Unruly Reindeer

Imagining and governing an Arctic animal in twentieth-century Sweden

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Abstract

This paper explores the imagined reindeer of the twentieth century. It examines the relationship between humans and the Arctic animal in a historical perspective and highlights five ways of imagining the reindeer. Over time, it was assigned the role of an exclusively Sámi animal and an unruly trespasser, but also turned into a modernization project before it became a vulnerable victim of toxicity, only to be reinvented as a harbinger of Sámi food sovereignty. Drawing from animal studies and using a range of archival material, I argue that each way of imagining the reindeer was followed by extensive policy and legal efforts in order to make the reindeer compliant and predictable. These efforts did not necessarily lead to the intended results, and hence the reindeer remained "unruly". Analyzing the shifting meanings contributes to a better understanding of the history of the European Arctic from the vantage point of animal history.

Keywords: reindeer, reindeer husbandry, animal studies, animal history, Sámi, cultivation border, Chernobyl, Slow Food Sápmi, food sovereignty

Introduction

Reindeer, just like the Arctic as a whole, have been subject to various projections over time. This paper focuses on human endeavors to make reindeer compliant and predictable. It explores how shifting ambitions, visions and imaginations of the reindeer were expressed and what trajectories they took. To do so, it highlights five distinctive ideas of the reindeer that partly overlap and sometimes replace each other. Over time, it was assigned the role of an exclusively Sámi animal and an unruly trespasser, but also turned into a modernization project before it became a vulnerable victim of toxicity, only to be reinvented as a harbinger of Sámi food sovereignty.

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In my analysis, I deploy discourse analysis as a method to examine ways of talking about and understanding the world.[1] When groups of statements and ways of talking about a particular issue constitute a discourse, they impact and are impacted by its surrounding world and the social context, institutions and structures in which they are embedded. They are hence more than mere reflections of the world and its social relations, but actively shape and change the objects of which they speak.[2] What can be said and who can say it depends on the dominant discourse. People attach meaning and action to certain objects, and discourse analysis scrutinizes how and why they do this. To make sense of the reindeer discourse, I draw on works in the field of animal studies that are interested in animals' historicity and their evolving role in human society.[3]

I apply these analytical tools to a body of legal texts and archival material from several Swedish public authorities. Among them are reindeer grazing acts from the late 19th and first half of the 20th century, international grazing conventions, and public investigation reports (SOUs). The latter are commonly used in Sweden to assess issues that need to be addressed in the eyes of policymakers. SOUs outline the current state of the question or issue at stake, problems and challenges, and may outline possible solutions that can then be included in reform propositions. Additionally, I use archival sources from the Board of Agriculture and the National Food Agency. This material combined offers insights into how policymakers thought about, framed and addressed reindeer-related policy issues. When discussing the different ways of understanding the reindeer over time, different sets of this body of material serve as the basis for analysis. Since Sámi herder perspectives rarely were included in source material provided by public authorities' paper trails, I also include the Sámi newspaper *Samefolkets Egen Tidning* (SET), later called *Samefolket*. For most of the period discussed here, it appeared quarterly, was run by a Sámi editor and gave space to Sámi voices, for instance through publishing letters to the editor. The SET is an especially valuable source because it made Sámi perspectives visible before other Sámi organizations like the National Association of the Swedish Sámi (SSR, founded in 1950) or the Swedish Sámi Parliament (established in 1993) existed. Together with material provided by the SSR, these sources provide Sámi perspectives shared by many, but are not thought to represent a notion of *the* Sámi perspective as a monolithic whole, as experiences, conditions and opinions of course varied among members of the Sámi population.

Constructing an exclusively Sámi animal

Reindeer husbandry in Sweden has historically mainly been practiced in the counties Norbotten, Västerbotten, and Jämtland. They are part of *Sápmi*, the Sámi cultural area spanning from Norway in the west to the Russian Kola Peninsula in the east. Sámi have herded reindeer in this region for centuries. In efforts to more actively include the northern areas into Swedish territory and make more efficient use of the arable land, the Swedish Crown issued two *Lappmarksplakat* in 1673 and 1695 respectively, as incentives for settlers to move north and set up farms. A common belief was that settled farmers and nomadic reindeer herders could live side by side and use the same areas as long as they adhered to their ecological niche of reindeer herding and farming respectively – hence assigning reindeer husbandry as primary occupation to the Sámi.[4] In the beginning, the number of settled farmers rose very slowly. In some areas, most of the settlers were Sámi who had given up nomadic herding, indicating that the categories settler/farmer and Sámi/reindeer herder were not as separate and opposite as they might appear at first sight.[5] The few settlers that arrived from southern areas received support from the local Sámi. Both groups maintained amicable relations and relied on each other in mutual dependence. Farmers had reindeer in the care of Sámi herders, who used giving reindeer to settled farmers as a way to get them invested in reindeer husbandry and prevent tensions.[6] This so-called *skötesrensystem* served as a uniting bond between the two groups and minimized conflict as it created mutual dependences and trust.[7]

Conflicts between the herding and the non-herding inhabitants started to arise more frequently when other forms of land use grew in scale and intensity during the 19th and 20th centuries. When other opportunities to make a living arose, the two groups gradually started to grow independent of each other. In order to solve conflicts between herders and settled farmers, the Swedish state implemented several reindeer grazing laws in 1886, 1898 and 1928. Public investigations reports (SOUs) which served as basis for new legislation, and their ensuing laws are particularly interesting sources in this regard, since they reflect the attitudes and main concerns of the state authorities that had to balance the different land-use interests. The reindeer grazing laws of the late 19th and early 20th century described the Sámis' reindeer herding rights as a "privilege".[8] Even in retrospect, a public investigation report from the 1980s interpreted them as tools to support and protect reindeer herding Sámi.[9] This view was not necessarily shared among all Sámi. Their perspective becomes evident in the Sámi quarterly newspaper *Samefolkets Egen Tidning,* whose editor described the efforts to reform reindeer-herding legislation as "investigations

concerning the encounter of two cultures, reindeer husbandry and settled agriculture." The task of new reindeer herding legislation was "to bridge the divide between these two vastly different livelihoods" especially with regard to "the fact that one livelihood has to be limited and give way for the other".[10] In 1939, former herder Torkel Larsson Krojk, interviewed by the SET, stated that "the reindeer grazing laws have always more or less restricted [reindeer herding] in favor of farming, since farming feeds more people than reindeer herding does, and the latter therefore has to give way for more expedient ways of using the land."[11] Larsson Krojk had served in a previous state-appointed expert committee concerning the Sámi and reindeer herding. He had given up herding in favor for farming and drew attention to the fact that herding had become subject to ever-increasing restrictions, as well as the state's failure to recognize that many Sámi transitioned to other livelihoods because of that.

Apart from expanding farming, forestry became a more and more industrialized enterprise since the 1850s, hydropower in the early twentieth century, and large-scale industrial mining took off with the mines in Kiruna and Gällivare around the same period.[12] All these activities led to a workforce inflow that made Sámi herders a minority in the region.[13]

These developments had a profound impact on reindeer herders all over Swedish Sápmi. Together with their reindeer, they used areas that overlapped with other forms of land use. Farming, mining, hydropower and forestry took place on or close to reindeer grazing areas. At a time in which enthusiasm for modern forms of resource exploitation and notions of cultural hierarchies were prevalent, reindeer husbandry was expected to give way to industries that ostensibly served the greater good of the nation.

At the same time, it was supposed to be protected and preserved wherever possible. The reindeer grazing acts laid out when and in which areas reindeer herding could take place. As the title suggests, Sámi land rights did not center on the land that would provide grazing, but instead on the reindeer that would graze. The reindeer grazing acts thus gave Sámi herders carefully delineated rights to graze their reindeer – not rights to the land itself.[14] The focus on reindeer grazing also meant that herders were allowed to use the land for grazing only. While reindeer herding previously constituted one of several ways for the Sámi to generate an income, Swedish reindeer grazing legislation did not acknowledge the diverse Sámi livelihoods and saw reindeer husbandry as a monoculture. To be sure, reindeer herding Sámi were still allowed to hunt and fish in their designated herding areas, but their primary income and subsistence was supposed to be generated through herding. This put the reindeer front and center in the Sámi economy in an unprecedented way, and turned it

into an exclusively Sámi animal. Furthermore, the grazing act of 1928 specified that only fully nomadic reindeer herders counted as Sámi with the right to herd. Sámi who had started farming or who primarily lived from fishing or hunting were excluded from the then so-called *Lapp*-category and their Sámi identity made invisible , for instance when they were moved into the category "Swede" or "settler" (*bofast*) in church registers.[15]

Initially, reindeer continued to play an important role for settled farmers as well, either because they owned *skötesrenar* they left in the care of Sámi herders, or because they – illegally – took care of their reindeer themselves.[16] When the government prepared new legislation in order to keep reindeer husbandry and other forms of land use separate from 1919 onwards, a so-called Lapp Committee travelled through parts of Swedish Sápmi and met with the local population. In the Muonio area, they met with locals in order to discuss the reindeer's role in the area: "When [the meeting's] chairperson asked, 'is it really necessary for settlers to own reindeer?', the discussion became lively. It was clear that opinions differed and this was a sensitive issue [...] Some claim that many do not have enough pastures to feed a horse, and that the small farms only can afford draft reindeer [...]"[17]. Others highlighted that not-yet frozen swamp areas did not carry horses, so that reindeer were the only alternative to reach more remote meadows when it was time for the hay harvest in fall.

Farmers used reindeer as draught animals, including timber transport, as well as additional source of animal protein and were unwilling to give up reindeer ownership.[18] Some years later, the state imposed a monopoly on reindeer ownership and henceforth only Sámi could own the animals – with the exception of some so-called concession areas where non-Sámi could own a limited number of reindeer, but had to leave them in the care of Sámi herders. This legal restriction was resented by the farmers, and although it was intended to protect Sámi economic interests, it inadvertently pitted farmers and reindeer herders against each other and created greater dichotomies. In an article in the Sámi newspaper *SET*, a local priest argued that "stripping settlers of the right to own reindeer had deprived them of important economic assets and weakened the feeling of loyalty between reindeer herders and settlers."[19] Prohibiting farmers from owning reindeer had led to "bitterness" and "vexation" among them and turned them against herders.[20] The monopoly remained, and when a Swede who had worked for Sámi herders and applied for herding rights in the early 1940s, he was denied them in court.[21]

Unruly – Turning reindeer into trespassers

In Sweden, the reindeer's movements became heavily regulated. When arable land rose in demand during the 19th and 20th century, tensions between farmers and reindeer herders rose. One attempt to mitigate conflicts was the establishment of the so-called Lapp Administration in the 1870s, whose Lapp Bailiffs were tasked to both control and represent reindeer herders.[22] In the coming decades, the state authorities saw a growing need to regulate the reindeer's movements.[23] One attempt to prevent the simultaneous use of land by farming and herding was setting up the Cultivation Border (*Odlingsgräns* in Swedish). Since its establishment in 1867, it constituted a dividing line across the counties of Norrbotten and Västerbotten: The northwestern part was primarily reserved for herding, and the eastern section became assigned to agricultural use. The latter gradually became the private property of farmers, while the former remained in the state's ownership. On the land above the Cultivation Border, some hunting and fishing was permitted, but the primary source of income was supposed to be reindeer husbandry. The area was envisioned as exclusive herding land, which was problematic for several reasons. Sámi spokesperson Elsa Laula Renberg pointed out that many Sámi had mixed economies as the basis for their subsistence, for example by combining farming, herding, hunting and trading.[24] This multifaceted set of economic practices has formed the basis of diverse Sámi livelihoods and has a long tradition in the Fennoscandian Arctic – historically, herders did not rely on just one source of income and subsistence alone.[25] Limiting their land use rights to herding was impractical and did not reflect their lived reality. Apart from that, the establishment of new farms did occur on this side of the Cultivation Border, so that it failed to fulfill its intended function of separating the two forms of land use.

The reindeer grazing law of 1898 included the Cultivation Border as a tool to avoid conflict between reindeer husbandry and farming.[26] It permitted year-round reindeer herding northwest of (or above) the Border and on some crown-owned lands southeast of it (below it). Year-round herding was also permitted in some – but not all – areas which had traditionally been used for herding. To complicate matters more, a process called *Avvittring*, which can be loosely translated as Partition, taking place in the 19th century also had an impact on where and when reindeer herding was supposed to take place. In a nutshell, the Partition separated privately owned land from crown land.[27] The combination of these regulations determined in detail where reindeer could legally move and graze over the course of the year. Year-round grazing lands where open to them at all times, as the name suggests. Access to other traditional grazing

grounds were seasonally restricted. Usually reindeer could graze in these areas from October/ November through April, when they were expected to start moving towards their calving lands and further to the mountain areas to stay there over the summer.[28]

Since some herds crossed national borders as part of their seasonal migrations, regulations concerning their movements were not limited to Swedish territory. Especially herding communities from the northwestern border areas used to move to their traditional summer grazing lands in Norway every spring and returned to Sweden in the fall. Migrations to eastern grazing areas in Finland and Russia had largely ceased in the 19th century, but some routes to Norwegian pastures led over Finnish territory and were hence addressed in an agreement between Sweden and Finland.[29] Swedish reindeer were not always welcome guests in Norway, however. To ease tensions and complaints from the local population in Norway, the governments of the two countries repeatedly tried to negotiate cross-border grazing issues. In 1919, a new grazing convention between Norway and Sweden added yet another layer to the legal framework of grazing legislation.[30] Many herders on the Swedish side of the border lost their right to summer grazing in Norway in the wake of the convention. Others saw their rights severely restricted. Summer grazing became generally limited to the months of May through September, with few exceptions. The new convention specified in great detail how many people were allowed to follow along with the reindeer, when they had to give notice about their travel plans, where they could move, and how many reindeer were allowed entry.[31] The loss of access to their traditional grazing lands in Norway forced many herders to keep their reindeer within Sweden, with crowding and overgrazing as a result. Consequently, the state carried out forced relocations and moved herds of reindeer and their owners to more southern herding districts. The relocated herders applied different herding methods than the old-established herders of the area, causing persisting tensions between the two groups.[32]

These laws and regulations did not succeed to keep the reindeer in its place. Instead, they turned the reindeer into a trespasser. The detailed restrictions set reindeer and their owners up for failure to comply. In practice, reindeer herds were not as easy to direct and control as the grazing and border acts anticipated. Weather, snow, predation and grazing conditions had a great impact on the reindeer's movement and behavior. Strong winds or bad grazing could cause previously gathered herds to spread out or move into the wrong direction. Predators could cause panic and scatter herds. Long winters and lasting snow convers sometimes delayed the spring migration, just as sudden temperature drops could cause herds to return to the fall and winter lands earlier than usual. For herders,

these shifting herding conditions were not new. They used to retrieve strayed reindeer through regular gathering round-ups, *renskiljningar*, a few times per year, and knew that they would lose some reindeer to predation or disease. Independent, mobile reindeer that went their own way were nothing out of the ordinary, and herders worked together in order to bring back reindeer to their owners with the help of the animals' earmarks. They used to adjust to the conditions at hand, but each new layer of legislation further curtailed their leeway for swift adaptation. The detailed restrictions to their grazing made the reindeer intruders when they were in the wrong place – or in the right place, but at the wrong time. On their fall migrations, reindeer could turn into hay-thieves when crossing farmlands.[33] As a result, resentments grew, and farmers as well as local authorities started to file complaints and fine herders for the damages caused by their reindeer, and for their unauthorized presence. The reindeer herding governing body in Norway used to address its compensation claim for unauthorized grazing to its Swedish equivalent, which in turn recovered these costs from the Swedish reindeer herding districts. Forced slaughter or the shooting of reindeer served as a last resort and was not frequently applied, but constituted a powerful threat for its violent potential nonetheless: where the reindeer refused to give way, it could be forcefully removed.

All of the legislation mentioned above was based on an imagined ideal of fully nomadic herders with small, closely controlled herds – a form of herding referred to as intensive herding. In practice, not all reindeer herders lived fully nomadic lives (especially not the forest Sámi), and many herders had adopted an extensive form of herding with larger, more loosely controlled herds. In this regard, the body of legislation governing reindeer husbandry in the late 19th and early 20th century did not reflect the lived reality of most herders. Their practical herding conditions were ignored. The grazing laws and conventions sought to restore a state of reindeer husbandry that might have been considered ideal from the standpoint of non-herders, but that hardly had existed in practice.

Meaty – Imagining a modernized reindeer

As a result of the growing presence of farming and various forms of industrial land use in the Swedish Arctic, former reindeer grazing lands became inscribed with new meaning and embedded in new social and economic relations. The same started to apply to the reindeer itself. Around the mid-20th century, a new image of the ideal reindeer arose. After World War II, reindeer herders in Sweden were no longer called

nomads, but entrepreneurs. Reindeer herding was supposed to rationalize and become more profitable, an industry like any other.

Several committees investigated the need and possibilities for improved housing and overall living conditions for Sámi herders. Previous thinking patterns had sought to keep Sámi herders separate from mainstream society. Among other things, proponents of the formerly widespread "Lapp shall remain Lapp" principle sought to coerce Sámi herders into a nomadic lifestyle as to prevent them from being "spoilt" by the comfort of civilization and neglect their reindeer as a result. In the post-war period, such notions gave way to endeavours to integrate herders into "the people's home", or *folkhemmet,* of the Swedish state – no longer overtly racist, but arguably still carrying strong paternalistic undertones. Reform efforts in the 1940s included providing easier access to permanent housing – hence abandoning the prior ideal of a nomadic lifestyle –, but also urges to reduce the number of reindeer to "rational" numbers to avoid overgrazing and too large, uncontrollable herds.[34]

Later public investigations went beyond a mere focus on the number of reindeer and considered herd compositions in terms of gender, age and reproductive capacity. A more pronounced entrepreneurial view on reindeer husbandry brought along a new focus on the reindeer and its primary function. Many herding families started to use motorized transport to reach their seasonal grazing grounds. A limited number of herders travelled with the reindeer, increasingly using snow mobiles or all-terrain vehicles in their work, while the rest of the family travelled by car or train.[35] This development made the strong, tame castrates previously used as draught animals redundant, and a growing number of herders felt that "the old nomadism is a thing of the past".[36] The majestic oxen were a treasured source of pride to their owners, but gradually lost their purpose. In the eyes of reform-driven agronomists outside of the Sámi community, they became a liability which herders should get rid off.[37] A new combination of external experts – among them representatives of the Board of Agriculture, agronomists, and veterinarians – started to advise herders from the 1950s onwards to concentrate fully on as efficient reindeer meat production as possible. The Lapp Administration's newly established reindeer research division put forward several scientific proposals to modernize reindeer herding in order to turn it into a more competitive and profitable industry.[38] From their perspective, the state of the reindeer was one of degeneration: too meagre, too sickly, an inferior breed unable to provide their owners with a decent living wage, in urgent need of improvement.[39] Representatives of the National Association of Swedish Sámi (*Svenska Samernas Riksförbund, SSR*) pointed out that the reindeer in their view was not at all degenerated, but adapted to its environment – but to

little avail.[40] The image of the degenerated reindeer prevailed and shaped the subsequent work of reindeer-related authorities like the Board of Agriculture and the Lapp Administration.

According to the Reindeer Investigation report of 1960, reindeer husbandry was in a serious state of crisis, an underdeveloped industry requiring substantial rationalization efforts.[41] The attested modernization needs did not exist in a vacuum, but were closely related to the growing infringements by industries like industrial forestry, hydropower and mining projects. Very much in line with the logic of extractivism and its taken for granted right of way, none of the contemporary parties involved questioned that reindeer herding had to give way to resource extracting industries.[42] In order to survive despite of the ostensibly inevitable, growing encroachments on grazing areas, reindeer husbandry had to use the remaining grazing areas as efficiently as possible and achieve the highest possible prices for their reindeer products.[43] The survival strategy public expert committees suggested was for reindeer husbandry to start behaving like any other industry. According to this logic, rationalizing the reindeer had the potential to integrate the formerly segregated Sámi herders into the Swedish welfare state by helping them to become profitable entrepreneurs.

In the rationalization rhetoric of the 1960s, reindeer became a production unit whose function and performance had to be optimized. Each reindeer using the precious grazing areas had to be worth the space, time and work it took and generate a return of investment in the form of high-quality meat. The reindeer research division sought ways to protect reindeer from diseases and aimed to further selective breeding of fast-growing, heavy and meaty reindeer. Obsolete castrates and older females were supposed to give way for calve-producing ones and their fast-growing offspring. Apart from the interest in breeding, the work at the reindeer research stations in Kuolpavare and Serrijaure focused on the development of supplementary feeding and means to protect reindeer from skin- and price-damaging parasites.[44]

The rationalization period turned the reindeer into an object for techno-scientific improvement. In the words of the Board of Agriculture's director, "the main task of the reindeer is to produce meat."[45] Herders were therefore supposed to produce "fast-growing herds" yielding the "highest possible meat-output."[46] Yet, once again the unruly reindeer did not perform as envisioned. The free-ranging animals of the research stations failed to show up, died or did not respond to the experiments as intended.[47] Reports from the research stations bear witness to the difficulties to develop supplementary feeding that the reindeer and their sensitive digestive system tolerated. The reindeer did not evolve into meatier versions of themselves, and their slaughter weight did not increase. Neither did herd

compositions change as radically as proposed, because herders took factors into account that went beyond meat production: they worked to uphold healthy herd dynamics that required a diverse set of animals with different functions in the herd in order to enhance its survival prospects in harsh winters.[48] At a time when Sweden experienced its high industrial period, the new ideals of large-scale industrial production proved difficult to implement in reindeer husbandry.[49] A substantial transformation of the reindeer into meat-machines did not materialize as rationalization proponents had envisioned. But even though previous efforts to exert greater control over the reindeer's movements and body were of very modest success, many processes in reindeer husbandry were modernized, including the handling, marketing and sale of reindeer products that gradually became more accessible throughout the country.

Vulnerable – reindeer in the aftermath of the Chernobyl nuclear fallout

The efforts to make the reindeer itself and reindeer meat production more predictable faced an abrupt and unprecedented challenge with the Chernobyl nuclear accident of 1986. A few days after the nuclear meltdown in late April, wind-carried radioactive particles rained down and contaminated the ground in several Swedish counties. The level of pollution varied, and reindeer herding areas in the northern counties belonged to the more severely affected parts of the country. Along with the Swedish Radiation Protection Agency (*Statens Strålskyddsinstitut*), there were three authorities that played a central role in dealing with the consequences for reindeer husbandry: The Board of Agriculture (*Lantbruksstyrelsen*), the National Food Agency (*Statens Livsmedelsverk,* SLV) and the Swedish University of Agriculture (*Sveriges Lantbruksuniversitet*, SLU). The latter two embarked on an extensive sampling program in order to detect radiation levels in Swedish foodstuffs, including reindeer meat.[50] They lay their main focus on the levels of the carcinogenic cesium-137 which was the main contributor to the nuclear contamination in Sweden. Its concentration was measured in becquerel (bq), and with a half-life of 30 years, cesium-137 disintegrated slower than other isotopes.[51] To find a threshold level in order to separate safe from unsafe food was difficult and a matter of assessing risks. Different countries applied different so-called action levels for cesium-137 concentration. The Swedish Radiation Protection Agency lowered its action levels several times and finally recommended a level of 300bq cesium per kilogram for food, meaning that all food containing higher becquerel levels was deemed unfit for consumption and had to be discarded.[52] The reindeer in several herding areas exceeded this action

level by far. Samples taken in the counties of Västerbotten, Jämtland and Västernorrland in May 1986 showed cesium-137 levels between 2,000 and 15,000 bq per kilogram (bq/kg).[53] This made the reindeer a victim of exogenous pollution, but also a toxic animal. Cesium-137 pollution in Swedish Sápmi was not unprecedented. It occurred in the 1960s as a result of nuclear bomb testing in the Soviet Union and was known to radiation surveilling authorities, but did not lead to the same monitoring measures at the time. When reindeer in the only mildly Chernobyl-affected Norrbotten county were examined, 40 per cent of the cesium-137 in their bodies stemmed from fallouts in the 1960s.[54] It had been forgotten until the Chernobyl accident brought a new level of attention to matters of nuclear contamination. The difference was a much greater geographical area of exposure with an ensuing high media attention, together with a lower tolerance of risk on the societal level.[55]

In the immediate aftermath of the Chernobyl nuclear accident, the Swedish government and the SLV advised against the consumption of freshwater fish, moose and reindeer meat, wild berries and mushrooms – all of which foods that many Sámi herding families used to fish, hunt and harvest on their grazing lands and therefore constituted important parts of their diet. The new dietary recommendations caused the market for reindeer products to collapse, despite the fact that reindeer meat available for sale during and after the fallout was from the previous slaughter season of fall/winter 1985 and early spring 1986, and hence unpolluted.

While the rationalization efforts beginning in the 1950s exhibited an intensified scrutiny of the reindeer's body, the Chernobyl nuclear fallout took this development to new levels. In the summer of 1986, the SLV approached reindeer as a national health hazard and banned all commercial slaughter in fallout-affected regions until further notice.[56] Reindeer herders did not know whether their fall slaughter would be cancelled, and dystopian visions of reindeer mass graves circulated among them. In the herding district of Malå, this scenario materialized and slaughtered reindeer were buried.[57] Other herding districts started to look for suitable burial sites. Ambitions to increase the predictability and control over the reindeer had failed again, and previous dreams of more industrialized reindeer meat production were replaced by nightmares of discarded piles of reindeer carcasses in the ground.

The period of uncertainty ended with the Board of Agriculture's decision to compensate reindeer herders for their loss of income due to the nuclear fallout's consequences and to help navigate the new situation. Herders received compensation payments for discarded slaughter animals and financial support for other adjustments. The latter included earlier slaughters, before the reindeer started to graze cesium-enriched lichen and

mushrooms in the fall, and help with the expenses for supplementary feeding.[58] Almost all slaughter animals were sampled. The means of controlling the reindeer's body moved under its skin. Animals exceeding the becquerel threshold level came to serve as animal feed on fur farms.[59] In fall 1986, around 70 per cent of the slaughtered animals were discarded, while the rest was approved for commercial sale. The close monitoring of cesium levels went on until the action level for reindeer meat was raised to 1,500 bq/kg in May 1987. In the following years, cesium levels decreased through grazing and feeding adjustments including supplementary feeding, but spot checking reindeer had become a routine that stayed in the post-Chernobyl period.[60]

In the committees they were part of and in the Sámi newspaper *Samefolket*, reindeer herders voiced their frustration. They saw several layers of vulnerability that the reindeer, and with it the entire practice of reindeer husbandry, were exposed to. The most obvious was the animal's exposure to pollution from industrial society, of which the Chernobyl radioactive contamination was an extreme expression. Another factor was the misinformation about the safety of reindeer meat consumption spread by the government and the SLV at the outset of the crisis, seen by many herders as fear-mongering that discredited safe reindeer meat and destroyed its marketability for years to come. Practitioners of reindeer herding also felt vulnerable to government decisions they perceived as arbitrary and ill-informed. The cautionary measures were merited by the circumstances, but nevertheless demonstrated a lack of understanding for the cultural meaning of herding practices. When children were advised to stay away from reindeer round-ups, an important opportunity for teaching the young generation was lost.[61] Reindeer herding families sent reindeer intended for household consumption to local slaughterhouses in order to have them tested for cesium levels. The cleared carcasses came back in a partially processed state and lacked blood and intestines that would have been used in traditional household slaughter.

The new procedures served to make consumption of reindeer products safe, but jeopardized the practice of traditional slaughter and risked the loss of traditional knowledge.[62] Previous direct access to traditional foodstuff like reindeer meat, freshwater fish, mushrooms and wild berries now required an intermediary testing institution to determine whether the food was safe to eat or not. This made it difficult for herding families to keep their traditional, distinct food culture. A few months after the radioactive fallout, representatives of Västerbotten's county administrative board and researchers initiated a series of meetings with a number of reindeer herding families from Jämtland and Västerbotten in Stekenjokk.[63]The families highlighted the reindeer's importance for their way of

life, the sense of connection to their Sámi identity, and the transfer of traditional knowledge between generations. "The Sámi food culture is different from the Swedish. We eat a lot of fish, reindeer meat, berries, and other things that we get from our pantry: nature around us [...] The reindeer and the family belong together and share the risks after Chernobyl."[64] The Chernobyl radioactive fallout was hence not only a severe setback to the ambitions of making reindeer husbandry a modern, profitable enterprise. It also threatened the preservation of traditional Sámi food culture. At the same time, this crisis may have served as a wake-up call that strengthened the awareness of the Sámi food culture's unique characteristics and fragility. In order to preserve it, the reindeer as its cornerstone needed to be protected as well.

Sovereign? Towards an embodiment of self-determination and revitalized Sámi food culture

The call to protect the reindeer and to acknowledge its key role for honoring and preserving traditional Indigenous knowledge has also been a cornerstone of the Slow Food Sápmi (SFS) movement that emerged in the 2000s. It picks up several of the themes brought up by herders and other Sámi representatives during and after the nuclear contamination period in the late 1980s, including vulnerability and the need to protect the traditional Sámi food culture. But it also provides a new discursive space in which traditions do not need to be static, but can be dynamic and evolve into new forms. By the same token, SFS offers a new vision of both the reindeer and the products it provides, summarized as "Good, clean and fair". The slogan has been coined by the international Slow Food movement, a grassroot organization working to prevent the disappearance of local food cultures. The food it works to preserve is "good" because it is nutritious and of high quality, "clean" due to its environmentally friendly production, and "fair" because it is both affordable and providing fair pay to producers.[65]

Since 2009 Slow Food Sápmi is a convivium, a local chapter of the Slow Food organization and associated with the National Association of the Swedish Sámi, SSR. In 2012 the latter two, together with the Sámi Education Centre and the Swedish Sámi Parliament, created a joint Sámi Food Vision which claims the right to Sámi food sovereignty – the right to produce culturally appropriate food using Sámi traditional knowledge – and highlights the linkage between power over food production and self-determination.[66]

The Sámi organizations' rhetoric of celebrating traditional Sámi food culture is both a marketing tool and a political message. Since they receive

public funding and especially the Sámi Parliament carries a double function as both a Sámi representative body and a Swedish public authority, Sámi organizations in Sweden are not completely independent from the state.[67] In their capacity as public authorities or recipients of funding for rural development, they work to support reindeer herders as small-scale food producers in a practical, tangible way. On the other hand, they are also part of a larger, international discourse of Indigenous (land) rights – for instance expressed through the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), the call to ratify ILO169 and other international conventions. In this capacity, they employ the reindeer's need to undisturbed grazing lands in order to criticize the Swedish state's lack of willingness to recognize and protect Sámi land rights.

The Sámi interventions to the discourse form an antidote to previous preoccupations with efficiency and surveillance. The idea Slow Food Sápmi puts forward is one of a reindeer that does not need to change its movements, behavior or shape. It does not need to restrict its mobility, because the land belongs to the reindeer, and the reindeer belongs to the land. It does not need to become meatier, because it carefully selects its grazing choosing herbs, grass and mushrooms, all of which makes its meat superior and "particularly rich in iron selenium and calcium, as well as A-, B-, C. and E-vitamins."[68] The reindeer transforms raw material into an excellent product, and works perfectly well as it is. This applies not just to the reindeer, but also to other animal species and plants that form the diverse basis for traditional Sámi diets.[69] The only thing it needs is to be protected from human disturbances in the form of pollution and resource exploitation taking place in reindeer country. It does not need more human interference, but less of it. This is one of the key arguments expressed through SFS' printed material, its 'Taste of Sápmi' cookbook and events.[70] Slow Food Sápmi uses storytelling to emphasize the reindeer's attachment to its traditional lands, grazing grounds it depends on for its subsistence. It celebrates authentic traditional methods of food preparation using local ingredients and promotes Sámi dishes like *Gurpi* (cold-smoked, traditionally prepared minced reindeer meat) and *Suovas* (smoked reindeer meat). In doing so, the actors involved need to strike a balance between promoting the revival and celebration of Sámi products and essentializing them.[71] After a long period of absence, SFS reintroduces Sámi terms to reindeer products that used to be governed by Swedish principles of productiveness, hygiene and scientific expertise. By embedding reindeer meat in the context of the Sámi struggle for the recognition of their Indigenous rights, the reindeer becomes a harbinger of an alternative future – it embodies the imaginary of potential for a new Sápmi. Even prior to the establishment of the SFS, the SSR harnessed the reindeer to

spread knowledge and shape public opinion, but Slow Food Sápmi provided an opportunity to create new momentum both for marketing reindeer products and raising awareness of current Sámi land-use struggles.[72]

Conclusion

Researchers have devoted a lot of attention to how the Arctic has been imagined and reimagined. Such discourses often oscillated between notions of exceptionalism, of conquering an alleged wilderness, modernizing or even civilizing its Indigenous population, seizing opportunities of scientific research and resource exploitation, or nightmares of geopolitical conflicts. This paper has shown that several of these classical traits have been projected onto the reindeer, too. In the late 19th and early 20th century, the reindeer was imagined as the only animal able to make productive use of remote, scarcely vegetated areas in the mountains of northern Sweden. This 'wilderness' was the place Swedish policymakers assigned to the reindeer, defining it as an exclusive Sámi animal that was supposed to be kept apart from the farming population. The reindeer's Sáminess was not a given, but a result of Swedish legislation. The Swedish state's reindeer grazing legislation turned reindeer husbandry from one source of subsistence among others in a diverse livelihood into the only legal basis of subsistence, almost idealizing a monoculture. Subsequently, the reindeer became a precondition for Sámi people to have their Sámi ethnic identity legally recognized. Until the latter half of the 20th century, the official recognition of their ethnic belonging hinged on their reliance on reindeer.

When competition for land intensified due to expanding farming and later industrial land use sectors, the reindeer was relegated to precisely defined, limited grazing areas. However, the reindeer's movements proved exceptionally difficult to control. The discourse of the reindeer therefore turned it into a trespasser that needed to be restrained. The imaginary of the unruly, trespassing reindeer and its ascribed exclusive Sáminess shared several common features – both were linked to notions of wilderness, the need to control and restrict, and to be kept apart from modern, mainstream society.

The challenge to control the reindeer did not just apply to its movements, but also to its body and physical features. In the mid-20th century, the Swedish state embarked on a mission to improve and modernize the reindeer, and its rationalization work reminded of a civilizing mission in a former wilderness. From a post-colonial perspective, the rhetoric of crisis and backwardedness employed by contemporaries, as well as the eagerness to bring progress and prosperity to Indigenous communities

allegedly lagging behind is typical for "research through imperial eyes".[73] The quest to bring modernity to imagined timeless Indigenous people is not unique to the Swedish Arctic, but has been observed in other Arctic Indigenous settings, too.[74] This paper has shown that reindeer were included and mobilized in this endeavor, although not necessarily with the intended consequences. The reindeer were not as easily malleable as envisioned, so that its previous perceptions as Sámi and unruly persisted alongside the new ideal image of a "modern" reindeer. It stood for an antipode to the old, un-modern, un-controllable reindeer of the past, and modernization efforts were geared to overcome ostensibly backwarded, outdated and inefficient Indigenous practices. In this regard, the modernization project in reindeer husbandry reflected the lingering notions of Swedish cultural and technological superiority. By subjecting the reindeer to Swedish processes of slaughter and meat-handling and declaring Sámi practices as unfit and inferior, the reindeer was supposed to leave the Sámi sphere of influence, its practices and traditions around food culture, and to enter the Swedish one – portrayed as modern, efficient, and clean – instead.

If the reindeer was exceptionally stubborn in its defiance of control and restrictions, the Chernobyl nuclear fallout proved that it was also exceptionally vulnerable. The consequences in the aftermath of the radioactive pollution were twofold: on one hand, the surveillance of the reindeer increased, as its grazing was carefully monitored as to avoid radioactive contamination. In the same vein, slaughter animals underwent extensive sampling in order to prevent toxic reindeer meat from entering the market. On the other hand, the debate about the detrimental effect of the nuclear accident to reindeer husbandry also led to a greater awareness of reindeer husbandry's vulnerability and the reindeer's key role in Sámi culture. Ensuing decades of growing cultural revitalization, including the calls for food sovereignty and Indigenous self-determination, also carried preservationist undertones that depicted the reindeer and its Arctic habitat as pristine, exceptional and in need of special protection. As Anka Ryall et. al argue, this discourse of Arctic exceptionalism and vulnerability is common for the Arctic:

> Typically, the Arctic is imagined as either an icy hell or an inhabitable paradise, the latter, very old conception re-emerging in environmentalist visions of an Arctic full of life – a life not threatened by the cold, the ice and the Winter dark, but by human influence [...] Taken together, such images become a consolidated, self-perpetuating vision, an "Arcticism" in line with Edward Said's concept of Orientalism. [75]

The different ideas of the reindeer – what it was, ought to be, or could become – are very much reflections of the changing prevalent *Zeitgeist* throughout the century, but as this paper has shown, some narrative tropes of such 'Arcticism' remain persistent.

Notes

1. Marianne Winther Jørgensen and Louise Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* (London: Sage Publications, 2002).

2. Winther Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis*; Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1969; London: Routledge, 2002).

3. Harriet Ritvo, "On the Animal Turn", *Daedalus* 136, no. 4 (2007), 118–122; Margo DeMello, *Animals and Society: An Introduction to Human-Animal Studies*, 2nd edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020).

4. This idea was expressed in the so-called parallel theory, *Parallelteorin*. Cf. Åsa Nordin, *Relationer i ett samiskt samhälle: En studie av skötesrensystemet i Gällivare socken under första hälften av 1900-talet* (Umeå: Umeå University, 2002), 43.

5. Nordin, "Relationer", 46.

6. Nordin, "Relationer".

7. Nordin, "Relationer", 67.

8. SOU 1927:25, Förslag angående de svenska lapparnas rätt till renbete i Sverige m.m. (Stockholm, 1927), 45. Refers to the "lappprivilegiet".

9. SOU 1986:36, *Samernas folkrättsliga ställning: Delbetänkande av samerättsutredning* (Stockholm, 1986), 61.

10. "Renbeteslagstiftningen föremål för prövning vid årets riksdag", *Samefolkets Egen Tidning* (*SET*) no. 1 (1928), 6.

11. "Intervjuer med renskötande samer som övergått till bofast levnadssätt", *SET* no. 2 (1939), 12.

12. Dag Avango, Jan Kunnas, Maria Pettersson, Örjan Pettersson et.al., "Constructing Northern Fennoscandia as a Mining Region" in *The Politics of Arctic Resources: Change and Continuity in the "Old North" of Northern Europe*, ed. by Carina Keskitalo (London/New York: Routledge, 2019), 78–98.

13. Per Axelsson and Christina Storm Mienna, "Health and Physical Wellbeing of the Sámi People" in *Routledge Handbook of Indigenous Wellbeing*, eds. Christopher Fleming and Matthew Manning (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 13–22, 15.

14. Corinna Röver, "Making Reindeer: The Negotiation of an Arctic Animal in Modern Swedish Sápmi, 1920–2020" (PhD diss., KTH Royal Institute of Technology, 2021), 49; this observation was also pointed out in *SET* no. 4 (1919), 22.

15. Per Axelsson, "In the National Registry, All People are Equal" in *Indigenous Peoples and Demography: The Complex Relation between Identity and Statistics*, eds. Per Axelsson and Peter Sköld (New York/Oxford: Berghahn 2011), 117–134.

16. Nordin, "Relationer", 110.

17. "Intryck från Lappkommitténs resor i sommar", 26.

18. "Intryck från Lappkommitténs resor i sommar", 23.

19. Röver, "Making Reindeer", 55.

20. "Renskötselproblemet i Norrbotten", *SET* no. 1 (1930), 2.

21. "Svensken fick avslag", *SET* no. 1 (1941), 3.

22. Patrik Lantto, *Lappväsendet: Tillämpningen av svensk samepolitik 1885–1971* (Umeå: Centre for Sámi Research, Umeå University, 2012).

23. SOU 2006:14, *Samernas sedvanemarker: Betänkande av gränsdragningskommissionen för renskötselområdet* (Stockholm 2006), 34.

24. Elsa Laula Renberg, *Inför lif eller död? Sanningsord i de lappska förhållandena* (Stockholm, 1904). Her call for approval of more diverse forms of land use on herding lands remained disregarded.

25. Ivar Björklund, "Domestication, Reindeer Husbandry and the Development of Sámi Pastoralism", *Acta Borealia* 30, no. 2 (2013): 174–189; Isabelle Brännlund, "Diverse Sámi Livelihoods: A Comparative Study of Livelihoods in Mountain-Reindeer Husbandry Communities in Swedish Sápmi 1860–1920", *Journal of Northern Studies* 12, no. 2 (2018), 37–62.

26. SFS 1898:66, *Lag om de svenska lapparnas rätt till renbete i Sverige* (Stockholm, 1898).

27. The Partition process started in Jämtland in 1821 and in 1873 in Norrbotten and Västerbotten. Lantto, *Lappväsendet,* 37.

28. This applied to mountain reindeer husbandry, but not to forest herding. Mountain herding was seen as the ideal and legislation tended to not take into account other forms of herding.

29. Konvention mellan Sverige och Finland angående renar i gränsområdena, *Sveriges överenskommelser med främmande makter* no. 1 (Helsinki, 1925).

30. Konvention mellan Sverige och Norge angående flyttlapparnas rätt till renbetning, *Sveriges överenskommelser med främmande makter* no. 5 (Kristiania 1919). Prior to these conventions, the "Lapp Codicil" of 1751 had guaranteed the Sámi right to cross-border reindeer grazing. Cf. Thomas Cramér and Lilian Ryd, *Tusen år i Lappmarken: Juridik, skatter, handel och storpolitik* (Skellefteå: Ord & visor, 2012), 57f.

31. Lennart Berglöf, *De svenska nordlapparnas flyttningar till Norge: Handbok rörande bestämmelserna i Renbeteskonventionen den 5 februari 1919 och därå grundade svenska författningar* (Stockholm 1923); Lennart Berglöf, *Om den rätt till renbetning i Norge som tillkommer lappar i Jämtlands och Västerbottens län samt Norrbottens län söder om Torneträsk: Handbok rörande bestämmelserna i renbeteskonventionen den 5 februari 1919 och därå grundade svenska författningar* (Stockholm, 1923).

32. Patrik Lantto, "The Consequences of State Intervention: Forced Relocations and Sámi Rights in Sweden, 1919–2012", *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics* 8, no. 2 (2014), 53–73.

33."Brev från Malå", *SET* no. 1, 1919, 2. In the Sámi newspaper, herders frequently mentioned the files and claims they were confronted with. For example, the herding district of Malå had been claimed to pay 3000 Swedish crowns in damages to local farmers.

34. SOU 1942:41, *Åtgärder till stöd för de renskötande Lapparna m.m.* (Stockholm, 1942).

35. Pertti J. Pelto, *The Snowmobile Revolution: Technology and Social Change in the Arctic* (Menlo Park, CA, 1973). According to Israel Ruong, the harsh winter of 1934/35 also contributed to the end of draught animals. Many of them died during that winter, and transport took more and more place via train, car and snowmobile. Israel Ruong, *Samerna i historien och nutid*, 4th edition (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1982).

36. "Sameungdomens bildningstörst – ett löftesrikt livstecken", *SETg* no. 3 (1941), 19. An exception to this development were some herding districts in the Sarek massif, where draught reindeer were used until the 1960s. Cf. Ruong, *Samerna*, 78–80.

37. Agronomist Sven Persson drives this argumentation in a course book for reindeer herders. *Ekonomisk renskötsel: Godkänd av Kungliga Lantbruksstyrelsen: En kursbok från LTK* (Stockholm: Lantbrukssällskapets Tidskriftsaktiebolag, 1966), 147.

38. Folke Skuncke, *Rennäringens ekonomi: Skötsel, avkastning och markvärden*, Lappväsendet – Renforskningen, Meddelanden no. 9 (Uppsala, 1964).

39. Folke Skuncke, *Om möjligheterna att förbättra metoderna för renskötseln,* Lappväsendet – Renforskningen, Meddelanden no. 2. (Danderyd: Renforskningen, 1953).

40. "SSR:s utlåtande om Renutredningens betänkande 'Renskötsels organisation och renprodukternas Marknadsförande" in *Protokoll från Svenska Samernas Riksförbunds Landsmöte 1960: Extra Landsmöte i Jokkmokk 26–27 september 1960*, Appendix A2, Svenska Samernas Riksförbund (Umeå: Svenska Samernas Riksförbund, 1960).

41. Renutredningen, *Renskötselns organisation och renprodukternas marknadsförande: Betänkande avgivet av Renutredningen* (Stockholm: Jordbruksdepartementet, 1960).

42. Regarding modern Arctic Extractivism, see Sverker Sörlin, Brigt Dale, Arn Keeling, and Joan Nymand Larsen, "Patterns of Arctic Extractivism: Past and Present" in *Resource Extraction and Arctic Communities: The New Extractivist Paradigm*, ed. Sverker Sörlin (Cambridge University Press, 2023), E-book, DOI: 10.1017/9781009110044.

43. SOU 1966:12, *Renbetesmarkerna: Betänkande avgivet av Renbetesmarksutredningen* (Stockholm 1966).

44. Renforskningsutredningen, *Renforskningens organisation: Betänkande avgivet av Reforskningsutredningen* (Luleå: Jordbruksdepartementet, 1960).

45. Walter Johansson, "Rationella rennäringsföretag", *Samefolket* (*Sf*, previously called *Samefolkets Egen Tidning*, *SET*) no. 12, 1965, 188–191.

46. Johansson, "Rationella rennäringsföretag".

47. Veterinary Magnus Nordkvist, "Hjälputfordring av renar", December 1959, Handlingar angående renforskningar 1958–61, FXIV:1, Lappfogden i Norrbottens Södra Distrikt Arkiv, Landsarkivet i Härnösand.

48. Nikolaus Kuhmunen, *Renskötseln i Sverige förr och nu* (Umeå: Svenska Samernas Riksförbund, 2000); Apmut Ivar Kuoljok, *Mitt liv som renskötare* (Skellefteå: Ord & visor, 2007); Erik S. Reinert et.al, "Adapting to Climate Change in Sámi Reindeer Herding: The Nation-State as Problem and Solution" in *Adapting to Climate Change: Thresholds, Values, Governance*, eds. Neil Adger, Irene Lorenzoni, and Karen L. O'Brien (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

49. Maths Isacson, *Industrisamhället Sverige: Arbete, ideal och kulturarv* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2007), 25–35. Isacson places the high industrial period in Sweden between 1930 and 1980.

50. Minnesanteckningar no. 2, 2 June 1986, Minnesanteckningar Tjerngruppen, 1986, Tjerngruppen Nr. 1–99, Handlingar rörande Tjernobyl, SLV Arkiv, F4 A:1 (Hereafter referred to as Chern-Group meeting minutes).

51. Lennart Sjöberg, *Countermeasures to the Chernobyl Accident in the Nordic Countries: Public Reactions* (Stockholm: Center for Risk Research, Stockholm School of Economics, 1998), 4f. The other monitored isotopes were iodine, strontium, cesium-134 and plutonium.

52. Chern-Group meeting minutes, Permanent Nordic Committee on Food and Nutrition Policy (PNUN) meeting, held at SLV on 18 June 1986, SLV Archive, F4 I:1, Informationsmaterial 1986–1988, Publikationer om Tjernobyl 1986–1988.

53. Chern-Group meeting minutes no. 5, 5 June 1986.

54. Birgitta Åhman, *Utveckling, övervakning och åtgärder när det gäller radioaktivt cesium*

i renar efter Tjernobylolyckan, SSI Rapport no. 17 (Stockholm: Statens Strålskyddsinstitut, 2005), 2.

55. Ulrich Beck, *Risikogesellschaft: Auf dem Weg in eine andere Moderne* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1986).

56. Chern-Group meeting minutes no. 5, 5 June 1986.

57. *Samefolket* no. 8, 1986.

58. LBS Allmänna råd 1986:3. Ersättning på grund av radioaktivt nedfall. LBS föreskrifter och kommentarer till förordningen (1986:621) om ersättning till jordbruks-, trädgårds- och renskötselföretag för kostnader och förluster på grund av radioaktivt nedfall (Jönköping 1986).

59. Chern-Group meeting minutes no. 46, 4 August 1986, and meeting no. 52, 11 August 1986.

60. Åhman, *Utveckling, övervakning och åtgärder*.

61. Länsstyrelsen i Västerbottens Län, *Rådslag Stekenjokk: Renen och familjen som sköter renarna efter det radioaktiva nedfallet* (Umeå: Länsstyrelsen i Västerbottens Län, 1986).

62. Hugh Beach, "Coping with the Chernobyl Disaster: A Comparison of Social Effects in Two Reindeer-Herding Areas", *Rangifer* Special Issue no. 3, Proceedings of the Fifth International Reindeer/Caribou Symposium, 1990, 28.

63. Länsstyrelsen i Västerbottens Län, *Rådslag Stekenjokk*.

64. Länsstyrelsen i Västerbottens Län, *Rådslag Stekenjokk*, 5.

65. Slow Food International: About Us, available at: https://www.slowfood.com/about-us/our-philosophy/ (accessed 15 February 2023).

66. Sametinget, "En samisk matvision" (Kiruna: Sametinget, 2012). Pdf available at https://www.sametinget.se/66819, (accessed 15 February 2023).

67. Rebecca Lawrence and Ulf Mörkenstam, "Självbestämmande genom myndighetsutövning?: Sametingets dubbla roller", *Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift* 114, no. 2 (2012): 207–239.

68. Slow Food Sápmi and SSR, "Gurpi," advertisement-flyer, 2018.

69. Markus Fjellström, "Food Cultures in Sápmi: An interdisciplinary approach to the study of the heterogeneous cultural landscape of northern Fennoscandia AD 600–1900" (PhD diss., Stockholm University, 2020).

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71. Amanda Green, "Indigenous reflexivity and resistance in global food activism: The case of Sápmi," *Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment* 26, no. 3 (2018), 176.

72. Svenska Samernas Riksförbund, Slutrapport: Projekt Marknadsinsatser för renkött 2002–2004, 12.

73. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd edition (London: Zed Books, 2012).

74. Bathsheba Demuth, "More Things on Heaven and Earth – Modernism and Reindeer in Chukotka and Alaska" in *Northscapes: History, Technology and the Making of Northern Environments*, eds. Dolly Jørgensen and Sverker Sörlin (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 174–194.

75. Anka Ryall, Johan Schimanski and Henning Howlid Waerp, "Arctic Discourses: An Introduction" in *Arctic Discourses*, eds. Anka Ryall, Johan Schimanski and Henning Howlid Waerp (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), x.

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