



LUND
UNIVERSITY

Sámi people belong in Umeå:

A qualitative research of institutions ontological security
provision for the Sámi community in Umeå

Alicia Barkström

Supervisor: Jens Bartelson

Major: Political Science

Words: 20 054

Acknowledgements

A special thank you to the participants that generously shared their experiences of being Sámi in Sweden. I would also like to thank those I reached out to who decided not to participate for their interest and suggestions of where to read up on Sámi politics and issues. You taught me a lot and are essential to the end result.

Abstract

For many years, indigeneity has been conceptualized as rural, making Indigenous communities and people in cities invisible globally. For the Sámi people, Europe's only indigenous people, security is mainly understood as physical-centering extraction and environmental degradation. Focusing on the urban Sámi community in Umeå in Sweden, cultural and political belonging in the city arises as vital in everyday life. Based on previous research, the roles of institutions in creating a sense of belonging are the focus of this research. The experience and construction of belonging is conceptualized through a decolonial reading of ontological security theory. Experiences and perspectives of the Sámi community in Umeå was gathered during an ethnographic fieldwork complemented by individual interviews and articles from local and national newspapers. The material was coded deductively and inductively using thematic analysis. Sâkhie Sámi Association, Umeå municipality, and the Swedish state were the primary ontological security providers. The role of the facilitator of ontological security is proposed to better understand relations in the networks of institutions that provide ontological security. Western-based universalist assumptions are critiqued as incompatible with the Sámi worldview. While institutions provide resources and spaces for the individuals' ontological security construction, the long-term solution for the Sámi people is the end of the main cause of ontological insecurity - colonialization.

Keywords: *Ontological security, Sámi, Identity, Belonging, Decolonial theory*

Table of contents

Acknowledgements.....	2
Abstract.....	2
1. Introduction	5
1.1 Research problem	7
2. Motivation.....	8
3. Previous research and background.....	10
3.1 Security Studies: Arctic Security.....	10
3.2 Indigenous Rights:.....	11
3.2.1 Right-to-the-city.....	11
3.2.2 Status quo in <i>Samepolitik</i>	13
3.3 Sámi identity	15
3.3.1 Understanding Sámi identity.....	15
3.3.2 Urban Sámi identity	16
4. Theory	18
4.1 Ontological security and Giddens	18
4.2 The integration of ontological security in IR and Security Studies	20
4.2.1 Ontological security: postcolonial or decolonial scholarship?	20
4.2.2 Ontological security: the function of the state	24
4.3 Home as belonging.....	26
4.4 Conceptualizing ontological security	28
5. Method & Material	29
5.1 Fieldwork site: Umeå/Ubmeje	29
5.2 Ethnographic fieldwork.....	31
5.3 Interviews.....	33
5.4 Written material.....	34
5.5 Thematic analysis	36
7. Ethics	38
7.1 Informed Consent	38
7.2 Anonymity.....	39
7.3 Reflexivity.....	39
8. Analysis.....	41
8.1. Building ontological security	41

8.1.1 Ontological security practices: Meeting places and routines	41
8.1.2 Borders and distance	44
8.2 Institutions	46
8.2.1 Såkhie	46
8.2.2 Umeå municipality	49
8.2.3 Collaborations among institutions	51
8.3 Colonialization and ontological (in)security	53
8.3.1 The Swedish state	53
8.3.2 Majority society	55
8.3.3 Experiencing ontological security	56
9. Discussion: The state of Umeå	58
9.1 Understanding the complex network of institutions	58
9.2 Broadening OST	61
9.3 Conclusion	64

1. Introduction

"Everyone knows that reindeer herding requires a deep relationship to the land and knowledge of her details. Everyone knows that a moving person is not rootless – she just moves between different homes.

There is a breathtaking contradiction in the Swedish government agencies' interpretation of the word "nomad." Since nomads per definition are people that move, they are considered able to be moved."¹ (Labba, 2020, p. 71)

This quote about the forced relocations of Sámi in Norway and Sweden in the early 1900s from "The Gentlemen Put Us Here: About the Forced Relocations in Sweden" (Labba, 2020) introduces the conflicting worldviews and the colonial relations between Sámi and the Swedish state. Belonging is an ongoing issue for Europe's only indigenous people. National borders divide the traditional territory of Sápmi over the northern parts of Finland, Norway, Sweden, and the Kola Peninsula in Russia. The general Sámi population is estimated to be around 80 000 to 100 000, with the largest population residing in Norway. The estimates in Sweden are based on the last Sámi census conducted in 1945 before registering ethnicities in population registers done by the state was no longer allowed. The number of Sámi in Sweden is approximately 20 000 – 40 000. (Gerdner, 2020; Sametinget, 2021). As Sápmi transcends state borders where there are nine different Sámi languages and cultural differences between groups, they are not a homogenous group. The self-conception of Sámi as a spatially and politically organized identity dates to a 'national awakening' at the end of the 1800s. The unifying move was a reaction to the colonial project with the need to defend Sámi culture against the majority society and reaffirm their identity as a separate people. Sámi organizations and media, as well as the depiction of Sápmi as one single area, followed. (Tervaniemi & Magga, 2019).

¹ Translated from Swedish by the author



Figure 1 Map of Sápmi in Northern Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Illustration: Anders Suneson www.tecknadebilder.se

The legal context has emphasized Sámi practicing traditional subsistence livelihoods, primarily reindeer husbandry. However, reindeer herders make up a minority of the Sámi community. Today, approximately 2 500 – 3 000 people practice reindeer herding as their livelihood—additionally, more Sámi's own reindeer placed in the care of a practicing herder. (Sametinget, 2021). However, the majority live an urban lifestyle with occupations in the city. (Hossain, 2016). In the last generation, the urban Sámi population increased due to the revitalization of language and culture and urbanization. Urbanization is hard to measure due to the lack of a public register. Still, trends of increase of Sámi living in large and medium-sized towns registered on the voting list to the Sámi parliament indicate this development. (Nyseth & Pedersen, 2014). Despite this trend, the Sámi has rarely been mentioned in the general academic literature on Indigenous rights or the Right-to-the-City. Much of this literature focuses on the United States, Australia, Canada, Aotearoa/New Zealand and countries in Latin America. (Anderson & Flynn, 2020; Grandinetti, 2019; Horn, 2018; Nejad et al. 2019; Njoh, 2017; Rayner, 2021). In the international context, the Nordic countries are seemingly rarely considered colonizers. Regardless of academic inclusion, the Sámi are still fighting against the colonialization of Sápmi and for belonging within the Swedish state.

1.1 Research problem

Across research on indigenous rights and issues, indigeneity is primarily understood as rural. It is a fundamental flaw in academia and politics as many indigenous communities globally reside in urban environments where they can have long-standing ties to the place and location. Sámi in Sweden has often been a hidden demographic in cities as they assimilated for fear of discrimination. While Sámi visibilities in cities are slowly increasing, much of Sweden's focus on indigenous rights focus on reindeer herding Sámi. However, reindeer herders make up a minority of the Sámi population in Sweden. As such, the narrow focus reproduces a homogenous understanding of Sámi as facing primarily physical security challenges, while the reality of security for Sámi is more complex as they adapt culturally to changing political and social conditions. The research will focus on how institutions in the form of civil society organizations, the state, and the municipality in the urban center of Sápmi, Umeå, attempt to create ontological security for the indigenous population of Sweden. It is done through researching opinions of life in Umeå and the perceived responsibilities of institutions, and their fulfillment, according to Sámi in Umeå. The research will further the existing critique of ontological security (OS) and aim to broaden the understanding of what constitutes (in)security for an indigenous population in the globalized world. It aims to answer the research question:

What are the roles of institutions in creating a sense of belonging for Sámi
living in urban Umeå?

2. Motivation

The defining feature of the modern world is often described as globalization. The concept is used when studying the global connections and consequences of trade, foreign relations, climate change, and urbanization, among other issues. (Scholte, 2005, pp. 54-59). All these issues impact the life of the global citizen across the world. For researching the experience of Sámi living in Umeå, globalization matters as their experiences of the local situation are part of the worldwide struggle for indigenous rights. The central issue when researching the experiences of Sámi locally while remaining attentive to global connections are concepts of time and space. One definition of globalization is how people have become linked to one another on a transplanetary scale. Though territory still matters, social relations are supraterritorial and therefore delinked from territory through the development of communications. (Ibid, pp. 59-65). The connection to the land is integral in Sámi culture, but global trends affect them locally. Extraction projects, environmental degradation, climate change, and urbanization are global problems that have posed challenges to the ties between everyday Sámi life and traditional ways of life. (Greaves, 2018; Hossain, 2016; Nyseth & Pedersen, 2014; Szpak, 2017). It is, therefore, relevant to research how the construction and expression of identity and community have adapted to urban living in the globalized world.

The urban perspective is interesting from two angles. From an academic standpoint, the research focus on Sámi issues tends to lie with extraction projects, reindeer herding, land rights, the state, and self-determination. Specifically, in security studies, Sámi security is conceptualized in relation to Arctic ecosystems and the viability of reindeer herding from a physical security standpoint. (Greaves, 2018; Hossain, 2016; Mörkenstam, 2019; Szpak, 2017). It gives the impression of a narrow and homogenizing view of Sámi security that centers on the perspectives of the minority of Sámi practicing reindeer herding. From a socio-political standpoint, the political representation and self-determination for Sámi in Sweden remain flawed with a colonial frame. For example, in the Swedish state's *samepolitik* (Sámi

politic)², referring to the state's collective approach to Sámi political issues and rights, reindeer herding Sámi are given exclusive privileges to use traditional land. (Enoksson, 2021; Mörkenstam, 2019). The broad majority of Sámi are, in comparison, neglected at the national level. The report on the preparation for the Truth Commission, conducted through *Sametinget* (the Sámi parliament)³, highlights the need to broaden the image of Sámi to capture all those that either historically or today have practiced non-reindeer affiliated industries, either as in combination or separately from reindeer herding. (Enoksson, 2021). The perspectives of urban Sámi are, therefore, neglected and part of a homogenized view of Sámi on academic and socio-political levels despite urbanization being a growing trend in Sápmi. (Ibid.; Åhrén, 2008, p. 32). Some recent studies (Bäärnhielm et al. 2021; Nyseth & Pedersen, 2014) aim to break this trend. By continuing to build on their findings, this research aims to diversify the view on Sámi security by highlighting voices from urban Sápmi. It does so through the use of Giddens' (1991) theory of ontological security. It is a theory that has received criticism for its lack of application in cases in the Global South. In particular, there is an assumption of the divide between pre-modern and modern societies in Giddens framework that can be critiqued from worldviews, like the Sámi's, where culture is understood as dynamic. (Valkonen & Valkonen, 2019). Integrating the concept of local knowledge and Sámi perspectives in the research challenges the validity of ontological security from a non-Western worldview.

In addition, previous research on Sámi identity has shown the importance of institutions, networks, and activities in practicing an everyday Sámi life in cities. However, the relationship between the institutions, their services, and Sámi are rarely the research focus. Further research on the topic can deepen the understanding of these relationships. Particularly with the introduction of administrative areas for Sámi, which affects how municipalities manage

² Translated from Swedish by the author

³ The Sámi parliament, established in 1993, is a government agency with administrative responsibilities. It is also a popularly elected Sámi parliament with an advisory, rather than self-determining, role on Sámi issues and the responsibility to work strengthening the Sámi cultural life in Sweden. (Sametinget, n.d.; Sametinget, 2022)

accessibility and minority influence (SFS 2009:724), the municipality emerges as a potentially relevant actor that affects how Sámi identity is continuously constructed in an urban environment. Furthermore, the inclusion of institutions focuses on identity construction facilitated in public spaces rather than private routines in the home, which has been the main focus of much research. At the same time, the inclusion of Sámi in Umeå was relatively recent and centralized. (Nyseth & Pedersen, 2014). Thus, through amplifying urban indigenous voices, this research has implications and significance in highlighting areas that facilitate everyday Sámi life in cities.

3. Previous research and background

3.1 Security Studies: Arctic Security

Traditional International Relations and Security Studies primarily focus on the state as the referent object of security in the international system (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2021, p.2). In the critical turn in Security Studies, the field deepened to include non-state actors as referent objects and broadened to include non-military issues as security (Ibid, p.4, 32-33). Despite the mushrooming of the security field, indigenous actors remain neglected. However, as the research interest in Arctic security increased, the Sámi people have received more research attention in the security field than other indigenous peoples. (Barkawi & Laffey, 2006; Greaves, 2018). Research on Indigenous peoples of the Arctic generally operationalizes their security regarding the effect of climate change and environmental degradation on Arctic ecosystems and Indigenous cultures. Research on the legal and political rights of Sámi (Hossain 2016) and survey answers from Sámi community leaders indicate state action is integral to the impact of environmental degradation in traditional territories.

The research interests in environmental security span a wide range of issues. It includes overfishing, pollution, extraction projects, and the rise in temperature as it impacts animals' migration patterns and reduces arctic animal populations, ice melting, and other changes in the Arctic climate. Concerning the important cultural

practice of reindeer husbandry are increased industrial developments and extractions that impact the reindeer grazing areas. The central issue is not the projects themselves but rather the consequences on the viability of livelihoods and cultural practices. (Szpak, 2017). While resistance against extraction developments is a central theme among Indigenous people (Greaves, 2018), including Sámi, there are varied attitudes towards it, which Hossain (2016) links to many Sámi now participating in modern activities and being among the economic beneficiaries. However, as climate change progresses and the arctic ice melt, previously inaccessible natural resources might become accessible, with continued extractions and land exploitation on indigenous lands. (Szpak, 2017). The consequences of extraction processes and climate change have tangible consequences for the economic, social, and cultural conditions of indigenous communities in the Arctic. The research touches on how the state and environmental change impact the viability of cultural Sámi practices. It does so by emphasizing the physical security aspects.

3.2 Indigenous Rights:

3.2.1 Right-to-the-city

Much of the indigenous rights regime and national policy is guided by a rural understanding of indigeneity. The rural understanding is an issue grounded in how indigeneity was constructed and how it is continued to be understood. (Horn, 2018). It renders indigenous peoples in cities invisible despite their presence. Indigenous movements claiming the city have gotten increased attention in scholarly and professional circles, but the topic still has many unanswered questions. (Njoh, 2017). The literature examines colonial settler cities to demonstrate how “urban and sub-urban spaces have been constructed as ‘settled’ settler spaces, where development and colonialism are inevitable and already agreed upon.” (Grandinetti, 2019, p. 228). While the settler logic of indigenous visibility is examined, the research mainly highlights how indigenous urban movements have organized around questions of citizenship, land rights, and political representation to draw lessons from the movements.

This area of indigenous rights is called right-to-the-city. There is broad agreement that it includes rights to participation and control of city life. In other words, “the ability to participate in urban life, “with all its services and advantages” ... Secondly, the right to the city implies some kind of participatory democratic control over the urban process...” (Rayner, 2021, p. 150). While many Indigenous people experience marginalization and regulation, the colonial policy is contextual and varies from city to city and country to country. (Hudson & Nyseth, 2019). The practice of conducting case studies focusing on one or a few indigenous communities in their local and national contexts captures the great variation between the needs and methods of different indigenous movements. The historical and current conditions in settler-colonial cities center on Indigenous-municipality relations with a need for the further collective power of local Indigenous peoples in the urban development either through the municipality or by facilitating alternatives of self-management. (Rayner, 2021; Anderson & Flynn, 2020).

Similar to much indigenous rights research, most of the referenced research is based on case studies in Latin America, Canada, and Australia. One exception is the article “Dealing with difference” (Hudson & Nyseth, 2019) which compares conflicts around the cities’ place identity in Umeå, Sweden, and Tromsø, Norway. In both countries, land rights claims have focused on rural areas, as Sámi organizations in cities have not advanced land claims. It contrasts with many settler countries as Sámi people who moved to urban areas often assimilated due to experiences of marginalization and fearing discrimination. The article describes how Umeå’s long history as a reindeer winter grazing site and its Sámi cultural heritage went unnoticed by the majority society, even as it became a Sámi Language Administration Area. As such, Umeå’s Swedish identity went unchallenged. During the European Capital of the Culture Year applications, the city’s Swedish identity became publicly contested. Umeå’s bid, Sámi invitation, was first criticized by Sámi for lacking knowledge of Sámi culture and for lacking Sámi participation. The limited debate escalated during the inauguration of Umeå2014 where a heated debate of whether Umeå is Sámi or not took place. Though Umeå is a prominent part of Sápmi, the debate shows how Sámi people are excluded from the city’s

imaginary among the majority society. Attempts to include Sámi more in democratic processes have begun, but with much left to desire. The article concludes by quoting Jane Jacobs: “The politics of place identity is undeniably a politics of place” (1996, p. 36 in Hudson & Nyseth, 2019, p. 577). To understand the place Sámi people have among the indigenous community and their unique circumstances, it is necessary to understand the Swedish colonial context.

3.2.2 Status quo in *Samepolitik*

The rights of Sámi in Sweden are regulated through national, European, and international conventions and laws. (Bäärnhielm et al., 2021). Sweden recognizes the Sámi as a people, an indigenous people, and a minority. Each of the recognitions grants the Sámi people specific rights and protection from the state. The first of the recognitions came in 1977 when the Swedish parliament recognized Sámi as an indigenous group granting them the right to cultural differential treatment. (Regeringskansliet, 2019). The Instrument of the Government has, since 2011, stated in chapter 1, 2§ (SFS 2011, p.109) that the Sámi people's opportunity to keep and develop their culture and community are to be promoted. Sweden has also signed the 2007 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The declaration includes multiple articles which grant protection against discrimination and state prosecution. It also states the right to self-determination (article 3, 19), the right to influence over issues pertaining to indigenous peoples (article 4, 18, 23), and the right to practicing and developing cultural practices and languages (article 11, 13). (United Nations, 2007).

In 2000 Sweden joined the European Council's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Minority politics entered the state budget as a political area with the goal to protect the national minorities and strengthen their opportunities for influence as well as support the survival of minority languages. The law (SFS 2009:724) about national minorities and minority languages was part of the reform in 2009. The law applies on the national level and adds that administrative authorities are obligated to inform the minorities of their rights and grant them influence over issues that concern them. Five minorities are recognized

(Roma, Yews, Sámi, Finns, and Tornedalians), and their languages (Romani chib, Yiddish, Sámi, Finnish, and Meänkieli) are recognized. Recently, in 2019, the law was strengthened. The amendment requires municipalities and regions to establish goals and strategies for minority politics. (Umeå Kommun, 2020).

The ratification and implementation of the legal documents expanded Sámi rights are tied to the economic value of the Arctic. The colonial ties the Swedish state has with Sápmi are illustrated in the negotiation processes concerning land use and in legal documents detailing the Sámi people's rights as an indigenous group. A critical issue to state-Sámi relations is the practical reality of self-determination for Indigenous people over their traditional territories. (Fact Sheet: Renewable Energy Projects in Sámi Territory, 2020; Szpak, 2017; Ojala & Nordin, 2019). The Swedish state's national approach to the international indigenous rights regime and domestic demands has been critiqued by Ulf Mörkenstam (2019) as "organised hypocrisy" (Ibid). As such, the non-ratification of two instrumental documents for indigenous rights claims - the 1989 ILO Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (No.169), and UNDRIP – are discussed in the domestic context as a case of decoupling between talk, decisions, and action concerning indigenous politics. Sámi have representation in cultural matters through the Sámi council, which has made right claims based on the fact that ""the Sámi are a people with a right to self-determination recognized both on a national and international level" (Mörkenstam, 2019, p. 1735). The Swedish state and judicial system determine the Sámi people's status as an indigenous group irrelevant to cases concerning land rights and self-determination. (Ibid.). In addition, it is crucial when researching Sámi residing in urban cities that the Swedish state historically and continuously has given exclusive rights to Sámi practicing reindeer herding through the legal definition of Sámi. It includes membership in a *sameby*, an economic association of reindeer herding, with rights of land use in the concerned geographical area. Most Sámi people are not part of a *sameby* which is one-way non-reindeer-herding Sámi still have a different legal standing. Overall, Sweden's *samepolitik* is controversial and has caused divides in the groups. (Ibid; SFS 1971:473; Gerdner, 2020; Åhren 2008).The internal hierarchies and disagreements

are visible in the Sámi parliament partly through the establishment of parties based on different groups' interests. Åhrén (2008, pp. 12-13) describes the political divides in parliament as fundamentally centering on the Sámi identity and its definition.

The municipality's status is relevant to the urban Sámi people and their influence over city politics. 25 Swedish municipalities are administrative areas for Sámi. As an administrative area for a minority language, Umeå municipality is obliged to ensure that the national minorities can use their language in contact with the authorities and have personnel that has competency in the language. In addition, the municipality should be able to provide child and elder care in the minority languages. (Laestadius, 2020). Describing Sweden's international, national, and local *samepolitik*, the impact of the internal hierarchies and positionality regarding Swedish law are illustrated.

3.3 Sámi identity

The Swedish *samepolitik* impacts all Sámi living within the state borders differently with a pronounced rural/urban divide. As the possibilities for urban Sámi to practice their identity within cities have only recently been a concern for political bodies', research on how Sámi identity has adapted to the town becomes relevant. Unfortunately, there are few studies covering this topic. (Nyseth & Pedersen, 2014). Most studies on Sámi identity approaches research belonging and identity recognition on a broad scale. However, these studies are relevant as they give a general understanding of what aspects Sámi finds important for identity recognition.

3.3.1 Understanding Sámi identity

Sámi self-identification depends on ethnic community context, according to a study with Sámi youth in a majority Sámi community in Norway. Those living in majority Sámi context were more likely to claim a Sámi identity, while those living in assimilated Norwegian contexts were more likely to claim Norwegian national identity. For these youth, ethnic markers - such as ethnic parentage, Sami language competence, place attachment, reindeer husbandry affiliation, and use of ethnic

symbols – were important to be recognized in the community. (Nystad et al., 2017). Another study based in Sweden surveyed Sámi across three urban and traditional regions to measure identification and sense of belonging to both Sámi and Swedish communities. While not representative, it found that two-thirds of respondents identified with both identities, and among those that identified with only one identity, it was close to an even split between the two. Relevant to this research is cultural symbolic behaviors, which could be classed as routines establishing ontological security, and heritage as they were found to have the strongest significance for identification and belonging with Sámi communities. In addition, the survey found that living in a Sámi context proved significant only in indicating a lower identification with Swedishness. (Gerdner, 2020). The impact demographics of the place of residence have on identity construction, and expression brings the physical into focus. The relevant takeaway is that identity construction is related to what aspects of the identity the local majority society makes space for.

3.3.2 Urban Sámi identity

Moving on to the city, the construction of Sámi identity in an urban city environment among first- and second-generation Sámi in Tromsø, Rovaniemi, and Umeå found that the informants' attachments tended to lie outside the city, mainly in the core Sámi areas or the coastal areas. However, what stood out in expressions of Sámi identity within the city were the role of institutions, organizations, networks, and activities in making everyday Sámi life possible through cultural or social connections. Informants felt more freedom and less resistance to expressing their Sámi identity in the city, exemplified by the practice of mixing traditional and modern urban clothing and accessories. Out of this, a new urban Sámi identity, City-Sámi, emerged. City-Sámi represents an elite: often having a university education, being organized in Sámi associations, and being part of the global cosmopolitans supporting the international indigenous movement. As evidenced, Sámi culture and identity are dynamic, with new identity expressions arising in the urban environment. (Nyseth & Pedersen, 2014). Urbanization has historically been seen as assimilation into the majority society in the Nordic context, but City Sámi

challenges the notion of rural indigeneity. Similarly, despite earlier assumptions of indigenous culture and tradition losing their hold in the city, distinct urban indigenous identities have been found internationally when researching indigenous identity in cities. (Horn, 2018).

A more recent report on the experience of Sámi living in an urban city, with a focus on health, was done by Region Stockholm and Stockholm Sameförening. (Bäärnhielm et al., 2021). The study found that participants described their Sámi identity as connected to immediate and extended family, history, nature, and geographical locations. Though the participants live in Stockholm, they ground their identity in traditional family areas outside the city. However, the large geographical distances between Stockholm and these areas are mentioned as drawbacks to life in the city. It makes it hard to keep in contact with family and return to family areas. The limited access to nature and the city environment is also a negative. A positive thing is access to cultural events. Handicraft, cultural food, and Sámi clothes are part of the cultural practices that strengthen identity. The social aspect and connection to other Sámi are also important, and the Sámi association is vital in bringing together the group. For many, the Sámi languages are considered important and even those not speaking them want to be connected to them. There is an expressed wish for the languages to be visible publicly to respect indigenous people's rights. There is an expressed disappointment in how municipalities in Stockholm handle children's first language education in Sámi. Another complaint is the lack of knowledge about the Sámi people among the public and the authorities. (Bäärnhielm et al., 2021). While the complaints are not framed regarding Stockholm as an administrative area for Sámi and as such has more demands on its recognition of Sámi rights, it can be viewed from that perspective. In this study, aspects of urban life are more generally connected to an urban environment, and some are more connected to living outside Sápmi.

Previous research on the recognition and belonging of Sámi people in the Nordic countries indicates that institutions facilitate everyday Sámi inclusion in city life by functioning as a meeting place where activities and routines can be done in a group

setting. This study will further explore the institutions' different roles and relational positions in city life. The other relevant aspects, as the site of the research is a city in Sápmi, is that there is a difference between the experience of living in a city and the experience of living outside of Sápmi. It's necessary to acknowledge when basing the study on research on cities located inside and outside of Sápmi. Finally, it indicates the relevance of separating social, cultural, and geographical conceptions of home.

4. Theory

4.1 Ontological security and Giddens

Ontological security is a theory and concept that aims to take a holistic approach to security, focusing on identity and non-physical understandings of security. Anthony Giddens introduced a sociological reading of ontological security into a socio-political context that has been used and expanded on by IR and Security Studies scholars. (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2021, pp. 69-73).

In turn, Giddens draws on the theoretical framework of psychoanalyst R.D. Laing who originated the theory in the 1960s. Significant overlap remains at the core of the theory between the two applications. Both authors are interested in how the individual subject needs autobiographical continuity, i.e., having a whole and continuous self-identity, to experience ontological security. Lacking ontological security causes the subject to be unable to feel secure or feel a sense of control in the continuation of everyday life and feel threatened by social relations. Ontological security is established through routinized behavior and a basic sense of trust formed in childhood relations with caregivers. Through these practices, existential anxieties are bracketed. (Giddens, 1991, pp. 38, 54; Kinnvall & Mitzen, 2017; Kinnvall & Mitzen, 2020; Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2021, pp. 66-68). However, Giddens expands on Laing's work by moving from the internal world to introducing a societal element and arguing that the individual subject's self-identity has become reflexive. (Giddens, 1991, pp. 1-9, 32). In this move, the personal identity and its central role for the securitized individual remains.

The defining characteristic of Giddens's theoretical work is the introduction of society. The ties between the individual subject's ontological (in)security are affected by the move into the globalized, industrial, and mediated world of high modernity. As such, there is a marked difference in the experiences of anxiety in pre-modern societies and today's modern societies. While anxieties born from risk have always been present, anxieties were managed through set life paths and ordering traditions, such as the church and family, in pre-modern societies. In high modernity, the individual faces a diverse set of choices and a lack of guidance which comes with risk. (Giddens, 1991, pp. 48, 70-80, 109-141; Kinnvall & Mitzen, 2020). At the societal level, it can also be argued that crisis has become endemic in the globalized world and that the individual now lives in a risk society (Beck, 1992). The experience of risk is amplified through the separation of space and time and how media connects distant places of the world through communications. Risk causes a sense of uncertainty, not least in the belief of the continuation of the everyday. (Giddens, 1991, pp. 16-18, 21-27, 181-185). The other aspect that distinguishes Giddens's theorization is his emphasis on reflexivity. From his understanding of ontological security, the managing of anxiety is done reflexively, and the individual can examine their construction of self-identity regardless of social and political context. The construction of self and the meaning ascribed to us and our environment is necessary in modernity as it becomes the foundation of our life. (Giddens, 1991, pp. 70-80, 109-141; Kinnvall & Mitzen, 2020; Åhrén, 2008, p. 21). The dynamic aspect of the self combined with anxiety as part of the human conditions suggests an interpretation of ontological security and identity construction as a continuing project. As such, ontological security can never be realized as anxiety always threatens to break through. (Kinnvall & Mitzen, 2020). Security-as-becoming fits into the Sámi context as identity is negotiated and contested within the group and politically. It can also be perceived in the struggles of those who have re-discovered their Sámi identity, after previous generations have assimilated due to state prosecution and discrimination, to find their place within the Sámi community and find what makes them feel connected to their identity. (Gerdner, 2020; Kinnvall and Svensson, 2022, p.529; SFS 1971:473; Åhrén, 2008).

The openness and individual dimension of identity should be recognized in this continuous state of constructing identity and from the perception of others. (Mälksoo, 2015).

4.2 The integration of ontological security in IR and Security Studies

Scholars in IR and Security Studies have increasingly used the concept of ontological security since the late 1990s. It coincided with the critical turn in Security Studies, where the concept of security was broadened and deepened by introducing new approaches and theories. As such, the critical turn signified the expansion of the security agenda from a narrow focus on military threats to including issues in other sectors and moving away from the state as the sole referent object of security. (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2021, pp. 4, 74). Ontological security has been used in an interdisciplinary fashion with contributions of securitization theory, feminist and gender approaches, and postcolonial approaches. (Kinnvall & Mitzen, 2017; Rumelili, 2015). It has resulted in ontological security having a broad theoretical framework dependent on the definition of the scholar in narrowing down relevant referent objects and aspects of social life. Within this comprehensive literature, two strands of academic scholarship are of particular concern: postcolonialism and statism.

4.2.1 Ontological security: postcolonial or decolonial scholarship?

When researching ontological security among indigenous peoples, it is crucial to note the lack of application of ontological security in cases in the Global South. While there are exceptions, such as Kinnvall's research on religious nationalism in India (2006), the main body of the work has been on Europe, focusing on the rise of populism and nationalism. (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2021, p. 77). Occasionally, the research touches upon minority groups and how their experiences of immigration, bordering, and belonging in Europe are relational to Europe's colonial and postcolonial globalization, migration, and relations. Relevant to this strand of research is acknowledging how minority groups in Europe narratively can be reduced to sameness despite the diversity in their lived experiences. (Browning, 2018; Kinnvall, 2016). Similarly, this homogenizing narrative can be observed in research on Arctic security, where the minority experience of reindeer herding Sámi

becomes framed as the Sámi insecurity. (Greaves, 2018; Hossain, 2016; Szpak, 2017). The dominance of the experience of reindeer herders obscures other experiences of insecurity among Sámi communities living in different contexts. The diversity of lived experiences and the varying impacts of globalization on the individual is emphasized by Kinnvall's (2006) research on religious nationalism in India. In this case, acknowledging the diversity of lived experiences among minority and indigenous groups is a central part of the theoretical framework of postcolonial ontological security.

Lived experiences consist of challenges to both physical and non-physical security. Discussing their overlap from a postcolonial perspective is necessary to conceptualize ontological security. The continued colonial control that the Swedish state has over the territory of Sápmi, located within Swedish borders, is experienced through the extraction of natural resources and generally limited right over traditional land. It can be framed as an issue of physical security, as extraction projects threaten people's health and traditional livelihoods, and through an identity dimension as the lack of distinction between nature and culture gives Sámi cultural issues an essential spatial connection. (Hossain, 2016; Szpak, 2017; Valkonen & Valkonen, 2019, p. 13). Physical security threats that target areas of overlapping physical needs and identity expressions merge physical and ontological security. Kinnvall (2017) describes this phenomenon in Indian society's securitization of women in the context of sexual violence. Similarly, the ontological (in)security for the postcolonial subject overlaps with threats of bodily harm and the safety imbued in the issue of land rights. While later research explores the connection between physical and ontological security by adding a feminist or postcolonial lens, the overlap is not fully explored by Giddens. For him, the body is the prerequisite for the individual, and it is constantly at risk even in familiar environments. However, Giddens's examples of everyday risks of the body are in the context of accidents in the home. (Giddens, 1991, pp.126-127). These are routine circumstances that the individual can manage, while the safety of the body and identity from the postcolonial perspective is an existential matter. As Kinnvall (2017) illustrates, there is a need to diverge from theoretical assumptions when they diverge from the

subject's lived experience. When researching Sámi insecurity, the presumed dichotomy between nature-culture in OST is, as such, not relevant in a contextual application of the theory. (Valkonen & Valkonen, 2019, pp. 13, 22).

When operationalizing ontological security in relation to Sámi, the question is whether this research takes a postcolonial or decolonial approach. There is little basis for the difference between the two approaches in the existing work on ontological security, where there is a clear preference for using the language of postcolonial theory. As stated, the postcolonial approach is combined with a Eurocentric frame of reference where the 'others,' often migrants, are described rather than included (Croft, 2012). The postcolonial approach is described as delocalized with close and uncritically accepted links to modernity and western epistemic premises. (Tlostanova et al., 2019). This uncritical acceptance of modernity is reflected in OST. Giddens situates ontological security in modernity and, in broader terms, globalization.

Consequently, ontological security is grounded in recent history and current societal changes. Ontological security regards industrialization, capitalism, communication innovation, and other societal development as having created rapid, widespread changes where actors must find their footing. There is a difference between pre-modern and modern societies but without a clear transition point. (Giddens, 1991, p. 48). In other words, the uncritical acceptance of modernity is comparable between OST and postcolonial theory. However, when researching Sámi (in)security, this uncritical postcolonial OST approach could prove contradictory to the Sámi worldview, where culture is viewed as dynamic. (Valkonen & Valkonen, 2019). The aim is to remain open to contradictory findings by combining OST and Sámi knowledge with a decolonial approach.

The decolonial theory takes a more critical approach to Western epistemology. It is described as an emancipatory movement from the limits of coloniality in Western knowledge, politics, and culture grounded in the fact that "the achievements of modernity is inseparable from racism, hetero-patriarchy, economic exploitation, and the discrimination of Western knowledge systems." (Tlostanova et al., 2019, s.

290). Mignolo and Tlostanova conceptualize that modernity and coloniality are inseparable, with coloniality being constitutive of modernity. Rather than focusing on the historical process, the authors focus on the narrative of modernity as the justification for continuing colonialization of time and space. (Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2012, pp. 8, 10). As such, decoloniality can be understood as being critical of Western epistemology and thinking from places of non-Western and indigenous epistemologies. (Tlostanova et al., 2019). As stated, Giddens' focus on modernity places the work in a Western worldview while the theory at large can be read as having a universal scope. Incorporating decolonial thinking into the ontological security theory (OST) starts with contextualizing it in local indigenous ways of thinking. Much research that includes Indigenous perspectives illustrates the differences between academic knowledge and Indigenous ways of knowing. In short, they are different knowledge paradigms. (Nordin Jonsson, 2010). Issues arise in Western science when the ontological and epistemological foundation dissimilarities are not considered. The conceptualization starts with the term used. Indigenous knowledge, local knowledge, or traditional knowledge are a few terms used that each carries a different emphasis. (Valkonen & Valkonen, 2019, p. 12). In this research, the term *árbediehtu*, taken from the Sámi Council's policy on traditional knowledge (Nordin Jonsson, 2010), is used. In the policy, *árbediehtu* is described as the overarching term for traditional knowledge in Sami and is defined as a knowledge built by praxis over millennia and transferred over generations, resulting in familiarity in land, animals, and nature as well as incorporated in culture and society. Included in the concept are both the material and immaterial, with no dichotomy between them, aspects of heritage, traditions, norms, and ways of life in Sámi culture and society. (Ibid.). As such, there are multiple knowledges of reality. The universalist tendency in Giddens's work falls under scrutiny when comparing the theory to the Sámi worldview. The lack of dichotomies, such as nature-culture or tradition-modern, illustrates a need to contextually problematize academic theories when applied. Crucially, Indigenous traditional knowledges are holistic. Within this perspective, people and their environment make up a whole. The holistic dimension must be carried through the entire documentation project to

portray the knowledge accurately. (Nordin Jonsson, 2010; Valkonen & Valkonen, 2019).

The areas in need of attention and concern are numerous when seeking to accurately represent Indigenous peoples' knowledge as part of Western science. Crucial in the research is that neither knowledge paradigm is viewed as dichotomous. Instead, they should be considered complementary paradigms with different ontological foundations and emphasize different values. (Nordin Jonsson, 2010). Another concern was raised by Valkonen and Ruuska (2019), who criticize how the use of academic concepts affects the understanding of realities. With a discussion based on the critique of the extensive use of identity and how it 'overrules' other explanations, the authors analyze local narratives "without translating and reducing them to some other knowledge" (Ibid., p.105). Without using the concept of traditional knowledge, the complexities of accurately incorporating Indigenous experiences in Western science are illustrated. The discussion ends with the recommendation that identity should only be used after its presence and use in local narratives are identified and if it is beneficial. (Ibid.). A fundamental part of this research is to regard the local context, the underlying ontologies of knowledge, and ownership of the knowledge for the analysis to remain relevant and accurate to the subject matter.

4.2.2 Ontological security: the function of the state

The early efforts of introducing ontological security into IR and Security Studies related to traditional security approaches. In traditional security approaches, such as realism and liberalism, the assumption is that the state is the main actor and provider of security with a focus on physical security, material resources, and state power. Consequently, war was considered the main threat to state security. (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2021, pp. 4-5, 36). Jennifer Mitzen's early work sought to criticize and fill the gaps in realist IR theory of how states are assumed to be rational actors seeking physical security under an anarchical state system. She focused on the uncertainties of inter-state relations and proposed that state behavior is managed through routines that provide ontological security for the state through how the state

behaves in conflictual spaces. Ontological security is thus characterized as a mutual process where states influence each other and getting out of harmful routines that cause physical insecurity constitutes an ontologically insecure process. (Mitzen, 2006a). As such, Mitzen defends the statist perspective by arguing that "a state's ontological security is necessary to satisfy that of its citizens and thus the two are emotionally connected" (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2021, p. 69). While Mitzen's focus on the state as the actor experiencing ontological security and how it arises from the international system has little relevance for conceptualizing the Swedish state's role in Sámi's experience of ontological security, it is a foundational work in the state vs. society strand of OST which is central to later contributions which bear more relevance.

Critical to Mitzen's approach to the state, Alanna Krolikowski aims to re-emphasize the societal aspect in Giddens' work. Krolikowski takes issue with how ontological security has been scaled up to the state level without regard for its theoretical origin in the individual subject and describes the move as lacking motivation. Through interacting directly with Mitzen, she illustrates and criticizes the neglect of central theoretical ideas, such as globalization, and how Giddens' focus on the domestic environment has not been adapted to the reality of the international system. The improper grounding in statist ontological security leads to losing the power to explain the variation of behavior across actors and cases. However, rather than discrediting the state as a referent object, Krolikowski proposes that the state should primarily be considered as an actor that functions as a provider of ontological security for individuals and any argument that corporate actors, such as the state, have a need of ontological security are specified to its correspondent at the individual level. (Krolikowski, 2008). Jonathan Mercer (2014) presents a similar argument for the need to ground the state analysis by incorporating the individual. He does this through the concept of social concept social emotions. The argument constructed by him is that a state cannot feel like an individual, but an individual can feel like a state as emotions can be characteristics of groups. Emotions that connect a particular identity can exist at the state level as identities exist on multiple levels with no upper limit. Both authors argue for the viability of statism in

ontological theory from the common ground of analysis of individuals as a group. Where they diverge is in the feedback relation between state and individual. While Krolkowski (2008) focuses on how state identity building is motivated through individuals, Mercer (2014) argues that state identity originates among individuals. Keeping both arguments in mind, the relationship between individual and institution can be analyzed from both directions.

Existing scholarship of statist ontological security that holds the state as the referent object is theoretically detached from the continuing colonial relationship between the Sámi and the Swedish state. Basing the analysis on this strand of ontological security would obscure and neglect existing academic scholarship and Sámi stories of how state actions cause insecurity in Sápmi. However, important questions are raised by assuming that the Swedish state, based on these arguments, aims to be a provider of ontological security. First, it is important to remember whom the state is providing ontological security to or, more importantly, who is excluded. It indicates that if the state attempts to provide ontological security to Sámi, its success depends on how Sámi regards the state and its actions. Lastly, it raises the question of if the argument could be extrapolated to other governmental or civil society institutions. As Mercer (2014) argues that identities, such as the one underlying state identification, exist on multiple levels, there is reason to believe the argument could be valid for other institutions.

4.3 Home as belonging

The contestation over the rights of, and use of, land and natural resources in Sápmi centers on the discussion of home and belonging. These concepts are argued to be essential in the construction of a continuous biographical narrative and a sense of trust in social relationships. The subject has an emotional attachment to a place which, when interrupted by change, incites practices of 'home-steading' – the quest for 'a site of constancy in the social and material environment.' (Kinnvall, 2006, p. 31). The home is conceptualized with a notion of safety as a "place where subjectivity can be anchored and securitized." (Ibid, p. 79). In practice, it can be the place where securitizing routines are performed. (Kinnvall et al., 2018). Dupuis

and Thorns (1998) research on homeowners in New Zealand finds that home provides a secure base around which people can form their identities. In an uncritical analysis of the home, the ambiguous reality is lacking. As recognized in feminist thought, "the "feeling of being at home" is itself precisely a politicized and contingent space, a marker of exclusion, and a site of violence." (Noble, 2005 in Rossdale, 2015, p. 375). The issue of the home has also emerged in research on nationalism and migration. The concept of home can be used in politics to create an exclusionary bordering process around a collective identity. In such a reading, the construction of home creates homelessness for others. (Kinnvall et al., 2018). The colonial context of the Indigenous experience indicates the benefits of a feminist lens. Situating the feminist critique within the Sámi context problematizes conventional readings and furthers the conceptualization of home within this research.

Previous research on Sámi belonging and 'home' illustrate the ambiguity of home from a postcolonial perspective. Cultural conceptions of home and home region is informed by the traditionally nomadic or semi nomadic lifestyle where the use and movements in a specific area is central. It problematizes the understanding of home as a building and its immediate surroundings, especially in the context of forced relocations and forced migration under colonialism. (Tervaniemi & Magga, 2019; Åhrén, 2008). Another central aspect of feeling at home in an environment are belonging. Belonging can be defined as feeling 'at home'. In other words, "being at ease with oneself and one's surroundings." (May 2011 in Skey, 2019, p. 164). It follows the concept of home as an area that is used and in which people move. Belonging is described as a combination of autobiography and relations. The description partly depends on how people position themselves in the physical environment, social networks, and central material objects. However, the personal narration and positioning are contrasted by persons existing in relation to other social actors and institutional arrangements. Similarly, Åhrén's conceptualization of Sámi identity illustrates identity as two-fold. On the one hand, identity is internal and based on how the group differs from others. The other part of the identity is socially contingent and based on how the individual is perceived by others. From

this conceptualization, identity is dynamic; multiple identities prescribed with different meanings can overlap. Depending on the situation, the individual can claim different identities. (Åhrén, 2008, pp. 15-18). The constructive element aligns with discourses on identity-as-becoming in ontological security theory while recognizing the impact of outside perspectives.

There are inter-cultural hierarchies within and between Sámi groups and between the Sámi people and the majority society. These stems, in Sweden, from the colonial context and the state's *samepolitik* that both sought to assimilate and segregate the Sámi, depending on kinship within a Sámi group and living place. One central question that has risen in later years on this topic is 'who is Sámi' with the answer depending on perspective. (Enoksson, 2021; Skey, 2019). Building on postcolonial and feminist critique, the concept of 'home, including belonging, is problematized in the Sámi context as a concept with geographical, societal, cultural, and ontological dimensions.

4.4 Conceptualizing ontological security

This description only captures part of the broadness of OST. For this research, ontological security is understood as the individual subject having autobiographical continuity managed through routinized behavior and a basic sense of trust with others. (Giddens, 1991, pp. 38, 54; Kinnvall & Mitzen, 2017). Informed by state-centric and individual-centered approaches, the research concerns if civil society, the Swedish state, and Umeå municipality provide ontological security and if Sámi in Umeå can be read as deriving ontological security from them. Routines and trust are conceptualized as the actions institutions take to facilitate the continuation of Sámi culture and narratives and how Sámi view the institutions and their actions. Routines are operationalized as cultural events and activities hosted by institutions and provide other institutions with the resources to host these events and activities. Ontological security is operationalized as belonging, specifically, as "being at ease with oneself and one's surroundings" (May 2011 in Skey, 2019, p. 164). Ontological insecurity is operationalized as experiencing unease with oneself and one's surroundings. From a contextualized decolonial approach, attention is brought to

the Western notion of modernity in Giddens's work, which is not present in the Sámi worldview. The viability of using OST in research with Sámi is questioned and will carry through to the concluding discussion.

5. Method & Material

One of the strengths of taking an ontological security approach when studying security is its holistic perspective. Geographical, cultural, social, and physical aspects of the everyday are considered to impact how the individual experiences ontological (in)security. Therefore, the holistic perspective must be integrated when collecting material and analyzing. In addition, ontological security is, from this perspective, dependent on a methodological approach that captures the interpretative and intersubjective nature of the study of the individual's lived experiences. Ethnographic fieldwork and thematic analysis are combined for this purpose.

5.1 Fieldwork site: Umeå/Ubmeje

The fieldwork site is Umeå. Umeå, known as Ubmeje in umesamiska, is a city with Sámi history and a present unique position in the Swedish area of Sápmi. (Umeå Kommun, 2021). As the urban center of Sápmi within the Swedish state borders, efforts have been made to include Sámi and the majority population's perception of Sámi culture as a natural part of the city. However, the invisibility does not appear to concern the city environment or structures compared to the experience of indigenous peoples in Winnipeg, Canada (Nejad et al., 2019). Instead, efforts have concerned minority politics. As one of 25 municipalities that have applied and been granted the status of an administrative area for the Sámi language, Umeå municipality adopted a strategy to include Sámi people and Sámi perspectives in municipality politics. In Umeå municipality's minority politics strategy for 2020 – 2024, education, elder care, support and care, recreation, and culture are mentioned as areas of concern. As a part of including minorities in matters that concerns them, the representatives of these areas should, when possible, invite them to consultation. It is done through issue-specific consultations and an annual open consultation.

Complementing the consultations is the option to include representatives of the minorities through 'reference groups. (Umeå Kommun, 2020). Material is gathered from protocols of consultations with the reference group for Sámi elder care and interviews.

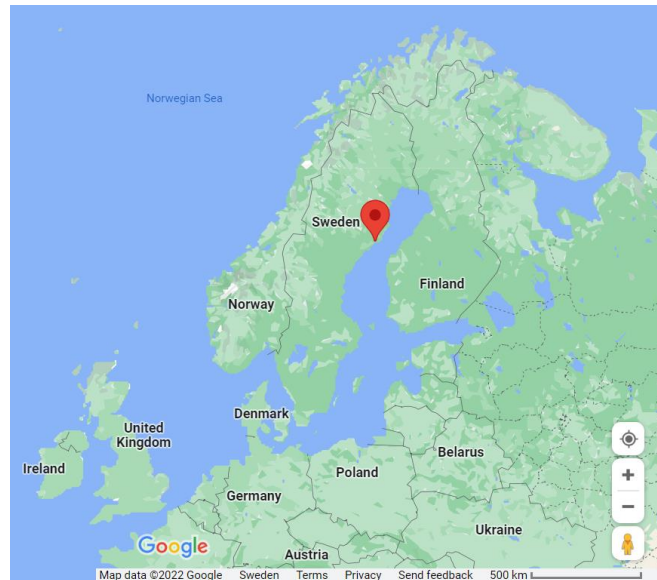


Figure 2 Map showing Umeå/Ubmeje's location in Sweden

Another critical part of the city life in Umeå is the Sámi association, Sâkhie, which was formed in 1977. The association works to strengthen Sámi interests by spreading information about the Sámi people and culture. It does so through public events, member events, language education, handicraft workshops, dinners, and similar cultural events. Two major projects with an outreach approach are Ubmejen Biejvieh, the annual week-long Sámi cultural festival, and Tráhppie, a cultural center, and café. (Sâkhie, 2022b; Umeå Kommun, 2011, p.73). Material concerning Sâkhie is gathered from relevant news articles and complemented by interviews with Sámi residing in Umeå.



Figure 3 Tráhppie cultural center located at Gammlia, Umeå. Picture taken by the author.

5.2 Ethnographic fieldwork

Ethnographic fieldwork is a methodological approach toward data collection with a broad understanding of what counts as empirical data. Ethnographic knowledge is intersubjective. In other words, it arises from interaction and dialogue between subjects (Davies, 2010, pp. 1-25). Early natural science's notion is that the study's object is detached from the quantitative study so the researcher can stay objective. The notion of subjectivity in research as something detrimental to the scientific process has increasingly been challenged within ethnography. The dichotomies of observer and observed, subjectivity and objectivity, subject and object, favored quantifiable research topics, ignoring the aspects of human and social life that cannot be measured quantitatively. (Davies, 2010, pp. 3-4). Complexity is the aim for the ethnographer as reality in ethnographic studies remains a complex mix of coinciding events and behaviors. Ethnography is an inductive approach to data collection that relies on the research not being closed off to new empirical insights. (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, pp. 11-12). During the reflexive turn, the definition of data

broadened with the realization that nobody is a blank page allowing the researcher's subjective experience in the field to be used as data. Broadly, this can be understood as a collapse of the observer/observed relationship, emphasizing ethnography as a collaborative research method and a more critical stance against objectivity. (Davies, 2010, pp. 10-11). Continuing, the progressive evolution of fieldwork has moved the site from the study of 'Others' in locations distant to the researcher, closer to the researcher's local environment. (Narayan, 1993). This research exists in this intersection as I, as a researcher native to Sweden but not Sámi, do research with Sámi informants in Umeå, located in Sweden but also in the Sámi homeland of Sápmi. As such, the research is done from an outsider's position.

Ethnography is often applied in case studies, such as this research on urban Sami in Umeå, to illuminate themes or draw inferences. The researcher's degree of participation in the field contributes to the method's empirical value. The opportunity to participate varies along the participation-observation continuum, even within research projects. The value of participation lies in enabling the researcher "to learn about events, feelings, rules, and norms in context rather than asking about them" (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 160). Participation in local cultural life gives insight into the services provided by institutions. The limitations in time and scope of the research mean that full participation was not possible. (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 3; Diphorn, 2012). While it is possible to plan fieldwork, researchers' experiences in the field emphasize its messy nature. As part of the messy nature of fieldwork, the plan to conduct interviews did not proceed as planned as there were issues finding enough participants. Additional material was added to complement the small sample of interviews through a process informed by the fieldwork. As I looked for gatekeepers that could open the field, people who said no to participating gave examples of where to find sources to read up on Sámi issues, locally and nationally. The municipal protocols and news sources were sourced through this process as part of the ethnographic fieldwork. Flexibility is essential in the field to adapt when challenges and changes to plans occur. In addition, being in the field is a learning process that often leads to the researcher changing their approach and the focus being defined over time. (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, pp. 29-30).

5.3 Interviews

Previous research highlights the qualitative value of using interviews to research trends in identity adaptations to urban environments as participants narrate their own experiences. As the research focuses on participants' lived experiences, deeper engagement and complexity are favored over representative samples for finding relevant contextual trends concerning institutions and their role in constructing a sense of belonging. (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, pp. 16-17). While the fieldwork preparation and the interview guide are informed by previous research, the field of Umeå was somewhat uninformed as the fieldwork commences. (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, pp. 26, 29-30). Potential participants were found through a flexible strategy by going through organizations and online groups. Interviews were conducted with Sámi living in Umeå or working with creating Sámi meeting places in urban cities.

The interviews were conducted as semi-structured interviews. In total, two individual interviews were conducted. The interview guides followed the themes of home and belonging by focusing on the concepts' geographical, social, and cultural understandings. In addition, questions regarding institutions and their services were another major topic. The interview guide primarily consists of open-ended questions to give the informants more freedom to emphasize what they consider relevant. The ethnographic aspects of the interviews stem from cultivating a conversation-style interview where informality and enjoyable nature are valued (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, pp. 42-44; O'Reilly, 2009, pp. 126-127).

The relationship between the researcher and informant is central in fieldwork, but with a month in the field, the fieldwork process had to be adapted to the time frame. Learning the city, participating in Sámi cultural life, and data gathering became the main focus rather than building the relationship between the researcher and the participants. Moreover, another central aspect of doing ethnographic interviews is to focus on the linguistic data and contextualize it in relation to observation and metapragmatic levels of communication. When listening to what participants tell, how they tell it is of significant importance. A holistic approach to the interview

data can add to a more cohesive understanding. (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, pp. 42-44).

The remaining question for the sampling, who is considered Sámi in this research, is foundational and complex. The complexities stem from the colonial history and prior attempts to define Sámi identity. (Åhrén, 2008). As previously stated, it is no longer allowed to do a census on ethnicities. Therefore, while there exists no record of the total Sámi population in Sweden, part of the population is registered on the voting list of the Sámi council. (Gerdner, 2020). Previous research has used the Sámi Council's voting list when finding interviewees. (Gerdner, 2020) (Nyseth & Pedersen, 2014). The voting list is protected under GDPR and only accessible in collaborative projects with the Sámi Council. As such, the voting list cannot be used as a guiding document on who is Sámi. Additionally, using the voting list as the definition of who is Sámi needs to be problematized in the context of assimilation practices where Sámi adapted to mainstream culture. (Virtanen, Olsen, & Keskitalo, 2021). However, colonial oppression and assimilation has severely impacted 'objective' criteria, like use of traditional languages, which would exclude many Indigenous people from their identity. The ethical considerations of Sweden's colonial history also concern my position as an outsider determining who is Sámi. The issues of sampling Sámi participants from 'objective' criteria and the lack of access to the voting list leaves self-determination as the best option. Therefore, self-determination is used as the criteria for participation.

5.4 Written material

The small interview sample is complimented by written material detailing the relationship institutions, Umeå municipality and Sâkchie, have with the local Sámi population. The attitudes of the Sámi population are captured through three channels. First, municipality protocols from consultations with samiska delegationen on elder care and relating documents were found through Umeå municipality's online *diarium*, a register of public documents, which functions as an online search engine for municipal affairs. Records were found using the search words: samisk, samråd, and minoritet. The time frame for the search started from

2010, when Umeå became an administrative area for Sámi, to 2022. In total, 36 documents were found. Open consultations and other municipality documents relating to Sámi, particularly the language, are not included to limit the sample to a manageable amount. The consultations on elder care are prioritized as they have been consistently held and documented since 2013. Additionally, initial overviews show cooperation between Tráhppie and the municipality on elder care. (Umeå kommun, 2011, pp. 73-79). Excluding open consultations also excludes perspectives of Sámi who are not in the representative body and issues not pertaining to elder care. However, with a large body of material, a holistic view of Umeå's minority politics does not fit into the limited time frame.

While the consultation protocols detail the responsibilities and Sámi opinions about the municipality's minority work, the news articles provide other channels to illustrate the responsibilities and Sámi opinions about Sáhkie. The sampling is limited to articles mentioning Tráhppie. First, there is a cooperation between the café and the municipality on elder care. Secondly, Tráhppie is the cultural center where many of the association's activities are hosted, and the café has since 2012 been a meeting place for Sámi in the city. (Sáhkie, 2022a). News articles will be sourced through national and local media. SVT Sápmi and Sameradio, as well as Samefolket, are national news media focusing on Sámi issues by Sámi journalists. Västerbotten-kuriren and Västerbotten Folkbladet are local newspapers reporting on local events. Articles writing about Tráhppie were found using an online search engine for Swedish newspapers and the individual publications' search functions for their digital archives. The time frame for the search was from 2010, when Umeå became an administrative area for Sámi, to 2022. Pre-dating the establishment of Tráhppie in the search includes the discourse, opinions, and expectations around its establishment.

50 articles, two which are doubles from Västerbotten-Kuriren and Folkbladet, were coded. Eight articles are included from SVT Sápmi, seven from Samefolket, eight from Folkbladet, and twenty-seven from Västerbotten-Kuriren. Articles were removed when doubles of a previous article, irrelevant to the research question, or

written in Sámi as they often were also published in Swedish, and translations were deemed non-feasible for this research.

5.5 Thematic analysis

The data, consisting of interview transcripts, observations, and articles, are analyzed through thematic coding. Thematic coding is a data analysis method adaptable to the researcher's needs. In this case, the coding process started with a theoretical grounding in ontological security, putting the focus on personal experiences as they are narrated by the individual. The method is used to find shared experiences and meaning through a deductive or inductive approach to coding. The coding is done in direct relation to answering the research question. (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

A flexible coding method is necessary to adapt to the inductive findings during the process. The coding was done in two steps with different materials. The first step took mainly a deductive approach with pre-determined codes based on descriptions of urban identity expressions enacted in the home or in public in previous research to map perceptions of institutions' services and responsibilities. The material included was the municipal protocols and news articles. The deductive codes used were; Community building, home, responsibility – Thráhppie or municipality, opinion of the municipality's work – negative or positive. These codes guided the coding process in line with the research question and focused on areas described as important for everyday life in previous research. Then, the codes were expanded upon, and additional codes were added inductively as derived from the material. The inductive coding has a theoretical basis. It focuses on experiences of being Sámi and identity descriptions. Capturing ontological security seeking is often done through clues and interpretation of discourse (Alkopher 2011 p.9; Krahmman 2018, p.360) as it is "for the most part, a largely reflexive, instinctive and somewhat sub-/unconscious activity" (Browning 2018, p.338). Subjective experiences can be coded as ontological (in)security, depending on if they are negative or positive, and culturally connected identity expressions are coded as ontological security-seeking practices.

The end analysis ended up with three themes – home, institutions, and ontological security – with multiple codes and sub-codes. According to thematic analysis praxis, the coding happened in cycles where both deductive and inductive codes were examined after each cycle. The result was an overabundance of codes that was narrowed down as overlapping codes were merged and irrelevant codes were deleted. Part of the reason for the changes in the codes is that the material used changes. As written material does not allow the researcher to focus the research in the same way as articles, the coding ended up being a flexible process guided by deductive codes. This can especially be seen in institutions where the focus on opinion and relationships stayed though more institutions were included. The Swedish state was added as the third primary institution as the number of mentions and the content portrayed it as an actor with significant influence over everyday life. *Safety*, *Pride*, and *Appreciation* became the codes capturing experiences of ontological security and the characteristics of the situations where ontological security is expressed. Belonging as "being at ease with oneself and one's surroundings" (May 2011 in Skey, 2019, p. 164) and claiming the Sámi identity informed their coding as ontological security. Contrary, experiences of oppression and discrimination were coded as ontological insecurity as the individual is not at ease in these situations. The coding is further elaborated on in the code book found in the appendix.

It was necessary to remain inductive as the theory might not correspond to the material. The Sami relationship between culture, individual, and nature differs from assumptions in Giddens's theorization, particularly in the move between pre-modern and modern societies, and it is called into question if academic theories are useful when applied to local knowledge (Valkonen & Valkonen, 2019, pp. 13-16). The coding process follows the six-step approach laid out by Braun and Clarke (2012) and was done using the coding software NVivo.

7. Ethics

Ethical issues are inherent in fieldwork, and there are many resources for consideration of positionality, reflexivity, informed consent, anonymity, and other issues. However, researching indigenous peoples requires a contextual approach that considers their previous history with researchers and domestic politics.

7.1 Informed Consent

Research ethics and the development of ethical guidelines for research among Sámi have primarily been done in Norway, with little attention to this area of research in Sweden. It is in the last decade that this has changed. (Drugge, 2016a). Generally, the ethical guidelines in fieldwork about doing no harm, informed consent, the treatment of data, and maintaining respectful professional relationships need to be contextualized. (ASA Ethics Guidelines, 2021; AAA, 2012). Informed consent is a cornerstone of all research projects with participants, but the issue requires extra attention when working with Sámi. Getting consent needs to be viewed as an ongoing process during the research project, with participants being able to withdraw their consent and, therefore, the right to use their data at any point. With the history of race biology research to prove the inferiority of Sámi and the continued negative political and personal effects on families in Sámi society, informed consent is an essential measure to avoid doing harm and maintain ethical professional relationships. (Drugge, 2016b; Lof & Stinnerbom, 2016). Potential participants will be informed about the research scope, treatment, use of the material, and options for anonymity via email in advance. The information sheet will be discussed before any interview starts to encourage engagement with the material and combat misunderstandings. The participant specifies how they want to be referred to in the research, e.g., anonymity is discussed, and consent is assured verbally. (Israel, 2015, pp. 80-82). Participants get access to a draft before it is handed in as a step in treating consent as a continuous process, and they can withdraw at this stage. Language could prove problematic in getting informed consent, but with the research conducted in Sweden, participants and the researcher should share Swedish as a common language. (Ibid, pp. 81-82). Translators were considered, but there were no requests from participants.

7.2 Anonymity

Anonymity is another well-established principle in Western academia that needs to be problematized. In the case of Sámi, it might only be partly applicable. On the one hand, it can be hard to ensure in practice in small communities, sub-groups, or when using snowballing. This context must be considered to sufficiently anonymize the material when anonymity is requested. On the other hand, anonymity can be exploitative when it makes knowledge keepers invisible and does not accredit their authorship. (Drugge, 2016b; Lof & Stinnerbom, 2016, p. 142; Israel, 2015, pp. 103, 161; SSR, 2019). The research is viewed as a collaborative process with participating Sámi, aiming to accredit participants for their knowledge. Therefore, the issue of anonymity is raised as a matter of deliberation between the researcher and the participant before interviews are conducted to respect the knowledge keeper's wishes.

7.3 Reflexivity

Research is a political matter, and when researching Indigenous issues, the colonial history and its continuation in the present needs to be acknowledged. Therefore, it is not enough to not use unethical research practices. Instead, it is necessary to consider the research as an activity in a social and political context where the researcher is responsible for considering how the research can contribute to and be used by Sámi. (Lawrence & Raitio, 2016). As a non-indigenous Swedish researcher, I am part of the majority society and, therefore, a colonizer. By taking this into account and approaching the research with a critical gaze from within Western academia and Western institutions, I strive to be an allied other. (Lawrence & Raitio, 2016). Early in the research process, it became clear that my knowledge of Sámi culture and politics was inadequate as an outsider. As one person I reached out to phrased it: through my way of talking about Sámi, it was evident I had no personal connection and showed a lack of understanding. I carried out the rest of the research with this doubt in mind. Through Sámi news, academic texts, social media, and popular culture, I have tried to fill the gaps in my knowledge to the best of my ability.

With the ambition of being an allied other and doing research with, rather than about, Sámi, I have aimed to avoid value-based coding. The coding has strived to be more about capturing and categorizing Sámi opinions and perspectives expressed in the material. The issue that arose in the analysis is that ontological security, rather than being measured through indicators, relies on the researcher's subjective interpretation of the material. During the interviews, this was managed by being able to ask clarifying questions, but for the majority of material from articles and municipality documents, the focus was on how statements could be understood in ontological security. A degree of interpretation was, as such, needed.

From a more practical point of view, my position as an outsider was a challenge during the fieldwork. With few contacts in Umeå and no contacts with any Sámi community, I tried to go through relevant organizations to reach members. While the field site was accessible as I went to public events, the local gatekeepers facilitating access to informants were a challenge. No organization, except when I contacted an organization about a previous project they conducted, decided not to grant me access to their members. While other researchers that have encountered this issue thought it was a method of mitigating political risk that might originate from the research result (Eklund, 2010), the declines were motivated as being standard practice based on getting many requests for participation in various research projects. Research fatigue seems to be part of the reason for the gatekeepers to shut the door. Collaboration with a Sámi organization seemed to be needed to get access in many cases, which makes approval from gatekeepers a time-consuming and resource-heavy process that is not accessible when doing research as a student. I got access through a Facebook group, a space where contacts are not facilitated through gatekeepers, and through contacting an organization asking about their projects. These were situations where members' private information was not requested.

8. Analysis

8.1. Building ontological security

The analysis begins with a discussion of the provision of ontological security through the daily operations of institutions. The section aims to understand the value the institutions provide the Sámi community before analyzing their responsibilities and perception of how they are fulfilled in the next section. The services provided by institutions are discussed in relation to ontological security theory.

8.1.1 Ontological security practices: Meeting places and routines

”To be able to gather and meet up on a social gathering, socialize together – something that is very important within Sámi culture”

The quote above, from one of the coded articles, illustrate the value of socializing. Socializing serves many functions for Sámi in Umeå, depending on context and company. Sometimes it is a pleasant activity, sometimes it serves a purpose, and sometimes, as indicated by the quote above, an act with a cultural value. In the most simplistic understanding, there are two groups Sámi socialize with: other Sámi and non-Sámi persons. While all of the people speaking in the material make it clear that it matters that they are Sámi, what being Sámi means to them is not always the same. For example, the word *pride* was used by Sámi to describe their indigenous identity when interviewed during the Sámi national day (6th of February) or Ubmejen Biejvieh. These are occasions where visibility is high, Sámi people make up the majority, and the Sámi identity is celebrated. While this does not exclude that pride is felt in other contexts, the prevalence implies that these occasions facilitate the feeling. Some examples of what was said are: "It is important that we get to be proud over our forefathers' heritage and who we are" and "They [my children] should know where they come from and be proud over it." Both statements concern claiming your own identity passed through generations and passed on to the next. In that sense, pride is both an individual and a collective experience.

The question of why it is important to socialize with others that share your identity was a significant aspect of the interview about Sámi meeting places. As described, the meeting places were an opportunity to meet other Sámi youth for those that lived outside of Sápmi, where the community is more geographically separated. Participants met people with a shared identity and similar experiences during these meetings. In comparison, everyday life might involve instances where your culture, political interests, and rights as an indigenous person are being questioned. In comparison, during these meetings, there was no pressure to explain yourself hence why they were referred to as safe spaces:

"What we offer is a ... safe room where you don't need to explain your identity and I know that is something special that these youth need and want. For issues such as postcolonial structures are complex issues that you need to be able to understand and be able to grasp. And you need to do it with likeminded people that have similar experiences... At least it facilitates it dramatically and makes it so you can actually cope with the shit you take."

"The shit you take" is the experience of living under Swedish colonialization. The insecurity that might be felt in interactions with the majority society is contrasted with the *safety* that Sámi meeting places can create. The idea of Sámi meeting places creating safety correlates to a quote describing home in the theory section: "[a] place where subjectivity can be anchored and securitized." The notion of a safe room is integral in the quote, and not having to explain things connected to identity can be described as the act of anchoring and securitizing the subjective. In other words, Sámi meeting places provide unique and necessary spaces for the individual to build ontological security.

The Sámi national day and Ubmejen Biejvieh are different types of meeting places. These are occasions where community visibility is high, Sámi people make up the majority, and the Sámi identity is celebrated. In other words, they create a majority Sámi context, like that created in Thráppie, but in the public space. Both statements regarding and descriptions of the meeting places emphasize the cultural aspects of the environment with the implication that it is relevant to the socializing taking

place at the locations. One visitor describes Tráhppie as "home," which can be described as being in a majority Sámi context disrupts the prevailing power structures of the majority society. However, it is not necessarily the primary or only meeting place of importance. In an interview, though Tráhppie was mentioned as an important meeting place, other non-Sámi meeting places were mentioned, and the most important social contacts were with friends. It is a reminder of how Sámi people are part of the larger social context in Umeå.

However, during celebrations of the Sámi national day and Ubmejen Biejviej, expressions of *pride* in being Sámi are made. Claiming one's identity can be understood as an outward expression of ontological security and the autobiographical part of belonging. It is a personal way to narrate the individual's history as connected to identity and expressing pride over being Sámi, indicating that the individuals feel secure in their autobiographical narrative. In turn, it can indicate ontological security. The safety created through interactions between Sámi is, in ontological security language, a process of referring to autobiographical narratives of the individual through routines and lack of external challenge to the individual's autobiographical narrative through questioning of their identity. How meeting places provide routines has to do with their cultural role in everyday life.

The same places where people meet often have a role in Sámi cultural life. Tráhppie, a café and cultural center by Sâkhie, has a vital role in the Sámi cultural scene in Umeå as well as nationally. The *activities* that take place there, organized by Sâkhie or in collaboration with Umeå municipality, are many and varied, such as cooking, lectures, and jojk, to name a few. From an ontological security perspective, these activities can be understood as routines. Through hosting and facilitating access to cultural traditions, the institutions, here Sâkhie and Umeå municipality, facilitate the continuation of routines embedded in a cultural context and participate in preserving Sámi autobiographical narratives in an urban setting. It connects to the practical understanding of home as a place where securitizing routines are performed, not in the private home but on a community level. By creating spaces

where routines can be performed, the institutions create characteristics of home in Umeå as a city.

8.1.2 Borders and distance

Meeting places for Sámi are not limited to those in Umeå or even ones in Sweden. The municipality arranges visits to take elders to gatherings and activities across the borders into Norway and Finland. The ties between the Sámi community in Umeå and Sámi communities in the parts of Sápmi located in Norway and Finland connect a people divided by colonialization. It is a reminder that the Sámi community is nation-spanning as well as local. Community building and socializing across borders go against the focus on nationalism and the use of home as an exclusionary bordering process prominent in much literature on ontological security. This aspect of community-building contradicts the use of borders in nationalist definitions of belonging, as the borders are limiting, but not excluding, for sharing in the collective Sámi identity or a shared cultural life across Sápmi. Borders are a dividing and historically harmful introduction by states, as seen in the forced relocation of Sámi across nations, but Sámi persons are still part of the same indigenous people.

However, geographical distance is a limiting factor for community building which can be seen on the national level in Sweden. During the interview about creating meeting places for Sámi youth outside of Sápmi, the participant reflected on the accessibility. The distance was mentioned as a difference that posed a challenge when organizing Sámi youth outside versus inside Sápmi. In cities inside the geographical borders of Sápmi, of which Umeå was mentioned, there is more of a “samisk community” where you know, or know of, each other because of the geographical closeness.

“But it is the showing up part that is tricky. And especially in Borås. How the fuck do we do it in Borås? Nobody we know is in Borås. It’s very hard.

... And then the question is: Is that where we should go for it then? Or should we go for creating a functioning local chapter in Jokkmokk? Where we ... have a membership base we know. Who knows.“

The distances between Sámi in southern Sweden, inside and outside the larger cities where the project was conducted, were considered an issue when creating meeting places. While community building and belonging to the collective Sámi identity contradicts nationalist definitions of belonging, distance is still an issue when implementing projects. One proposed solution was using digital meeting places. Nevertheless, accessibility is still an issue in Umeå. Outreach is a concern as not all Sámi in Umeå are comfortable entering Sámi contexts where there might be a cultural barrier, has knowledge of these resources, or otherwise do not attend. While meeting places and events can function as spaces that build ontological security for Sámi, it cannot be assumed that everyone chooses or can attend. The institutions have the ambition to have a more extensive reach and a more significant societal effect through their operations, but there are limits to their reach and to whom they function as a source for ontological security.

On the other hand, there is also the fact that Sámi does not exist exclusively in a Sámi social context. Sámi youth outside of Sápmi were mentioned as having two social contexts: one in the city and one when they visit relatives up north. This idea of having two homes was echoed strongly in the other interview. On the one hand, home was their apartment in Umeå and partaking in city life, and another home was the cabin where they had spent time since childhood, located close to the *viste* (place of residence)⁴, where the family had kept reindeer. In previous research, home is described as singular. Having multiple homes that fulfill different ontological needs is an interesting addition. Similar in both interviews is that the social circle and cultural scene, discussed in previous sections, create engagement in city life and act as aspects of home. Family connections are mentioned in the other regard. For the cabin by the *viste* the sense of home is also described as connected to nature and ‘everything’ in the area. The feeling of coming home was only mentioned in relation to the cabin, not to Umeå. When specified, it was described as a feeling of ‘ro,’ which can be translated to peace or calm and familiarity. It was explained by

⁴ Swedish definition from Västerbottens museum (2022). Translation from Swedish by the author.

quoting the song lyrics, “It is here you know where the paths go ... it is here you come when you come home”. How other geographical and social contexts play a role in the construction of ontological security for the individual plays a significant role in where Sámi persons feel at home and why.



Figure 5 Replica of a sydsamiskt viste at Gammlia, Umeå. Picture taken by the author.



Figure 4 Replica of a skogssamiskt viste at Gammlia, Umeå. Picture taken by the author.

8.2 Institutions

Having set the scene for the importance of Sámi meeting places in and outside of Umeå in relation to ontological security, the creation of these places will be further discussed. In particular, the institutions that contribute to cultural life and have a place in Sámi everyday life in Umeå will be introduced and described. While the state will be mentioned, its role will be elaborated on in section 8.3.1.

8.2.1 Såkhie

The focal point for Sámi culture in Umeå is Såkhie Sámi Association. Their two major projects that have national and local statues were already mentioned above: Tráhppie and the annual Ubmejen Biejviej. While both have been described as important meeting places, Ubmejen Biejviej is seen as a platform to push for the progression of Sámi rights. All statements about Såkhie are positive and emphasize

the institution's cultural and social significance. As discussed previously, in the Sámi social environment in Umeå, Tráhppie provides a place to socialize in a majority Sámi environment. Apart from the community-building aspect, it also serves as a cultural bastion.

“[In 2017] 180 events took place in the house, that have become an important hub for Sámi culture. According to Lindblad and Nilsson the cultural center – together with *Samiska teatern* in Kiruna, *Samernas bibliotek* in Jokkmokk, *Sameslöjdstiftelsen* and the *sydsamiska centret* in Östersund – one of Swedish Sápmi’s five legs on the cultural policy arena”

Once again, Tráhppie is lifted from its local context to refocus on the regional Sápmi. While Sâkchie is mentioned by many as the actor that hosts cultural events and functions that a meeting place that they frequent, positive opinions of Sâkchie primarily frames their importance on the regional or national level with a reflecting use of non-personal language in the statements. The content might depend on much of the positive mentions of Thráppie being made in the context of advocating for Thráppie's survival during periods of economic struggles. The region and the state have recently underfinanced Tráhppie to the degree that threatens the survival of its operation. In one article, it is mentioned that Tráhppie and Ubmejen Biejvieh are two separate operations that are driven independently. As such, these operations do not fully capture Sâkchie's importance for the Sámi community in Umeå. However, it indicates that these are two integral parts of how the association is perceived.

In addition, both Tráhppie and Ubmejen Biejvieh are recognized as platforms through which Sámi people and culture *take up space*. *Taking up space* is mentioned as an important tool in making Sámi culture visible in Umeå. It is an expressed purpose of Sâkchie with the annual Ubmejen Biejvieh and Tráhppie.

"I would summarize it like we in Umeå Sámi Association have succeeded with the goal to make Sámi culture in Umeå visible."

The purpose of visibility is to reclaim Umeå as a city with Sámi heritage rather than claiming the Sámi identity on a personal level. It works on the collective level,

influencing people regarding how lack of visibility affects belonging. There is a concentrated effort from Sâkchie to change the existing relational positioning that influences belonging. However, while change is needed, much has happened over the decades. Sâkchie has had a role in increasing visibility and improving conditions compared to past decades. However, while the progress is acknowledged, there is still a lot left to be desired from institutions that, in contrast to Sâkchie, are based outside the Sámi community. In other words, the struggle to keep and increase the recognition of Sámi culture and the rights of indigenous people is ongoing.

"I'm still waiting for Sweden to pay much more attention to the Sámi than it does. And Umeå as a city could do much more."

Importantly, there is a reflexive understanding of the collective group's agency when wishing for the Swedish state and the city of Umeå to do more. As such, when continuing to discuss what the institutions can and are, doing, it is done in the light of knowing that the Sámi agency is central in the active struggle to be seen. Sâkchie's managing of platforms that push Sámi issues to the attention of the majority society is regarded as a positive function that puts them in contrast to Umeå municipality and the Swedish state as institutions part of the majority society.

As such, Sâkchie in Umeå functions as a meeting place in a majority Sámi environment which can be understood as them providing a sense of ontological security through socializing in a Sámi environment. In relation to the state and municipality, it can also be seen as a champion of Sámi rights and, therefore, in a broader sense, as an actor that works for a more general provision of ontological security. Compared to how the provision of ontological security will be mentioned in relation to the state and the municipality, it contrasts the institutions' different roles as providers of ontological security. Through earlier analysis of ontological security practices, in the form of cultural events as routines and a meeting place where the individual's autobiographical narrative is not challenged, Sâkchie is cemented as an actor who contributed to the general ontological security of the Sámi community in Umeå as well as nationally.

8.2.2 Umeå municipality

The municipality is the other main institution that acts on the local level in Umeå. Umeå municipality has a wide-ranging set of responsibilities that range from providing culturally informed elder care, including a possible elder care facility, Sámi reference groups for Sámi influence at the local level, and the provision of financial support to Sámi organizations and events. All the responsibilities are united by the municipality's role as a service provider for Sámi persons as both residents and indigenous people. The general opinion of the Sámi residing in Umeå fulfills their responsibilities is positive, with one-third expressing negative opinions.

Most of the positive sentiments are regarding the economic contributions to Sâkchie, which are integral to keeping Tráhppie open, and its overall increase in support of Sámi interests and culture in Umeå compared to earlier decades. The economic contributions from the municipality to Sâkchie are positively regarded, especially as they continue in-between periods of high awareness and the financial grants being of a significant amount compared to grants from the state and regional level. In addition, the municipality is also perceived as, over time, becoming more open and welcoming to collaborations with Sâkchie. In one source, it is attributed to the more significant pressure to live up to political promises as an administrative area for the Sámi language. The positive opinion of the municipality, specifically in its support of Sámi interests being continuous over time, indicates an establishment of trust in them as a supporter of Sámi interests. The economic contributions and general support facilitate the activities and other operations previously described as ontological security practices. In addition, culturally conscious elder care, by providing cultural activities to elders and having culturally competent careers, provides ontological security practices for a specific Sámi demographic. There is *appreciation* from the Sámi community for the work with elders. Expressions of appreciation can, like pride, be understood as expressions of ontological security. What is appreciated is that Umeå municipality, as an institution part of the majority society, recognizes the need for Sámi to take up space and takes responsibility for creating these spaces for the community. The municipality can therefore be

described as an institution that provides ontological security and facilitates other institutions' ontological security practices.

However, there are also negative opinions of the municipality. The complaints concern the handling of Sámi influence at the local level. This led to the sub-code *Concerns with Samråd and advisory positions*. As mentioned, Umeå municipality is an administrative area for the Sámi language. As it comes with specific rights for Sámi persons and corresponding obligations for the municipality, there are unique concerns surrounding how this is implemented in practice. The Claim from the Sámi delegation (Yrkande från den samiska delegationen vid öppet samråd den 26 januari 2021 mellan Umeå kommun och samerna, 2021) proved to be a particularly relevant document as it critiques the operation of the consultations for not following national law or the municipality's guidelines. The Claim urges the municipality to follow existing guidelines. In the interview concerning living in Umeå, the municipality was described as lacking a holistic approach when including Sámi and Sámi perspectives across departments. The hosting of Rally Sweden without checking how it affects reindeer herders in the municipality was mentioned as an example where Sámi had to take the initiative to be included. While the municipality has gotten better and has a supportive collaboration with Sámie, there is a need for internal changes to what is regarded as Sámi issues to not create ontological insecurity by excluding relevant issue areas. The holistic understanding of Sámi as a part of all of Umeå, not relegated to certain areas, is needed for furthering the inclusion of Sámi people on the municipal level.

Overall, Sámi influence and insight into municipality decision-making on relevant issues are criticized for having decreased recently despite a general increase in involvement compared to earlier decades. While there is displeasure with the consultation development, the general position is that the support for the Sámi community and culture in Umeå has increased compared to the past. It signals that there is still a struggle to maintain recognition, although the support generally has been consistent and that there are areas that can still be improved in the relationship between the Sámi community and Umeå municipality.

8.2.3 Collaborations among institutions

While Sâkchie and Umeå municipality are the most prominent institutions operating locally, it would be reductive not to mention that they are part of a more extensive network. Overall, the many collaborations between institutions illustrate that their operations and responsibilities cannot be understood separate from those of other institutions. These collaborations become part of the daily operations on the local level. It entails sharing responsibilities as organizers for cultural events and providing locales where the events are hosted. The most frequently mentioned collaborative relationship is between Sâkchie and Umeå municipality, which could result from sampling as it relied on criteria centered on this relationship. As this has already been discussed, the following section discusses collaborations more generally.

Sâkchie was previously described as the focal point of cultural life in Umeå, so it follows that the association is a constant partner in all collaborations. Once more, this could be the result of sampling. The relevance of Sâkchie in collaborations further reaffirms the institution's importance. Since the focus is on events, it illustrates that Sâkchie has a central role as a cultural actor with an extensive network and working relations with both Sámi and non-Sámi organizations. Two institutions part of this network, apart from Sâkchie and Umeå municipality, are Västerbottens museum and Umeå University. The institutions cover different niches that contribute to a well-rounded collaboration. An example is the relationship between Sâkchie and Västerbottens museum described as:

“At the museum, we know cultural heritage issues while Tráhppie has broad expertise in factual issues. It is a great prerequisite for our operations that they exist.”

While this is just one statement, the consistent participation of Sâkchie in collaborations, their position in the cultural arena in Sâpmi, the increased visibility of Sámi culture in the city accredited to their work, and the close connections with the municipality's work with minority politics indicates that the statement about being the prerequisite for other institutions holds. In other words, Sâkchie is the

prerequisite for the inclusion of Sámi in Umeå and is integral for institutions whose operations facilitate securing autobiographical narratives. However, the institutions require resources to operate. The resources can be divided into material and immaterial features.

Resource issues cause issues in the daily operations of Sámi organizations and their collaborators as financial grants are insufficient and necessary materials are inaccessible or non-existent. More concretely, there is a lack of accessible teaching materials and knowledge connected to a lack of funding and underprioritizing of Sámi culture. In addition, the lack of cultural competency among personnel that works with Sámi people poses an issue for the institutions as cultural competency is required to fulfill the needs of the Sámi community. It is mainly an issue raised in the municipality protocols in the everyday operations of elder care as encountered recipients might be Sámi. Integrally, not all recipients are necessarily open about being Sámi making it more important for the personnel to be able to identify that through cultural indicators. On the other hand, cultural competency is also an issue regarding activities, especially the efforts to revitalize the Sámi languages. Resource issues and cultural competency is enabling factors for institutions to provide access to ontological security practices. Therefore, it is troubling that financing undercuts the implementation of this service when there is an expressed will and efforts to provide it.

In collaborations, Sâkchie functions as a resource when institutions want to work with Sámi issues. It is true for more prominent institutions such as Västerbottens museum and Umeå municipality. As stated, Västerbottens museum views Sâkchie as “a great prerequisite for our operations.” Sâkchie is central when discussing the ontological (in)security of Sámi persons in Umeå. The ontological security practices provided by the institutions, in the form of cultural events as routines, working for community building between Sámi as well as non-Sámi, and providing Sámi-majority meeting places, depend on resources provided by Sâkchie and their operations have functioned as an example for other actors by highlighting the need for an increased focus on Sámi issues in the city. It supports the argument that

institutions other than the state can function as providers of ontological security. It also highlights the interdependent aspects of analyzing the provision of ontological security. Through capturing the centrality of Sâkhië, it problematizes the discussion of the state and other institutions as ontological security providers as the conditions for their operations, and their responsibilities are relational to other institutions with similar issue areas.

8.3 Colonialization and ontological (in)security

So far, the provision of services by institutions in Umeå to satisfy social and cultural needs for Sámi has been discussed. In addition, there has been discussion of how different parts of the institutions' operations function as ontological security-seeking practices. What is lacking is the context of how it is to live under colonialization by the Swedish state and how that affects the need for ontological security provisions. It starts by understanding how Sámi in Umeå perceives the Swedish state and continues by detailing everyday experiences.

8.3.1 The Swedish state

The Swedish state is described as having responsibilities to uphold indigenous rights, prioritize Sámi issues, and provide funding for Sámi organizations. Compared to the municipality, which is actively a part of discussions of Sámi issues in Umeå, it is not only an institution that operates from outside the community but also with more distance. However, the legal responsibilities apply to the local level. The opinion of how responsibilities are upheld is exclusively negative. People speak of the state from personal experience and with emotional connection. It is highlighted in statements such as; "That Sweden is investing so little in Sámi issues is a great sorrow" and Sofia Jannoks' "The structural oppression from the governments affects me after all and my everyday, it might not be so weird that it shows in some way...". Actions, or inactions, on the state level, are felt down to a personal level.

The context, read between the lines or clearly stated, is Sweden's colonialization of Sápmi. The displeasure of the continued colonialization is often connected to urging the Swedish state to do better. The state fails to fulfill its perceived responsibilities

compared to other institutions embedded in historical and current colonialization. It happens on the local level, where references are made to Umeå municipality's more considerable total economic support to Sâkchie, and on the international level, where Sweden is compared to other colonial countries' laws and conduct. In comparison, the Swedish state is perceived to be half-heartedly committed to working on Sámi rights while more ambitious and desirable approaches are readily available. As comparisons are made with other states, there is solidarity with minorities nationally and indigenous peoples internationally who share experiences of living under state oppression. Their shared belonging and solidarity further recognize exclusionary and violent aspects of 'home' through shared experiences of discrimination from living as an Indigenous person or a minority under a state. Sámi people in Umeå are as much part of the global fight for indigenous recognition and rights as other indigenous peoples that receive more attention. Sámi people that position themselves in the larger global context put themselves in the larger context of the indigenous rights regime and show what more whole-hearted attention to Sámi rights would entail by connecting international examples and their own experiences.

While the global indigenous rights form part of the understanding of the Swedish state, statements of its progress and failures are also contextualized in relation to issues considered relevant for Sámi living or acting in Umeå. It creates an image of the state that is reflective to and representative of perspectives from Umeå. However, it should not be taken as a conclusive depiction of the state's *samepolitik*. Some national contrivances are included, such as the issue of reparations for forced relocations, unethical research practices, and, more generally, the integration and implementation of indigenous rights.

The Swedish state is an institution that is aware of its obligations, with pushes from Sámi communities and persons to fulfill state obligations, but whose implementation is left lacking. Sámi people's critique is harsh, emphasizing the state's approach in *samepolitik* being essential to any change.

"I am not a pessimist but I am concerned that Sweden is not signing any legal conventions. It is the greatest obstacle to developing the Sámi society."

The lack of trust in state action for the benefit of the Sámi community is also present in this statement, referring to potentially turning down Sâkchie's application to the state and region for the necessary financial support to keep Tráhppie open; "...a scenario that appear as almost unthinkable if an ounce of legitimacy and honor in the national and regional Sámi cultural policy will be able to be maintained." As such, the colonial control is still felt with many critiques against the current situation but with a struggle to keep the Swedish state accountable to its obligation to and rights of the indigenous people it colonized.

8.3.2 Majority society

The structural oppression of the state is also experienced in interactions with the non-Sámi majority society. Apart from the community building with other Sámi, much of the material concerns community building with non-Sámi persons. The misconceptions and negative stereotypes result from colonial relations. As mentioned, when discussing meeting places for Sámi and how it allows for unchallenged identity expression as building ontological security, the challenging of Sámi identity based on a lack of knowledge and persisting negative images result in a social climate that threatens ontological security. These interactions happen in Umeå, a place with characteristics of home and institutions working for Sámi inclusion, and highlight the exclusionary, potentially violent nature of home from feminist and postcolonial research. The hostile environment is recognized as an issue, and Sâkchie is one institution working to create spaces where non-Sámi persons encounter Sámi culture. The aim is to build understanding and, through understanding, work on changing current power relations. Compared discussion of meeting places, Sâkchie has the expressed aim to create inclusive meeting places where non-Sámi persons are encouraged to participate to foster curiosity and knowledge by having both Sámi and non-Sámi interact in a Sámi environment. Public events that create visibility for Sámi people, and Sámi culture, for the majority society have the potential to challenge negative stereotypes. It is expressed

by Lena Maria Nilsson, a Sámi researcher at Várddou at Umeå University, during the university's celebration of the Sámi national day:

"...For you that is not Sámi but live in Sápmi I want that the national day celebration will awaken a desire to learn more about where you are. All that you yet don't know, but exists in the grounds where you live, that sings in brocks and rivers, and twinkles in the stars above us. I want the celebrations of Sámi's national day to awaken a curiosity in you, so you want to know more about Sweden's colonial history and in that way challenge the prejudices and the lack of knowledge that exists in society. To you that is not Sámi I say: buörrie báhhtieme/welcome to celebrate the Sámi people's day with us."

Community building with the non-Sámi population can be understood as a different type of security-seeking practice than that which builds on shared experiences. Through educational and social means, community building can counter the ontological insecurity that arises by having your identity challenged, questioned, or diminished in everyday life. When meeting places are open to all, it moves their function as security-seeking practice from the individual to the collective level. While inviting non-Sámi persons to places where Sámi people are meant to be safe by not having their identity challenged seems contradictory, it has the same aim but does it through in the long-term by wanting to normalize the Sámi identity among society at large.

8.3.3 Experiencing ontological security

Ontological insecurity has so far been briefly mentioned as part of the experience of living under colonialization. It needs further analysis as the context within which ontological security-seeking practices operate and runs like a red thread through the analysis. It depicts the darker side of relational belonging. While progress has been made recently, accredited to the struggle for rights by the Sámi community and institutions, discrimination is experienced as continuous, connecting past transgressions to the current situation. The temporal aspect is prominent when

discrimination is commented on. Michael Lindblad, the previous president of Sámie, said:

"I have worked to get some kind of redress for my parents, those who have come before me. Those who have learnt not to talk about being Sámi. Create redress for Sámi culture and for those that were forced to hide it. Then it is also for the young, concretely my children. They should know where they come from and be proud of it."

In this statement, the agency is with the Sámi. There is recognition of being Sámi having become less of a taboo, but they are still fighting for their rights and reclaiming the pride robbed from the group as colonial practices created a hostile environment. Others discuss the forced relocations, the repatriation of stolen indigenous items or remains from the state or other institutions, and the continued struggle for land rights and other legal protections. Historical transgressions are many and inform current structural discrimination. Another prominent person, Sofia Jannok, has several statements regarding the continued structural discrimination of Sámi from government bodies.

"As a child I was present at Sametinget's inauguration when it was founded in 1993. The same day the Swedish state took away samebyarna's right to manage hunting on their own lands. From up-close I saw how the adults went on hunger strike to show how serious this was."

Similar to the discussion of the Swedish state's half-hearted commitment to implementing indigenous rights, it concerns the asymmetrical power relation between the Sámi and the Swedish state. Jannok's statements express the gravity of current discrimination. While the research focuses on ontological security, this quote shows the intersection between physical and ontological security as an Indigenous people under continued colonial control. The ontological insecurity of losing control over a routine, i.e., hunting, due to state intervention is intrinsically connected to the physical safety imbued in land rights. What this says about the relational aspect of belonging is that there are structural causes of insecurity with

deep personal effects on the individual's physical and ontological security. It is clear from Jannok and Lindblad's statements that the discrimination poses narrative threats to autobiographical narratives as it concerns issues embedded in Sámi culture and legal rights. Institutions, specifically the state, remain an obstacle to physical and ontological security. With its long history of discrimination, the state could additionally be understood as a main cause of remaining experiences insecurity. It ties individuals' current struggle for identity and ontological security to historical events with an unclear point of origin.

9. Discussion: The state of Umeå

The expectation at the beginning of the research was that being Sámi in a city was an experience contained to city life. On the contrary, the analysis revealed an everyday for Sámi in Umeå that consisted of interdependent relations between people and institutions. The relations connect generations of Sámi people and affect everyday lives of people far geographically removed from the institutions. The local, national, and global all coincided in Umeå as colonialization tied the past to present experiences of being Sámi. Resulting from the research, a complex network of institutions emerge which, through everyday operations, contributes to belonging for the Sámi population in Umeå. Sâkhie, Umeå municipality, and the Swedish state are all perceived by Sámi persons to provide ontological security but from there, their roles in the everyday diverge. The complex relationships depend on interdependence and a lack of dichotomous relations.

9.1 Understanding the complex network of institutions

Researching the role of institutions revealed that their everyday operations are highly interdependent through collaborations and resources. The security-seeking practices provided by the operations rely on a complex network of institutions with different legal, political, and cultural responsibilities and obligations to make everyday Sámi-life possible in cities like Umeå. Together the institutions create and manage the context of everyday experiences of ontological (in)security. The role of

institutions has been acknowledged in previous research on Sámi identity, but their role has not been discussed as a matter of security.

As this paper illustrates, the question whether these institutions provide ontological security does not have a straightforward answer. The interdependent relationship between institutions depends on their role as providers of ontological security through security-seeking practices and the institutions' obligations as understood by Sámi and how they conformed with them in practice. At the center of the network is Sâkchie. The Sámi association proved to be a prerequisite for the Swedish state's efforts to contribute to Sámi culture, to Umeå municipality's inclusion of Sámi in municipality matters, as well as for local organizations that collaborate with Sâkchie. The dependency is not by default negative as Sâkchie operates from within the community to fulfill the needs they see and have built an operation with a solid national standing as one of five bearers of Sámi culture in Sweden. There is also the matter that the relations are interdependent, and Sâkchie is dependent on external resources for its operations survival. However, seeing how dependent other institutions are on Sâkchie, it could, for future research, be valuable to research how Sámi issues and perspectives are incorporated in municipalities that lack an organized Sámi community. It goes back to the question raised in the interview about meeting places: "How the fuck do we do it in Borås? Nobody we know is in Borås". In the interview, it was clear that meeting places matter in these places as they are safe spaces where ontological security can be built. A potential continuation of this research can be to research how institutions adapt to meeting the Sámi community's needs where the internal mobilization differs from that in Umeå and from the individual perspectives of the community to get a local understanding of ontological security perspectives in such a city. It would diversify a research field that mainly focuses on urban Sámi in cities like Umeå and Stockholm.

All the discussed institutions have a role in building belonging, though the satisfaction with their efforts differs within the community, and as providers of ontological security. However, it differs from the academic discussion of the state

in OST, where ontological security is provided to the population by creating a state identity. People who identify with the constructed identity then derive ontological security from it. The roles of Sâkchie, Umeå municipality, and the Swedish state do not fit into this understanding. Additionally, there is internal variation between them. For example, Sâkchie's events at Tráhppie that push visibility, put Sámi issues on the agenda, and provide a connection to Sámi culture. Sâkchie does this as part of the community, which affects how it interacts with the community's needs.

In comparison, the state funds Sâkchie while the municipality frequently collaborates with them and provides financing. The difference between the institutions can be understood as a scale of direct to indirect provision of ontological security. Focusing on ontological security, the Swedish state facilitates the provision of ontological security from Umeå municipality and Sâkchie, as they do not directly provide the community with security-seeking practices and do not show the same commitment to Sámi issues. Adding facilitation of the resources for providing ontological security to the theoretical framework can better illustrate the relationship between institution-institution and institution-people when including more institutions as potential providers of ontological security in research. Provision-facilitation of ontological security should be understood as a spectrum as Umeå municipality, for example, provides ontological security and facilitates Sâkchie's provision of ontological security through financing.

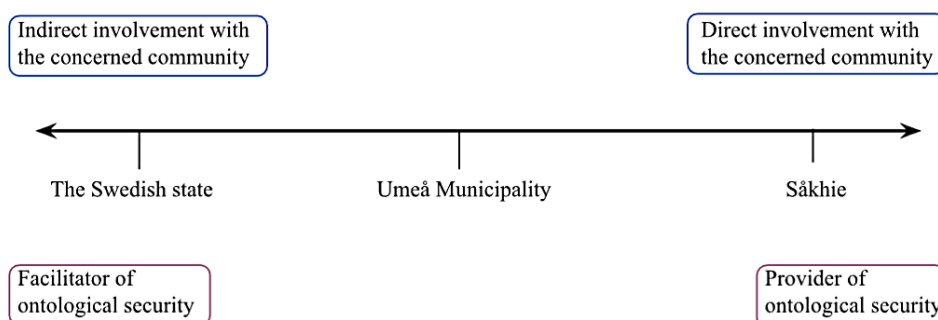


Figure 6 Visualization of the institutions roles as facilitators/providers of ontological security

9.2 Broadening OST

All three institutions have a clear role in the provision of ontological security, but it bears little resemblance to the descriptions by Krolkowski (2008) and Mercer (2014). The institutions focus on providing the space to claim and preserve an existing cultural identity in the face of past and present oppression by the state and municipality rather than creating an overarching state identity for the population to identify with. The decolonial analysis emphasizes the dual security-insecurity created by the Swedish state and Umeå municipality. As such, they both contribute to the building of ontological security and uphold structures that create ontological insecurity and challenge the Sámi populations belonging in Umeå. Both functions are essential to understanding everyday Sámi life and the relationship between the institutions as the Sámi community pushes for the state and municipality to do more.

Through the inductive analysis, Sámi voices that contradicted preconceived notions of dichotomy in ontological security theory emerge. The discussed overlap between physical and non-physical security from a post-colonial perspective came up in the analysis. Physical safety came up in the form of place, as meeting places were a major point where ontological security practices could take place in a Sámi environment. Sâkchie, and other Sámi groups, create these places based on identified needs within their community, which other institutions come to depend on. Umeå municipality does so in a direct collaboration on events and organizing activities for Sámi constituents in their operations. The state takes a more distant role where it funds Sámi organizations' operations. The municipality also provides funding to a higher degree than the state, according to the material. In this, the material aspect of the institution's operations is foundational to the ideational work of providing the activities and the visibility for Sámi issues that creates ontological security. To receive the resources needed for their continued existence, organizations must struggle for continued support. Sâkchie and Umeå municipality are building the Sámi community in Umeå from the resources provided by the municipality and the Swedish state. Then the community pushed for continued support. In this way, the non-physical security needs depend on physical places, where they can be enacted,

and resources for sustaining these physical places and daily operations. In previous research, physical security for Sámi in urban environments has been discussed as mental health or issues of land in the field of arctic security. However, the physical requirements for ontological security for Sámi people in Umeå correspond more closely to those of indigenous movements that create visibility and claim public space in right-to-the-city literature. The physical is present in the structures and laws that govern relations between and within the institutions that have a role in the provision of ontological security. The physical-non-physical aspects of security are present in the provision of ontological security on the collective level while it is absent in literature on Sámi identity that focuses on the identity-confirming and identity-strengthening actions that the individual can do in their home. Collective action needs a consideration of the physical, or rather material, conditions for sustained action.

Another area where the lack of dichotomies is present is the connection between past and present colonialization and oppression. The personal stories of continued oppression and the struggle against colonialization are always present in discussions. It formed the context of what it means to be Sámi today. The continuous act of establishing ontological security can only be understood as necessary if it is contextualized with the fact that colonialization is ongoing, experienced at the personal level, and is a cause of ontological insecurity. Most of the ontological security provisions of institutions are directed towards persons and therefore are resources for the individual's construction of ontological security. However, dealing with the cause of ontological security and creating lasting belonging requires the end of colonialization. The structural change required is the aim of the global struggle of indigenous peoples. The experience of colonial oppression unites the Sámi community and other indigenous peoples across time and space, which contradicts Giddens' theoretical conceptualization of pre-modern and modern societies where the erosion of tradition changes how ontological anxieties are experienced and regulated. Giddens implies this change to be the result of an internal process. Changes in Sámi life, such as forced relocation and assimilation, have long resulted from external force through colonialization. Causes

and experiences of ontological insecurity derive from state action rather than globalization or the disconnect of time and space through communications. It can be argued that communications are part of why there are mentions of solidarity with other indigenous peoples and facilitate connections to other Sámi communities, as the distance is still an issue for community building. The geographical aspects of home are, because of the material, underexplored in this research. Future research could explore the significance of emotional ties to place for ontological security or the concept of having multiple homes, one in the city and one in an area with more traditional ties, that fulfill different identity needs.

As part of the lack of dichotomies, values associated with the pre-modern society, tradition, nature, and culture are important in constructing a secure Sámi identity. Tradition, nature, and culture are hallmarks of the pre-modern society that provide stability but, according to Giddens, have eroded in the progression to becoming a modern society. Tradition and culture have been the target of the Swedish state's colonial practices but are today the backbone of Sámie. In addition, their preservation is actively supported by Umeå municipality and the Swedish state. In this case, the presumed societal progression to a modern society and dichotomies between societies do not hold.

Despite presumptions in Giddens' western-centric framework not being applicable when researching an indigenous people's ontological (in)security, it does not mean that ontological security theory is not of use for these cases. On the contrary, the introduction of post- and decolonial theory into the framework helps produce research that shows that ontological (in)security is a concern intrinsic to colonialization. Institutions that work to provide ontological security, especially those causing or contributing to ontological insecurity, have taken steps to decolonize their practices. Most of the decolonizing steps have been to support introductions of Sámi culture and traditions in everyday city life, where Sámi persons have felt the need to assimilate for fear of discrimination. The structural change is ongoing, with oppression and colonial practices still part of everyday Sámi experiences, but institutions' provision of ontological security is one way to

understand how Sweden is reckoning, or not, with their internal colonialization. However, this research captures the experiences of a Sámi community located in Sápmi and an administrative area for Sámi. Further research could explore the influence of being a Sámi administrative area on ontological security in comparative case studies. In particular, a comparison of before and after a municipality becomes an administrative area for Sámi.

9.3 Conclusion

Concluding this argument is the need for informed action. The Sámi community in Umeå has built a space in city life through Trahppie and the political fight for inclusion in municipality matters that concern their interests. Indigenous people building their own sense of belonging are at the center of right-to-the-city movements and the findings in these cases are that at some point belonging depends on other institutions adapting to and joining the process Indigenous communities have begun. In Umeå, the municipality and the Swedish state need to support Sâkchie to ensure that Sámi feel a sense of belonging in the city. While Sâkchie does much to elevate Sámi culture publicly and create spaces where the Sámi community can be unchallenged, the municipality and the state have an important part in ending this struggle. Belonging in the city is, as ontological security, a continuous process for the individual with no end state to reach. Continued colonialization problematizes the matter, as it causes ontological insecurity and the need for the provision of ontological security practices. As long as the institutions that facilitate and provide ontological security continue colonial practices, Sâkchie and the Sámi people struggle for security without an end. The main cause for ontological insecurity can be tackled, though the individual can never achieve ontological security. Ending colonialization is the long-term solution that would ease the everyday for Sámi people within Sweden and Sámi belonging in the city and the country can go unchallenged.

Ontological security adds a focus to indigenous research and research on colonialization that captures how colonialization impacts personal and collective experiences of security in the everyday rather than focusing on describing structural and legal changes. After all, colonialization and ontological (in)security is a lived experience with real consequences for the everyday of Sámi people.

Bibliography

- AAA. (2012). *Statement of Ethics (7 Principles of Professional Responsibility)*. American Anthropological Association. Retrieved from ethics.aaanet.org
- Anderson, D., & Flynn, A. (2020). Rethinking “duty”: City of Toronto, a stretch of the Humber River, and Indigenous-municipality relationships. *Alberta Law Review*, 1.
- Andersson, C. (2018, 11 23). «Vi behöver bli bättre på att följa upp saker». Retrieved from <https://www.minoritet.se/4223>
- ASA Ethics Guidelines. (2021). Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK. Retrieved from https://www.theasa.org/downloads/ethics/asa_ethicsgl_2021.pdf
- Barkawi, T., & Laffey, M. (2006). The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies. *Review of International Studies*, 32(2), 329-352.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. (M. Ritter, Trans.) London: Sage.
- Blommaert, J., & Jie, D. (2010). *Ethnographic fieldwork: a beginner's guide*. Bristol: Multilingual matters.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2012). Thematic Analysis. In P. M. Camic, D. L. Long, A. T. Panter, D. Rindskopf, & K. J. Sher, *APA Handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol. 2: Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological* (pp. 57-71). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Browning, C. S. (2018). Brexit, existential anxiety and ontological (in)security. *European Security*, 27(3), 336-355.
- Bäärnhjelm, S., Eastwood, E., & Sundvall, M. (2021). *Att vara same i storstad: Psykisk hälsa, vårderfarenheter och vårdbehov*. Stockholm: Transkulturellt centrum: Region Stockholm.
- Davies, J. (2010). Introduction Emotions in the Field. In J. Davies, *Emotion in the field: the psychology and anthropology of fieldwork experience* (pp. 1-32). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Diphorn, T. (2012). The Emotionality of Participation: Various Modes of Participation in Ethnographic Fieldwork on Private Policing in Durban, South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, XX(X), 1-25.
- Drugge, A.-L. (2016a). Introduction. In A.-L. Drugge, *Ethics in Indigenous Research: Past Experiences - Future Challenges* (pp. 9-17). Umeå: Vaartoe - Centre for Sami Research.
- Drugge, A.-L. (2016b). How Can We Do it Right? Ethical Uncertainty in Swedish Sami Research. *Journal of Academic Ethics*, 14(4), 263-279.

- Eklund, L. (2010). Cadres as Gatekeepers: The Art of Opening the Right Doors? In G. S. Szarycz, *Research Realities in the Social Sciences: Negotiating Fieldwork Dilemmas* (pp. 129-147). Armherst, New York: Cambria Press.
- Enoksson, M. (2021). *Förberedelser inför en sanningskommission om statens övergrepp mot det samiska folket*. Sametinget. Retrieved from <https://www.sametinget.se/157488>
- (2020). *Fact Sheet: Renewable Energy Projects in Sámi Territory*. Saami Council. Retrieved from <https://www.saamicouncil.net/documentarchive/factsheet-renewable-energy-on-smi-territory>
- Gerdner, A. (2020). Ethnic categorisation, identity and perceptions of life among Swedish Samis. *Ethnicities*, 1-27.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Grandinetti, T. (2019). Urban aloha 'aina: Kaka'ako and a decolonized right to the city. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 9(2), 227-246.
- Greaves, W. (2018). Damaging Environments: Kand Settler Colonialism, and Security for indigenous Peoples. *Environment and Society: Advances in research*, 9, 107-124.
- Horn, P. (2018). Indigenous peoples, the city and inclusive urban development policies in latin America: Lessons from Bolivia and Ecuador. *Development Polivy Review*, 36(4), 483-501.
- Hossain, K. (2016). Securitizing the Arctic indigenous peoples: A community security perspective with special reference to Sámi of the European high north. *Polar Science*, 10, 415-424.
- Hudson, C., & Nyseth, T. P. (2019). Dealing with difference: Contested place identities in two northern Scandinavian cities. *City*, 4-5, 564-579.
- Israel, M. (2015). *Research Ethics and Integrity for Social Scientists: Beyond Regulatory Compliance*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Kinnvall, C. (2006). *Globalization and Religious Nationalism in India: The Search for Ontological Security*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Kinnvall, C. (2016). The Postcolonial has Moved into Europe: Bordering, Security and Ethno-Cultural Belonging. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(1), 152-168.
- Kinnvall, C. (2017). Feeling ontologically (in)secure: States, traumas and the governing of gendered space. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 52(1), 90-108.
- Kinnvall, C., & Mitzen, J. (2017). An introduction to the special issue: Ontological securities in world politics. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 52(1), 3-11.

- Kinnvall, C., & Mitzen, J. (2020). Anxiety, fear, and ontological security in world politics: thinking with an beyond Giddens. *International Theory*, 12, 240-256.
- Kinnvall, C., & Svensson, T. (2022). Exploring the populist 'mind': Axiety, fantasy, and everyday populism. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 24(3), 526-542.
- Kinnvall, C., Manners, I., & Mitzen, J. (2018). Introduction to 2018 special issue of European Security: "ontological (in)security in the European Union". *European Security*, 27(3), 249-265.
- Krolikowski, A. (2008). State Personhood in Ontological Security Theories of International Relations and Chinese Nationalism: A Sceptical View. *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 2, 109-133.
- Kusenbach, M. (2003). Street phenomenology: The go-along as ethnographic research tool. *thonography*, 4(3), 455-485.
- Labba, E. A. (2020). *Herrarna satte oss hit. Om tvångsförflyttningarna i Sverige*. Stockholm: Norstedts.
- Laestadius, A.-H. (2020, 05 19). Förvaltningsområdena växer stadigt. Retrieved from <https://www.minoritet.se/1057>
- Lawrence, R., & Raitio, K. (2016). Academia and activism in Saami research: negotiating the blurred spaces between . In A.-L. Drugge, *Ethics in Indigenous Research: Past Experiences - Future Challenges* (p. 117-136). Umeå: Vaartoe - Centre for Sami Research.
- Löf, A., & Stinnerbom, M. (2016). Making collaboration work - Reflections from both sides. In A.-L. Drugge, *Ethics in Indigenous Research: Past Experiences - Future Challenges* (pp. 137-155). Umeå: Vaartoe - Centre for Sami Research.
- Mason, J. (2018). *Qualitative researching* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Mercer, J. (2014). Feeling Like a State: Social Emotion and Identity. *International Theory*, 12(3), 341-370.
- Mitzen, J. (2006a). Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma. *European Journal of International Relations*, 12(3), 341-370.
- Mål och riktlinjer 2020 - 2024 för Umeå kommuns minoritetspolitiska arbete. (2020). Umeå Kommun. Retrieved 03 08, 2022, from <https://www.umea.se/download/18.ad5775117f4981db042a1/1646294027783/M%C3%A5l%20och%20riktlinjer%20f%C3%B6r%20det%20minoritetspolitiska%20arbetet.pdf>
- Mälksoo, M. (2015). 'Memory must be defended': beyond the politics of mnemonical security. *Security Dialogue*, 46(3), 221-237.

- Mörkenstam, U. (2019). Organised hypocrisy? The implementation of the international indigenous rights regime in Sweden. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 23(10), 1718-1741.
- Narayan, K. (1993). How Native is a "Native" Anthropologist? *American Anthropologist*, 95(3), 671-686.
- Nejad, S., Wlaker, R., Macdougall, B., Belanger, Y., & Newhouse, D. (2019). "This is an Indigenous city; why don't we see it?" Indigenous urbanism and spatial production in Winnipeg. *The Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe canadien*, 63(3), 413-424.
- Njoh, A. J. (2017). "The-Right-To-The-City Question" and Indigenous Urban Populations in Capital Cities In Cameroon. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 52(2), 188-200.
- Nordin Jonsson, Å. (2010). *ÁRBEDIEHTU ÁRBEDIEHTO/AERPIMAAHTOE Sametingets policydokument för traditionell kunskap*. Sametinget.
- Nyseth, T., & Pedersen, P. (2014). Urban Sámi Identities in Scandinavia: Hybridities, Ambivalences and Cultural Innovation. *Acta Borealia*, 31(2), 131-151.
- Nystad, K., Spein, A. R., Balto, A. M., & Ingstad, B. (2017). Ethnic identity negotiation among Sami youth living in a majority Sami community in Norway. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 76(1), 1316939.
- Ojala, C.-G., & Nordin, J. M. (2019). Mapping Land and People in the North: Early Modern Colonial Expansion, Exploitation, and Knowledge. *Scandinavian Studies*, 19(1-2), 98-133.
- O'Reilly, K. (2009). *Key concepts in ethnography*. London & Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Peoples, C., & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2021). *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction* (3rd ed.). London and New York: Routledge.
- Rayner, J. (2021). Autonomy, Centrality, and Persistence in Place: The Indigenous Movement and the Right to the City in Quito. *City & Society*, 33(1), 147-170.
- Regeringskansliet. (2019). Samerna - ett folk och urfolk. Retrieved 03 13, 2022, from <https://www.regeringen.se/artiklar/2015/06/samerna---ett-folk-och-urfolk/>
- Rossdale, C. (2015). Enclosing Critique: The Limits of Ontological Security. *International Political Sociology*, 9, 369-386.
- Rumelili, B. (2015). Identity and Desecuritisation: The pitfalls of conflating ontological and physical security. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 18, 52-74.
- Sametinget. (2021, 06 28). Samerna i Sverige. Retrieved from <https://www.sametinget.se/samer>

- Sametinget. (2022, 01 12). *Om Sametinget: Folkvalt organ och myndighet*. Retrieved 08 08, 2022, from Sametinget: <https://www.sametinget.se/bakgrund>
- Sametinget. (n.d.). *Hem: Om Sametinget*. Retrieved 08 2022, 08, from <https://www.sametinget.se/>
- Scholte, J. A. (2005). *Globalization: A critical introduction* (2:nd ed.). New York: PALGRAVE MCMILLAN.
- Skey, M. (2019). The politics of belonging in the Indigenous North. In T. Hylland Eriksen, & S. V. Valkonen, *Knowing from the Indigenous North: Sámi approaches to history, politics and belonging* (pp. 163-172). London & New York: Routledge.
- SSR. (2019). *Riktlinjer vid forsknings- och projektsamarbeten med Sámiid Riikkasearvi. Umbeje/Umeå: Sámiid Riikkasearvi*. Retrieved from <http://pdf.sapmi.se/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Forskningsriktlinjer-SSR-2019-antaget-dokument.pdf>
- Szpak, A. (2017). Human Security of the Indigenous Peoples in the Arctic. The Sami Case. *International Studies: Interdisciplinary Political and Cultural Journal*, 75-96.
- Sáhkke. (2022a). TRÀHPPIE CULTURAL CENTRE. Retrieved 03 16, 2022, from <http://www.sahkie.se/en/trahppie-2/>
- Sáhkke. (2022b). Welcome to Sáhkke Umeå Sami Association! Retrieved 03 16, 2022, from <http://www.sahkie.se/en/>
- Tervaniemi, S., & Magga, P. (2019). Belonging to Sápmi - Sámi concepts of home and home region. In T. Hylland Eriksen, S. Valkonen, & J. Valkonen, *Knowing from the Indigenous North: Sámi approaches to history, politics and belonging* (pp. 75-90). London & New York: Routledge.
- Tlostanova, M. V., & Mignolo, W. D. (2012). *Learning to Unlearn: Decolonial Reflections from Euroasia and the Americas*. The Ohio State University Press.
- Tlostanova, M., Thapar-Björkert, S., & Knobbloch, I. (2019). Do We Need Decolonial Feminism in Sweden? *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 27(4), 290-295.
- (2011). Verksamhetens önskemål om lokaler, delaktighet och samverkan i Kulturväven Arbetesmaterial. Umeå: Umeå Kommun. Retrieved from <https://www.yumpu.com/sv/document/read/18326501/verksamhetens-onskemal-om-lokaler-delaktighet-umea-kommun>
- Umeå Kommun (2021, 05 02). Sámij álmagenbeájvve ávvaduvva filmijne Ubmejen bijrra ("Samiska nationaldagen firas med en film om Ubmeje" på umesamiska). Retrieved 08 08, 2022, from Via TT: <https://via.tt.se/pressmeddelande/samij-almagenbeajvve-avvaduvva-filmijne-ubmejen-bijrra-samiska-nationaldagen-firas-med-en-film-om-ubmeje-pa-umesamiska?publisherId=1422393&releaseId=3292536>

Umeå Kommun (2021, 02 05). Sämij ålmagenbeäivvie åvvaðuvva filmijne Ubmejen bijrra ("Samiska nationaldagen firas med en film om Ubmeje" på umesamiska). Retrieved 07 28, 2022, from <https://via.tt.se/pressmeddelande/samij-almagenbeajvieve-avvaduvva-filmijne-ubmejen-bijrra-samiska-nationaldagen-firas-med-en-film-om-ubmeje-pa-umesamiska?publisherId=1422393&releaseld=3292536>

United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. (2007). Retrieved 03 08, 2022, from https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf

Valkonen, J., & Ruuska, P. (2019). Reindeer herding, snowmobile and social change - and a word on identity. In T. Hylland Eriksen, S. Valkonen, & J. Valkonen, *Knowing from the Indigenous North: Sámi Approaches to History, Politics and Belonging* (pp. 91-107). London & New York: Routledge.

Valkonen, J., & Valkonen, S. (2019). On Local Knowledge. In T. Hylland Eriksen, S. Valkonen, & J. Valkonen, *Knowing from the Indigenous North: Sámi Approaches to History, Politics and Belonging* (pp. 12-26). London & New York: Routledge.

Virtanen, P. K., Olsen, T., & Keskitalo, P. (2021). Contemporary Indigenous Research within Sámi and Global Indigenous Contexts. In P. K. Virtanen, & T. K. Olsen, *Indigenous Research Methodologies in Sámi and Global Contexts* (pp. 7-32). Boston: Brill.

Västerbottens museum. (2022). Samiska visten. Retrieved 08 08, 2022, from Västerbottens museum: <https://www.vbm.se/gammlia/byggnader-pa-friluftsmuseet/samiska-visten/>

Yrkande från den samiska delegationen vid öppet samråd den 26 januari 2021 mellan Umeå kommun och samerna. (2021). Umeå Kommun.

Åhrén, C. (2008). Är jag en riktig same? En etnologisk studie av unga samers identitetsarbete. Doctoral dissertation, Umeå Universitet.