and the Sámi Education Institute in Inari. There are also opportunities for adults to study North Sámi in Norway and Sweden.

Part II: Sámi Status in Finland

Sámi status gives individuals the right to claim indigenous identity, political recognition, access to resources and services (e.g. grants for artists and craftspeople), and the right to Sámi-language education and day care. Status is defined in the Sámi Act, and individuals who are registered in the Sámi Parliament electoral roll are automatically granted Sámi status. Even though the Sámi Parliament electoral roll can only be seen as an expression of political identity, it does have practical, social and symbolic significance due to the power of collective social recognition. From a social perspective, the process of satisfactory identity negotiation consists of three main factors: the feeling of being understood, the feeling of being respected and the feeling of being affirmatively valued (Ting-Toomey 1999). The fundamental question concerning contemporary Sámi identity in Finland deals with internal tensions within the Sámi population: Who has the right to identify as Sámi, and what are the criteria for Sámi status?

Definition of 'Sámi' in the Sámi Act

Sámi status in Finland was first defined in the Act on the Sámi Parliament in 1995; however, the discussion of Sámi status, or how Sámi rights should be defined, had already begun in the 1940s. The current definition is based on the subjective criterion that an applicant has Sámi identity, that is, the applicant sees him or herself as a Sámi. In addition to this criterion, the applicant must meet one of three objective criteria

according to the Finnish law of the Sámi Parliament (Act on Sámi Parliament 1995): (1) the applicant, or at least one parent or grandparent of the applicant, learnt Sámi as his or her first language (language criterion); (2) the applicant is a descendant of someone who was registered as a Fell, Forest or Fishing Sámi in the land, taxation or census register (Sámi descent criterion); or (3) at least one of the applicant's parents is eligible to vote in the elections of the Sámi Delegation or the Sámi Parliament (voting criterion).

The language criterion corresponds to the 1990 definition of Sámi proposed by the Sámi council. Because it does not consider native-speaker status beyond the applicant's grandparents, this criterion does not reach particularly far into the history of the Sámi people (Myntti 2000). This is problematic because it excludes descendants of Forest and Fishing Sámi, whose ancestors experienced language shift earlier in the timeline. It is notable that from the legal perspective, both recognized and excluded Sámi descendants share the same ancestors; however, part of this group faced such powerful pressure to assimilate that they lost their Sámi language (Myntti 2000). The language criterion has been a part of the Sámi definition ever since it was first proposed.

The Sámi descent criterion has been the most challenging to interpret. The concept of Sámi ancestry is open to broad interpretation, as the law does not specifically define the temporal boundaries of Sáminess. According to Pääkkönen (2008), this led to applicants claiming Sámi ancestry through relatives that were far back in their family tree. In addition, the geographical boundaries of Sáminess were radically expanded. It has been argued that anyone who could find even one Sámi ancestor from hundreds of years ago could claim Sámi status and therefore gain the right to vote in Sámi Parliament elections (Lehtola 2005).

Finally, according to the voting criterion, a person is Sámi if one of his or her parents was or could have been registered in the electoral roll of the Sámi Parliament. Along with the issue of unclear temporal boundaries, this criterion suggests that just being a Sámi descendant is enough to claim Sámi status, regardless of the applicant's knowledge of the Sámi language or connections with the Sámi people.

Although only one of these three criteria must be met in addition to the subjective criterion, Myntti (2000)—who analysed the process of claiming Sámi status from a judicial point of view—concluded that the definition of Sámi is primarily based on whether the Sámi language is the applicant's first language; however, this does not guarantee that the applicant has working knowledge of the Sámi language. Indeed, it has been suggested that

a new language criterion should be based on whether the applicant has actual knowledge of the Sámi language (Myntti 2000).

The Admission Process

The Sámi Parliament election committee, which consists of five members, is the political body that interprets the definition of Sámi in the Sámi Act and processes applications for the electorate. The election committee also implements the indigenous rights to collective self-identification or group identification, which are mentioned in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP 2007). Based on the election committee's interpretation of the Sámi Act, it either accepts or rejects the applicant as a Status Sámi. However, applicants whose status is rejected by the election committee have the right to appeal the decision with the Supreme Administrative Court (SAC).

The election committee's interpretation of the Sámi Act focuses mainly on the first objective criterion: knowledge of the Sámi language (Sámi Parliament 2014). This interpretation of the Sámi Act is strict and of a rather paradoxical nature, as due to the long history of assimilation among the Sámi people, a major language shift has occurred among certain segments of the Sámi population. This language shift has greatly limited the opportunity for people of Sámi descent to become officially accepted and recognized as a member of the Sámi people and thus be enrolled in the Sámi electoral roll.

Non-Status Sámi

According to Sarivaara's (2012) definition, a 'Non-Status Sámi' (1) is a descendant of a Sámi ancestor and (2) is not a member of the electoral register of the Sámi Parliament. The definition of Non-Status Sámi is based on these two criteria, with no emphasis on self-identification, and has been used to illustrate their marginal position in Sámi society. The term also follows international conventions, derived from the US concept of the Non-Status Indian (see Magnet et al. 2005). At the individual level, however, the right to self-identify as an indigenous person is supported:

> Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right to belong to an indigenous community or nation, in accordance with the traditions and customs of the community or nation concerned. No discrimination of any kind may arise from the exercise of such a right. (UNDRIP 2007, Article 9)

According to the statistics of the Finnish Sámi Parliament, approximately 1,100 individuals who self-identified as Sámi sought Sámi status (i.e. applied for enrolment in the electoral register of the Sámi Parliament) in 1999, which is the closest equivalent to indigenous citizenship in Finland. More recently, when the Sámi Parliament opened up a new round of applications, approximately 800 people applied. The committee accepted 483 people into the electoral roll, of which 295 were children of people who were already registered and who had turned 18 years old at the time of application. In total, 450 applications were rejected (YLE Sápmi 2015); that is, the Sámi Parliament rejected these applicants' requests for indigenous citizenship (Joona 2013a).

The rejection of Sámi status has caused much conflict within the Sámi community, which manifests itself, for example, through the emergence of polarized identities. According to public discourse, Status Sámi are considered genuine Sámi, whereas Non-Status Sámi are labelled as inauthentic. This has caused a dispute wherein individual identification as a member of the Sámi people is not accepted in public discourse. Green (2003) presented a paradoxical dilemma within indigenous political empowerment, noting that it may have fundamentalist features and therefore counteract indigenous empowerment, leading to human rights violations. She further argued that policy should avoid imposing requirements such as cultural authenticity and genetic purity, because such concepts often lead to racism and the denial of variation in cultural identity (Green 2003).

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINITIONS OF INDIGENEITY

Part III: Who is Indigenous?

The positions and rights of indigenous peoples have gained a foothold in many political arenas and international agreements around the world since the turn of the 1990s—when indigenous peoples and minorities began to be distinguished from each other. Indigenous peoples are considered to have collective rights regarding control over certain areas colonized by the dominant population, whether in the present or at a certain point in the past. The world's total indigenous population varies from 200 million to 370 million (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs). While indigenous peoples live in every region of the world, 70% of the global population lives in Asia, followed by Latin America with 50 million, which makes up 11% of the region's total population. In addition, some have claimed that there are 100,000 Inuit, 80,000 Sámi and 1.5 million indigenous people in North America (Joona 2012).

Defining a person as a member of an indigenous group can be difficult due to, for example, assimilation, a history of colonization or complex legislation regulating membership in indigenous populations. The concept of Indigenous People has primarily been created for international agreements, referring to certain populations and communities in specific areas. However, there are no universal definitions for indigenous peoples. Often indigenous peoples are referred to as the disadvantaged descendants of those that inhabited a territory prior to colonization or the formation of the existing state (Joona 2012; International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs). This definition can be used to identify common and topical issues that are most salient for indigenous peoples, including social, cultural and political questions. As a concept, indigeneity also is connected with identity and its processes of formation (Seurujärvi-Kari 2012; Valkonen 2009). In the development of indigenous peoples' rights, the goal is to achieve self-determination in the areas populated by these groups (Koivurova 2010).

To determine how indigenous peoples around the world define membership (i.e. who is indigenous and who is not), it is important to

discuss the various definitions of indigeneity. It is worth pointing out, however, that these definitions cannot be compared, as they are always context-bound; that is, each indigenous group has its own history, especially in relation to colonialist power. Nevertheless, it is possible to discuss the main features of these definitions.

There are two significant international agreements which have established the rights of indigenous peoples, including Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples by the ILO (1989) and the UNDRIP by the General Assembly (2007). Convention No. 169 defines individuals as indigenous if their ancestors lived in an area before the settlement or formation of modern state borders. In addition, the Convention stipulates that indigenous peoples must have maintained, either wholly or partially, their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions. The Convention recognizes indigenous peoples' rights to their traditional homelands and natural resources, and demands that states take special measures to, for example, protect indigenous cultures, languages and environments. However, the Convention does not specify how indigenous people should be defined (ILO 1989).

Convention No. 169 is complemented by UN special reporter José Martinez Cobo's (1986) report on the discrimination of indigenous peoples. Cobo's definition covers both the group- and individual-level definitions of indigeneity. According to the group-level definition, communities and peoples are indigenous if they have had continuous historical connection to the societies which preceded colonization, have developed on areas populated by these peoples, and consider themselves separate from other prevailing societal structures in the area. In addition, indigenous peoples do not hold a ruling position in modern society, instead striving to maintain, develop and transmit their inherited lands and ethnic identity to future generations. Ethnic identity brings indigenous people together as one population in harmony with their own cultural practices, social institutions and legal systems (Cobo 1986).

Cobo also offered a general answer to the question of who can be seen as a member of an indigenous group. The individual must self-identify as a member of an indigenous group (the subjective definition), and the group must acknowledge and accept the person as the member (the objective definition). Cobo emphasized the power of the group in this matter, as group acceptance includes the sovereign right to decide who belongs to the group without outside interference (Cobo 1986). Similarly, Article 9 of the UNDRIP (2007) states: 'Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right to belong to an indigenous community or nation, in accordance with the

traditions and customs of the community or nation concerned, No discrimination of any kind may arise from the exercise of such right'.

According to Joona (2010), group-level definition of an indigenous people is not particularly challenging, but definition at the individual level is problematic. The core of the problem lies in the indigenous struggle to reclaim the rights to their ancestral lands and waters: how does one determine who is entitled to indigenous rights? Joona (2010) emphasized the significance of self-identification in the definition of indigeneity, which is supported by Article 1 of Convention No. 169, Article 9 of the UNDRIP, and the final report of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (2009) concerning Finland.

Definitions of Indigeneity Elsewhere

Definitions of Indigeneity in Hawaii

Hawaii, or *Hawai`i* in the indigenous language, is a group of islands located in the northern Pacific Ocean and belonging to the United States. Indigenous people living in Hawaii made first contact with the outside world in 1778, and Hawaii remained an independent nation with a monarchy until 1893 (Trask 1996). The Hawaiian language remained in the mainstream until the beginning of the twentieth century, when it began changing into Hawaii Creole English. Due to this language shift, indigenous Hawaiians born after 1920 learned Hawaii Creole English as their native language, not the Hawaiian language (Maaka 2005; Wilson and Kamana 2009).

According to US statistics, the population of Hawaii was 1,360,301 in 2010, roughly 136,000 (10%) of which are indigenous Hawaiians (US Census Bureau 2000). The current definition of an indigenous Hawaiian was proposed during the 1921 Congress of the United States, referring to a person whose blood quantum is at least half Hawaiian before the year 1778. This blood-quantum principle is now a part of the legal system in Hawaii, which weakens the sovereignty of indigenous Hawaiian people (*Kanaka Maoli*) (Kauanui 2008).

In order to participate in some Hawaiian Homelands programs, an individual must be able to prove that he or she has 'at least 50 percent Hawaiian blood' (Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, Department of Hawaiian Homelands 2012). Today, there are only a few 'fully' Hawaiian people who are said to have only Hawaiian blood. Since the year 2000, no new full Hawaiians (by blood quantum) have been born (W.H. Wilson, personal communiqué, 22 February 2010).

Definitions of Indigeneity in Canada

Several indigenous peoples live in the wide expanse of Canada, commonly referred to as aboriginals. Over one million Canadians (4% of the total population) consider themselves indigenous (Andersson and Henriksson 2010). About 53% of this group are registered Indians (First Nations), 30% belong to the Métis group, 11% are Non-Status Indians and 4% are Inuit. Over half of the indigenous peoples of Canada currently live in cities (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, First Nations). The 1982 Constitution, 35§, defines the indigenous peoples of Canada as Indians, Inuit and Métis (Hedican 2008). Of these three groups, only Indians have a legal definition for who can be considered an Indian.

First Nations

Canadian Indians are often collectively referred to as First Nations. The origin of this term harkens back to a time after the Second World War, when French and English settlers were commonly considered the founding peoples of Canada. The indigenous peoples objected to this idea, demanding for their recognition as the founding people, therefore introducing the concept of First Nations (Andersson and Henriksson 2010). Nowadays, Canada has 615 Indian communities, representing over 50 groups and 50 indigenous languages. The definition of a Canadian Indian, or a member of a First Nations group, is complex and ever-changing, with variations between one province and another. The base definition, however, is based purely on bloodline. The Indian Act discusses eligibility for gaining Indian status. In addition, Canada has an official Indian Register, which includes all Canadian Indians with Indian status since 1952. Currently, of all Canadian Indians, almost 500,000 are registered according to the Indian Act:

> Registered Indians are people who are registered with the federal government as Indians, according to the terms of the *Indian Act*. Registered Indians are also known as Status Indians. Status Indians have certain rights and benefits that are not available to Non-Status Indians or Métis people. These may include on-reserve housing benefits, education and exemption from federal, provincial and territorial taxes in specific situations. (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada 2012)

The history of these definitions helps us understand how they were created and how they have affected Canadian Indians. By the 1860s, the Canadian government had already passed a law regarding Indians giving birth to an Indian Register. The definition of Indian offered in this law is

now considered discriminatory and inaccurate, especially 'Bill C-31', which was finally removed in 1985 when the law was renewed. Some examples of Bill C-31 include stipulations such as an Indian woman would lose her Indian status if she married a white, non-Indian man, and their children would be likewise ineligible for Indian status. In addition, an Indian was given the right to vote in federal elections if he or she relinquished his or her Indian status. This was called the enfranchisement practice or 'liberation' process (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada 2012).

The current criteria for who can be considered an Indian and is therefore eligible for the Indian Register were established in 1985, when the Indian Act was renewed. According to these criteria, a person is a Canadian Indian if:

1. the person was eligible for the Indian Register before the change in the Indian Act on 17 April 1985;
2. the person had lost Indian status by marrying a non-Indian person;
3. the person's parents did not have Indian status according to the Indian Act before marriage, thus automatically losing their status when they turned 21 years old;
4. the person's registration as an Indian had been objected because the person's father did not have Indian status, regardless of the mother's status;
5. the person lost Indian status because the person or the person's parents applied for a waiver of the Indian Register and Indian membership as a part of the 'liberation' process (or enfranchisement, which was a process that aimed at releasing Indians from their indigenous identity and status);
6. the person is a child whose parent fills the abovementioned criteria (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada 2012).

Indians who self-identify as such but are not covered by this definition, and thus ineligible for enrolment in the Indian Register, are called Non-Status Indians (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada. Non-Status Indians 2012; Andersson and Henriksson 2010).

Métis

In 2006, 389,785 persons belonged to the Métis group in Canada. The word Métis is French and means a mixture (*mestizo* in Spanish). According to the definition, a person is considered a Métis if the person has both Indian and European blood that is different from Indian and Inuit blood, and who is directly descended from the Indian population (Canadian Métis Council 2012).

In order to become officially Métis and gain a membership card from the Canadian Métis Council, the person must fulfil the following criteria: (1) the person has to self-identify as a Métis, (2) the person has to be accepted as a Métis by the community, (3) the person must not be a member of the Indian or Inuit Register and (4) the person has to be able to prove descent from the Indian population through a verification process defined by the Canadian Métis Council (2012).

The Māori of Aotearoa

Aotearoa is the indigenous Māori name for New Zealand, and the nation has recognized the Māori as the indigenous people of the area. The first British immigrants first contacted the Māori people at the end of the eighteenth century, finally colonizing Aotearoa in the nineteenth century when the area became dependent on the UK. In 1840, the Māori and the Brits signed the Treaty of Waitangi, in which the Māori headmen gave the Brits the right to control the land. Simultaneously, the Māori were granted the civil rights and obligations to serve the UK, as well as the rights to their traditional tribal lands. The treaty also promised to respect the Māori culture (May 2002). Aotearoa has a total population of 4.25 million, and the percentage of Māori in this number has been calculated in two different ways: through Māori identity or Māori origin. According to the 2006 census, 565,329 (~15%) of the population identified as Māori, whereas 643,977 people were of Māori origin (QuickStats About Māori 2007).

Over the past few years, Māori researchers have opened up discussions on the official definition of Māori, which has varied considerably over time (Coates 2008; Kukutai 2004; Lai 2010; Sullivan 2008). First, the definition was based on bloodline. According to this definition, a person was Māori if he or she was half-blooded, full-blooded or somewhere in between (Coates 2008). The current definition, established in 1974, emphasizes the individual's family history, or *whakapapa*. According to the law, a person who has at least one Māori antecedent, no matter how far back, is legally a Māori. Therefore, New Zealand has a very wide and open definition of indigeneity (Coates 2008; Lai 2010).

In her study, Coates (2008) discussed the one-sidedness of the establishment of this definition, criticizing the fact that it was composed by the white ruling power and not by the Māori themselves. According to Coates, the definition should be developed from the Māori perspective, further suggesting that the definition should be revised to include the criterion of ethnic identity and whether the person considers him or herself to be Māori. Thus, Coates's recommendation is as follows: A person is Māori if that

person has at least one Māori antecedent and self-identifies as Māori (Coates 2008).

Discussion of Indigeneity

Finland's rather narrow and exclusive definition of the Sámi people has caused individual conflicts for a long time. The organization responsible for maintaining the group's identification processes, the Sámi Parliament, has denied a little less than 2,000 people from claiming official Sámi status.

In contrast, Canadian indigenous laws are based on bloodline (Palmater 2000). If a person fulfils the criteria of indigeneity, he or she gains the right to use the lands and waters of indigenous reservations. Indigenous peoples in this area have been divided into two legal categories: Status Indians and Non-Status Indians. A Non-Status Indian is someone who self-identifies with indigenous Canadian Indians or First Nations but does not have any legal rights according to the Indian Act (Bayefsky 1982; Cornet 2003). In some cases, indigenous status has been lost:

> [For] Aboriginal individuals who are of Indian or First Nations ancestry and would so identify but do not have Indian Act status[:] In some cases, status has been lost through the complex application of legal rules that have not corresponded with individuals' identities. (Magnet et al. 2005, 180)

Indigenous identity is often connected with demands for authenticity and essentialism (Smith 1999). Smith explained that a person who belongs to an indigenous people by, for example, participating in political discussion, often becomes questioned over whether he or she has an authentic connection to the group. Discussion of authenticity is harmful, especially among people in the margins of indigeneity, such as those whose blood quantum is too white or those who have become urbanized, such as Non-Status Māori. Smith continued to describe the questioning of authenticity as a process introduced by outsiders, presenting an example of researchers who had concluded that the indigenous people of Tasmania were extinct, even though there were people who called themselves Aboriginal Tasmanians. This interpretation suggested that the Aboriginal Tasmanian identity was a political invention by people who no longer existed and therefore could not present any demands (Smith 1999).

Indigenous peoples have their own distinct languages, cultures, and social and political institutions that may vary considerably from those of mainstream society. While indigenous peoples face similar experiences of discrimination, language loss and marginalization as other ethnic minorities,

there are key differences in terms of their rights and identities. Contrary to other ethnic minorities who struggle to protect their rights at the individual level, indigenous peoples have always stressed the need for the recognition of their collective rights. The UNDRIP, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2007, aims to recognize these collective rights.

Crucially, self-identification as an indigenous individual, and acceptance as such by the indigenous group, is an essential component of indigenous peoples' sense of identity. However, self-identification can also lead to serious conflicts if they are not accepted as members of their indigenous group. Joona (2012, 147) argued: 'It should be noted that, even though self-identification is generally used to refer to peoples, the term also includes an individual's feeling. Without individuals there are no groups. Logically, the definition of a group and the definition of an individual cannot be fully separated'. Acceptance of one's indigenous identity and as a member of an indigenous group can be a challenging, overly bureaucratic process. When individual identity is rejected, it may lead to serious psychological effects, such as stress, trauma and angst. Indigenous identity and acceptance are therefore crucial parts of an indigenous person's identity (Sarivaara 2012).

As this analysis shows, indigeneity has various definitions in different countries. For example, New Zealand has a relatively liberal definition that accepts the multiformity of the Māori culture, the basis of which is centred on bloodline or indigenous language skills. This has led to the problem in which part of an indigenous group becomes excluded from legal indigenous status and has their identity rejected. For the vitality of indigenous peoples, we propose that an inclusive approach to defining indigeneity be taken, thus leading to as many descendants as possible being officially accepted as members of the indigenous peoples with which they identify.

Paradoxically, indigenous peoples can also act as obstacles in their own development. Discourse about being 'too white' or becoming a cultural threat (referring to indigenous people who have, for example, lost their indigenous language skills) can be harmful, both at the individual and group levels. The discourse surrounding cultural threat does not emancipate the indigenous people; rather, it may lay the foundation for essentialist and ethnocentric models of indigeneity. Due to the history of colonization, indigenous peoples now face the challenge of moving away from the role of a victim and into pro-activism. Emancipation, indigenous identity and revitalization are key goals for the future of indigenous peoples.