Cultural Sustainability in Indigenous people's festivals:

Cultural impact of Riddu Riddu Festival, Norway

Sârghe Oana-Elena

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Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

University of Jyväskylä

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

The purpose of this study is twofold: first, to present festivals as a platform for preserving intangible cultural heritage. Secondly, as preserving heritage is an essential aspect of cultural sustainability, festivals as cultural events also contribute to the cultural sustainability of traditions, practices and knowledge which are transmitted from generation to generation. In the case of indigenous people, particularly Sami people in Northern Norway, the case of Riddu Riddu has proven to be a valuable arena for searching and expressing Coastal Sami identity, by influencing the way in which Sami people reflect and relate to their own heritage. Because the Sami community itself drives the development of the festival, questions of authenticity and hybridity surface as ways to combine traditions and modernity in a result relevant for the community. This qualitative study is designed to gather individual representations of change by the use of semi-structured interviews. The most significant changes in attitudes and associated meanings are analysed further in four themes: reinterpreted relations to Sami culture, festival management, intergenerational perspectives and insights on language use. Using an adjusted framework of cultural outcomes, initially tailored for cultural policy planning, the cultural impact of the festival affects how creativity, aesthetic enrichment, knowledge, diversity of cultural expressions and a sense of belonging are expressed. The broader implication of this framework, outside policy areas, is to design events and activities with a specific cultural outcome in mind.

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1. Introduction

Culture is one of the most complex concepts in social sciences (Williams, 1985) and it is a rich concept which includes a part of the everyday life through which ideas and knowledge are produced and transmitted, as well as a medium for expressing our connections to a place, forming different cultural identities, with tangible and intangible elements. These elements that accumulate over time constitute tangible cultural heritage such as objects, artworks, buildings, monuments and natural areas, but also intangible cultural heritage such as ideas, traditions, languages and practices that have cultural significance and differentiate us from one another (Hawkes 2001). The accumulation of cultural resources and cultural capital is transmitted from one generation to the other, and each generation can enhance it and protect it for future use (Throsby, 2008). This process of preserving cultural identity and its development and expression in a community is how sustainability is understood in this thesis.

The community this study focuses on is the Sami indigenous people living in Northern Europe. In northern Norway in 1991, a group of Sami youth, in the process of discovering their own identity as Coastal Sami, a minority in a mixed society, established the Riddu Riddu festival, which reflected their efforts and discoveries along the way. Since then, the festival has highlighted Sami artists as well as other indigenous artists from around the world, revealing the commonality of indigenous people's struggle globally, it has challenged hurtful mentalities and stereotypes about Sami people and it has significantly contributed to the preservation of the Coastal Sami heritage in the area. These are all cultural outcomes of the festival and will be interpreted according to a framework that focuses on changes that can be attributed to cultural activities. The sources in identifying these changes are the participants to the festival that have shared with me in the interviews their personal histories and experiences related to the festival.

In the theoretical chapter I turn to research frameworks which have defined cultural sustainability from the policy perspective and as an integral part of the sustainable development discourse alongside economic, environmental or social policies. I have chosen the frameworks that place cultural sustainability in a larger system of understanding sustainability and that have detailed any kind of assessing sustainability, whether through numerical indicators, variables or

qualitatively. As an example of tracing changes quantitatively in the cultural vitality of cities, I refer to the Circles of Sustainability which assesses urban sustainability in a visual representation. Subsequently, I present different case studies that frame cultural sustainability as a people-centred process which starts from the grassroots level.

Safeguarding cultural heritage has been central to cultural policies, and various international conventions have broadened the understanding that heritage is definitively placed and regulated through national policies or limited only for commercial or touristic purposes, towards heritage as a flexible, dynamic and interrelated process that can drive community development. The process of safeguarding includes preserving objects but also evolving beliefs, values, knowledge and traditions in a community.

The Riddu Riddu festival appears as a cultural and economic event in the community, which can act as an important platform in the process of safeguarding, with broader cultural and social effects especially for indigenous people. For this particular Coastal Sami group, which was influenced in a much harsher way by the assimilation policies prevalent across Scandinavia until the early 20th century (Lehtola, 2002) cultural sustainability additionally translates into language and customs revitalisation alongside identity negotiation within a majority culture, as well as authenticity and control over one own's cultural expressions.

The research questions refer to: how the festival contributes to preserving intangible heritage and to cultural sustainability? The festival becomes not only a platform for artistic expression, but also for people from different social groups to find commonness or appreciate diversity (for instance visitors from Russian, Swedish or Finnish area of Sapmi, other indigenous groups or people from other countries), for the youth to be immersed into Sami language and discover their own connections to Sami culture and heritage, and construct a modern identity with elements they consider. The festival, as a cultural product, enables experiences and interactions that leave a mark on the participants and have a transformative effect. This effect of cultural events is what makes them desirable to people searching for unique and authentic experiences. This brings about the second question: what is the cultural impact the festival has on the participants? The change that Sami participants and respondents mention is related to re-shaping their undestanding and relating to their own cultural identity as Coastal Sami, while other respondents mention a change in their attitudes and increase in appreciation towards the Sami culture.

To answer these two questions, in the methodological chapter I detail the process of collection of semi-structured interviews at the Riddu Riddu festival in Northern Norway. It is followed by the reflection on broader themes common across people's relationship to heritage and an analysis following the change in meanings and interpretations, due to the festival.

The conclusion ties the discussions on how the festival contributes to preserving intangible heritage, by affecting the way in which people use it and especially relate to it. From this perspective, the Riddu Riddu festival supports personal connections to a place, contributes to forming the identity of the Sami participants in general and youth participants in particular, and enables the use of Sami language, which is considered essential for the group's survival.

Through these different layers the festival contributes to the cultural sustainability of the Sami people, a process directed by them, engaging also the global indigenous community, and is therefore a good case practice of cultural sustainability to have emerged from the community.

2. Theoretical delimitations

In the theoretical chapter, I will present cultural sustainability as framing the perspective of this thesis, with the central aspect of sustaining cultural heritage. Even though the concept of cultural sustainability does not have an agreed upon definition, for placing this study within a conceptual framework, I will present shortly the evolution of the concept of sustainability, to the conceptualisation of the three pillars (environmental, economic, social) and narrowing down to an operational view on cultural sustainability, resulting from the COST Action research reports and an urban sustainability schema - Circles of Sustainability. While doing so I will be using a specific definition of the word "culture" – understood as cultural heritage, but from a perspective of change. Other meanings of culture in this thesis will be defined as needed, as to clarify further the discussion of cultural festivals as economic products, touristic events and as a tool for indigenous people. A broad understanding of culture as changing and evolving also implies that heritage preservation can be done in an innovative, hybrid, flexible way, combining traditions and modernity in identity defining experiences.

2.1. Sustainability and sustainable development

The concept of sustainability appeared around the 17th century, at first in relation to using forest resources wisely, as even at that time parts of Europe were massively deforested. However, the idea of living within the means of the surrounding environment was around since ancient times. There are various examples of communities that have disappeared because they did not keep the balance of exploiting their environment for the growth of the community. (Caradonna, 2014).

Understanding that unlimited economic growth is not within the available means and resources of the planet, the report "Our Common Future" (known as the Brundtland Report) provided one of the most popular definition of sustainable development: "meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Our Common Future, 1987, paragraph 27). In the global context of long-term ecological sustainability, the Brundtland Report opened the concept to include political, social, economic and cultural issues, under the umbrella of sustainable development and reached the conclusion:

"…in essence, sustainable development is a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are all in harmony and enhance both current and future potential to meet human needs and aspirations." (Our Common Future, 1987, paragraph 15).

In environmental sustainability discourse, strong sustainability is defined as preserving the environment at all costs, under the idea that any damage to the environment will have negative consequences for us and our children. This idea of sustainability is not subdued to any financial goals and its practical quality is thought in relation to physical measures, such as biodiversity. Alternatively, weak sustainability admits the possibility of a trade-off between environment goals and social and economic ones, based on a cost-benefit analysis to understand the financial implications of attaining sustainability, as well as resource management and consumption levels (Morse and Bell, 2008, pag. 13). The environment can then be looked at in financial terms to determine its value.

The creation of Agenda 21 followed the 1992 UN Earth Summit (also known as the Rio Summit), as an action plan for global sustainable development, which governments signed and committed to put into action. In order to determine the progress of this plan, UN developed a set of indicators under environmental, social, economic and institutional categories (Bell and Morse, 2008, pag. 30) and encouraged states to adopt their own local Agendas and to improve cooperation between local government, NGOs and the community in dealing with sustainable development.

Bell & Morse support the idea of indicators to show changes in complex systems and mention, in relation to difficulties defining sustainability, that "even a statement of intent that some factors should increase while others decrease, without specifying an ultimate goal, is still a definition" (Idem, pag. 11). Indicators can provide scientists with the necessary simplifications for understanding and drawing conclusions about a phenomenon as complex as sustainability.

The concept of sustainable development was not without criticism, one being that it implies continuous development. In a similar way non-renewable resources, for example, cannot be preserved under "sustainable use", since any use will eventually lead to depletion. In environmental terms, sustainable development has had different interpretations: the effect of technology use on the environment (for instance in agriculture), the carrying capacity of the Earth, resource management, protection of the biosphere or eco-development. However, Bell and Morse (2008) note that it can be possible to protect the environment for future generations, but "cheat" them in other ways, by worsening social conditions or economic decline. From this point of view, environmental sustainability is not only a concern in itself, as it cannot be separated from the social and economic sphere which it sustains. The three aspects, commonly referred to as the three pillars of sustainability, are shown below in Figure 1. The social and economic aspects of sustainability are further discussed in the next sections.

Figure 1: Sustainable Development
Spheres[1]

The relation between economic growth and sustainable development has also been addressed in the Brundtland report as follows:

"Sustainable development clearly requires economic growth in places where such [human] needs are not being met. Elsewhere, it can be consistent with economic growth, provided the content of growth reflects the broad principles of sustainability and non-exploitation of others. But growth by itself is not enough" (Idem, p. 37).

Economic indicators based on Agenda 21 included changing consumption patterns and finding solutions to environmental concerns also through financial mechanisms (Bell & Morse, 2008, pag. 30). Business consultant John Elkington coined in the 1990s the term "triple bottom line", also referred to as the 3 Ps: "planet, people, profit" which traditionally means the profit or the loss registered by the company, when the line is drawn at the end of the day. With an environmental and social dimension added to economic growth and the increasing role of businesses in the 21st century, emerged the need for corporate accountability, to address efficient use of resources and human and environmental wellbeing in the process of sustainable economic development. Elkington described that:

"A sustainable global economy will emerge through an era of intense technological, economic, social and political metamorphosis. A key driver will be the unsustainability of

current patterns of wealth creation and distribution. Today's economy is highly destructive of natural and social capital." [1]

Other more recent understandings of the economic role in achieving environmental and social goals are related to ecological modernization, green economy and bio-economy (Soini & Birkeland, 2013).

2.2. Social and cultural sustainability

Part of the sustainable development discourse that was initiated by the Brundtland report was addressing improving social conditions as well. The cultural aspect has been considered as part of the social and I will describe the general understanding of this dimension, in the following section emphasizing the cultural domain as a stand-alone pillar.

Vallance argues that the definition given to sustainable development is very tempting in reconciling "people's needs with bio-physical environmental management goals through economic development." The development paradigm included improving social conditions, and a literature review of Vallance attests that in practice, the measures "have failed to substantially improve the conditions of the poor". The author then seeks to further develop the social threads present in sustainability discourses and their relation to sustainable development.

Vallance identifies three types of social sustainability in an attempt to clarify "a concept in chaos" (Vallance et al., 2011, pag. 342), partly due to a multitude of perspectives stemming from studying sustainability, such as weak/strong sustainability, urban sustainability, political sustainability or sustainability management. One of them is development sustainability which means to address first basic living issues such as access to potable water, food, medication. After these needs have been met, people can focus on bigger environmental concerns around them and develop better behaviours towards the environment, which Vallance categorizes as "bridge sustainability". This second interpretation relates to a variety of sciences such as psychology, human geography, socio-ecological studies and environmental sociology which attempt to

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[1] Figure 1 source: http://www.johnelkington.com/archive/TBL-elkington-chapter.pdf, accessed 15.12.2018

improve social behaviour in relation to the environment, "to identify the social conditions necessary to support ecological sustainability". (Idem., pag.344)

It is the third interpretation that generally includes culture, thought of as socio-cultural practices in the broader social sense of sustainability. Vallance calls it "maintenance sustainability" as it reflects how traditions, practices, preferences and places people sustain over time: "This maintenance occurs through habit, movement and protest in the face of both local and global connections, and the influence they exert via technological innovation, resource shortage, immigration, employment opportunities, and other forces of change" (Idem., pag.345).

The author concludes that there is no simple definition of social sustainability, without diminishing the myriad of the economic, environmental and social issues that are, in reality, inseparable. Although for a long time considered within the social pillar, there have been various initiatives to include culture as having an equally important role in policies and sustainable development. In the following section I will describe how culture found its way into public policies, how a fourth cultural pillar was argued for, and how, following the rationale of the economic, environmental and social pillars, culture in relation to sustainability was subjected to measurements.

Around the same time with the publishing of the Brundtland Report, culture, defined broadly, found its way in the sustainable development discourse starting from the World Conference on Cultural Policies in Mexico City in 1982, where UNESCO put forward the idea that "Culture constitutes a fundamental part of the life of each individual and of each community … and development … whose ultimate aim should be focused on man … must therefore have a cultural dimension" (Duxbury et al, 2017, pag. 217). A result from the conference in Mexico City was also the World Decade of Cultural Development which aimed to bring culture forward in the development process and at the same time supporting creative skills and a vibrant cultural life. At the end of this Decade the final report, "Our Creative Diversity" published in 1996 put forward a series of definitions for terms such as "cultural development" and "culturally sustainable development", which placed culture in relation to the other aspects of society, as an instrument for economic growth, but also as a defining characteristic of civilisation: "as we shift our attention from [a] purely instrumental view of culture to awarding it a constructive,

constitutive and creative role, we have to see development in terms that include cultural growth" (Idem.). Exploring the connection between cultural and economic variables, Throsby applies the concept of intergenerational equity, to its possible meanings in relation to culture and heritage:

"The basic principle of intergenerational equity says that present generations must take care of and use the environment and cultural and natural resources for the benefit of all members of present and future generations. Each generation is a user, a custodian and a potential enhancer of humanity's common natural, genetic and cultural heritage and must therefore leave for future generations at least the same opportunities that it enjoyed" (Throsby, 1997, pag. 13).

The author uses the concept of cultural capital to mean both tangible, objects, buildings, locations or art works and intangible, ideas, beliefs, values or practices shared by a group, that carry cultural significance. How can then cultural capital, as compared to natural capital, be substituted for manufactured capital or maintain its own intrinsic qualities and contributing to economic and social objectives? (Idem). Throsby illustrates how culture can be thought of in relation to criteria of sustainability, without "the reduction of cultural worth to a common economic yardstick" (idem, pag. 17). Further ideas about the intrinsic value of culture and the measurable outcomes of cultural engagement within the cultural domain are presented in the next section.

In 2001 the "Fourth Pillar of Sustainability: Culture's essential role in public planning" was commissioned and Jon Hawkes starts from a definition of culture that is functional for policy planning, describing the interrelation that culture has with the other policy domains to show that it's not limited to arts and heritage policies, but a valuable resource that encompasses different aspects (education, communications, public facilities, arts, heritage, recreation, leisure and sports) and enriches the other pillars, by not being subordinated to them: "culture is not the decoration added after a society has dealt with its basic needs. Culture *is* the need – it is the bedrock of society." (Hawkes, 2001, p.3). In that way, it is "overarching and underpinning", and it "encompasses our values and aspirations; the processes and mediums through which we develop, receive and transmit these values and aspirations; the tangible and intangible manifestations of these values and aspirations in the real world" (idem, p. 4). This definition,

Hawkes argues, allows for an articulation of these values in a practical way for planning frameworks, as to reflect the collective aspirations of the community.

In contouring the culture's role in public planning, Hawkes notes the trend of using culture as an economic drive, an industry, therefore focusing excessively on the pragmatic side of culture and overlooking its uplifting role in wellbeing and quality of life. The health of a community lies beyond its material success, as a sense of meaning and purpose, "developing and maintaining this sense is cultural action" (idem, p.13).

In defining the values that support cultural vitality, Hawkes refers to diversity and authenticity as two vectors that define the human condition. It was important to define these terms from a local government planning perspective to be able to articulate and integrate them. Hawkes reminds not only the intrinsic moral imperative to nurture diversity, but also of addressing the challenges for generations to come. Authenticity is paralleled with globalisation and the challenge of expressing the culture of the community instead of emphasizing what makes a community better than others. He gives the example of americanisation and how the reaction and adaptation actually fosters cultural regeneration.

This line of understanding culture beyond its intrinsic qualities is fundamental for Hawkes' argument and expanded on further in the work of Cultural Development Network (CDN), an organisation based in Melbourne which developed a schema of measurable cultural outcomes aimed for improved cultural planning in local public policies. In introducing these outcomes, CDN posits that the value of cultural products or activities, rather than being intrinsic, is generated as people engage with them and therefore individuals perceive this value differently, as related to the impact it had upon them. The cultural outcomes of cultural engagement will be opened further and contextualised to preservation of intangible heritage in the next chapter, and applied to the data gathered.

Culture, even in the public planning sense, is not only the responsibility of the representatives. It is a collective responsibility to act and contribute to the values shared and expressed by the community. Especially for minority groups or any other groups that don't exert considerable influence, Hawkes points to "a cultural solution to a cultural problem" (idem p. 16)

considering that creativity and innovation are assets that can deal with the challenges and limitations of upcoming cultural policies in community development.

In the recommendations for a framework he suggests: "for the government to remain in touch with, and, responsive to, the culture of the communities it serves, it needs to identify the prime 'culture-making' social entities and to develop a relationship with these that is consciously 'cultural'" (idem, p.28). His recommendation translates into an important principle which is engaging all the relevant stakeholders and consulting the community for better informed and efficient public policies. As the closest institution to the citizens, he places this responsibility to the local governments to strengthen the identity of the community. As such, the role of the local institutions includes the support of cultural vitality by which the community values are actively and meaningfully expressed through cultural action.

The challenge that belongs to the local governments is then:

"to design, implement and evaluate programs and services that impact on these areas from a cultural perspective – a perspective that focuses on the fact that these are the sites in which, every day, our way of life is being celebrated, explored, passed on, threatened, tested, revisited, examined, developed, expanded, diminished, reinterpreted, reinvented, transformed and adapted – the core centres of vitality" (idem p.28).

In this sense, cultural vitality and cultural sustainability are synonymous because they represent a state of flourishing in the community. In addition to Hawkes' arguments for cultural vitality as a specific public policy domain, Agenda 21 for Culture (2004) by United Cities and Local Governments marked a reference in the work for cultural development, by providing guidelines and references for drawing local cultural policies referring to cultural diversity, human rights, participatory democracy, sustainability, peace and intercultural dialogue. This reference document recommends cultural indicators that measure cultural development (UCLG, 2004). The importance of cultural indicators lie in their collection of evidence that is needed for situation analysis, building arguments needed for advocacy, monitoring weak and strong policies and their implementation (Kuka, 2012). In different ways, Paul James' Circles of Sustainability schema, which will be presented next, and CDN framework of measurable outcomes of cultural

engagement, detailed further in the methodological chapter, both aim to push forward a process of cultural impact assessment.

Monitoring cultural sustainable development implies revealing small or large scale changes in: maintaining the status quo of development, upgrade of activities for future development, integration of culture in sustainable development planning at an institutional cross-sectoral level, building comprehensiveness about development at an international, national and local level, and the use of assessment tools for evidence based development, especially in the case of long-term projects (Idem, pag. 4). To exemplify some of these changes, in addition to James' visual representation of Circles of Sustainability, I chose few of the theoretically informed case studies resulting from COST Action's research of cultural sustainability. The research explores culture and sustainability by looking at three increasingly influential roles: culture as a fourth pillar of sustainability, culture as a mediator balancing the economic, environmental and social aspects of sustainability and culture at the core of sustainable development, embedded in every human action (Conclusion from the COST Action, 2015).

Following James' framework, I will present a few case studies that help frame the scope of this thesis regarding cultural heritage's contribution to cultural sustainability: "through the development, enhancement and valorisation of a sense of place, with all that entails for a sense of belonging, ownership, community and familiarity through the creation of local identity" (Auclair and Fairclough, 2015).

2.3.   Circles of Sustainability and Circles of Social Life

Paul James constructed a complex framework called the "Circles of Sustainability" designed to measure sustainability in cities at four different levels, namely ecology, economy, politics and culture. He dismisses the three pillars metaphor, as there is no need of a fourth one to support a building. He considers all four domains, social and equally important. As it aims to determine changes in the socio-cultural sphere over time, he notes that "social change for sustainability" is contradictory on the basis that social change means discontinuity, while sustainability means continuity and enduring. He proposes a dichotomy of positive/negative sustainability, where enduring and maintaining the status quo is negative sustainability because it

implies negative actions, such as, reducing pollution, reducing corruption or excess of power. In contrast, positive sustainability consists of "practices and meanings of human engagement that make for lifeworlds that project the ongoing probability of natural and social flourishing, vibrancy, resilience and adaptation." (James, 2015, pag. 23)

Following the definition of positive sustainability, James makes the distinction between "sustainable preservation", which is just meant to protect heritage and reduce change, and "sustainable conservation", which requires placing the heritage in a dynamic context, springing from the past but embedded in the present, and continuing in the future through development and adaptation.

The lifeworlds he mentions refers to both social and natural environment and leads him to concept of community sustainability, defined not only in ecological and economic terms, but also integrating cultural and political activities, about which there is a little research. Thus, community sustainability means: "the long term durability of a community as it negotiates changing practices and meanings across all the domains of culture, politics, economic and ecology." (Idem, pag. 24). Because his research gives a view of different urban settlements and their sustainability, the local impact of urbanization and globalisation on social bonds, wellbeing and infrastructure is taken into account. Globalisation is then a process "always enacted at local level." (Idem, pag. 27)

By giving form to various dimensions of globalisation, James attempts to capture the myriad of relations between global and local where "forms of community identity are being created and re-created." As such, globalisation is not an end state but a relational process, uneven and contingent, involving intended and unintended social connections (Idem, pag. 29). The dimensions of globalisation and urbanisation in relation to heritage are mentioned later on in other relevant studies that reflect on indigenous urban identity or the global indigenous community. Soini and Birkeland (2014) also note these two influences as having impact on the tangible and intangible aspects of the local cultural landscape.

The self-assessment tool James proposes for the cultural domain is a questionnaire where statements are assessed through a numerical scale, from critical (1) to vibrant (9) by a team of experts. Within the cultural domain there are seven aspects: identity and engagement, creativity and recreation, memory and projection, beliefs and ideas, gender and generations, inquiry and learning, and health and wellbeing. The measurements within each domain lead to a graphic presentation, shown below.
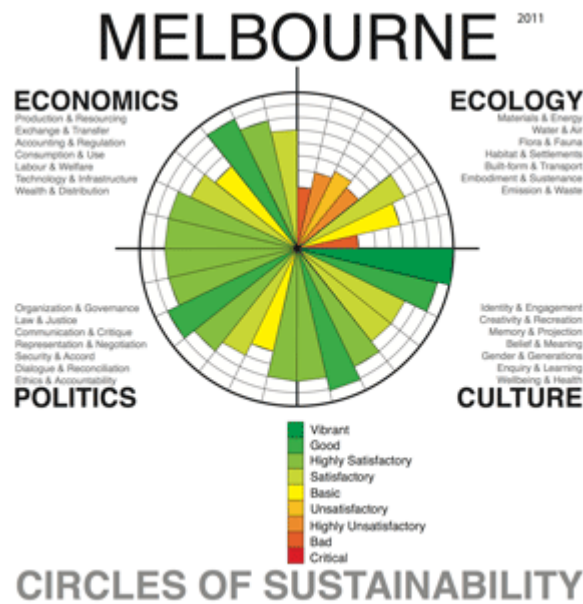
Figure 2. Circles of Sustainability, Urban Profiles - Melbourne[2]

2.4.   Cultural Heritage and Sustainability

Before looking into the case studies presented in two COST Action books and illustrative of localised, community-based case practices of showing cultural sustainability as a process, I want to mention two important conventions that opened the understanding of heritage, especially intangible heritage, from a static object to a process.

The Faro Convention (2005) works with the perception of heritage and its social relevance in daily life, which is important to strengthen sense of place and sense of community,

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hence it means: "both object and action, product and process. It refers on one side to the things that we inherit, irrespective of whether we want to keep them; and it refers on the other side to the processes by which we understand and contextualise, perceive and transform the inherited world". When "heritage" is taken to mean also a process, it reflects that it goes further than just something in need of preservation, a commodity, towards a flexible definition that encompasses evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. (Fairclough, 2011, pag.3)

Fairclough (2011) also points to the "monolithic and static national narratives" (Idem, pag 7), which often look at heritage as to be regulated and safeguarded by a group of experts, to which the Faro convention juxtaposes a people-centered approach to heritage, in the hands of the community and to be used as a driver for change and sustainable development. These narratives also refer to a lack of fluidity in relation to migration and other rapidly changing social circumstances, to which government policies have trouble keeping up. (Idem, pag 7)

The other important Convention regarding heritage is the UNESCO Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), which provides this study with the working definition of intangible cultural heritage:

"Practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity."[3]

This Convention emphasizes intangible heritage as broader than just the cultural expression or manifestation but rather the knowledge and skills that it contains, sourced in the communities, which have been recognised as bearers of the heritage, prioritizing intergenerational education: "identity and community participation are central attributes and fundamental values of intangible heritage that powerfully infuse a myriad of knowledge systems,

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[3] Source: https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention

rich with meaning, vibrant in their transmission and essential for human development." (Duvelle, 2014, pag. 39)

In relation to this Convention and particularly to the use of festivals as a safeguarding tool, Hafstein (2018) argues that in the social practices, "reflexive modernization" has caused changes in the way people perceive, define and practice their culture, with the creation of new social structures that manage certain expressions, with the purpose of safeguarding. He tried to draw attention to the fact that safeguarding can have negative consequences if combined with excessive commercialisation and objectification that might distance the heritage from its source.

Questions of authenticity, hybridity and control are interestingly dealt with by Bresner (2014) in the context of indigenous tourism in Canada, where both tangible and intangible heritage are packaged and displayed as a product. Having control over this information flow and participation in tourism reveals what are the positions of power, ideally in the hands of the indigenous community itself, and whether the process of commodifying the culture reinforces colonisation or self-determination attitudes. In this context, tourism related policies also play a part in shaping the tourists interactions and expectations, for which seeking authenticity is one of the main motivations. However, due to indigenous tourism actually implying meeting with another culture and additional global influences, Bresner argues hybridity is inevitable, and it can even change the way a community views itself. Each community and culture is subjected to both internal and external influences and can transition to other cultural traditions. The author carefully defines hybridity then as a process that "accepts the porous nature of culture" (Bresner, 2014, pag. 138) and can help tourists look beyond pre-determined views and set cultural identities and still find authenticity.

In the article analysing the interactions of cultural policy and sustainable development discourses, Duxbury et al. (2017) identifies one role of sustainability oriented cultural policy: to safeguard and sustain cultural practices. This means to translate the conceptual implications of cultural sustainability into measurable concrete policy recommendations fit for the cultural landscape of the community. However, cultural sustainability in its institutionalised form is different than an organic, community initiated process, which is why the case studies found in

the COST Action are useful to showing good case practices of civic imagination in dealing with challenges of small and medium European cities.

In "Culture and Sustainability in European cities: Imagining Europolis", small and medium cities and metropolises are analysed as an important background to understanding how heritage is lived and how it enriches the life of the community. It refers to "local sustainability that incorporates emotions and attachments to one's living place" (Hristova et al. 2015, xi). It also deals with the urbanisation and globalisation influences on different sized settlements and finding the appropriate local sustainable solutions in their cultural approaches. What is interesting for the case of the current thesis, analysed through the above mentioned lens, is that a small village festival, through its explicit purpose of increasing indigenous pride, particularly Coastal Sami pride, became also a global meeting point for indigenous people, extending relations beyond its immediate cultural landscape.

Anheier and Hoelscher present in their article "Cultural sustainability in small and medium-sized cities: what are the issues?" an empirical approach to culture and sustainability which requires broader concepts to address the tensions points between policy and cultural actors in the city. For instance, in terms of preserving intangible heritage in a modern form, the question "is culture about the preservation of the old (e.g. heritage) or is it the emphasis on creativity and innovation?" (Hristova et al., 2015, pag. 21) does not have one single answer, but relates to the values and beliefs of the community. It is not an either-or question, but a "middle path" between interventions from above and grassroots initiatives. This study argues that an example of this middle path is the festival, which provides a platform for iterated explorations of indigenous identity and intangible heritage in a mixed form.

In "Theory and practice in heritage and sustainability" Auclair and Fairclough explore the link between heritage and sustainability as being "more often than not place-based, site-specific, locality-sensitive and community-contextualized." (Auclair & Fairclough 2015, pag. 9). Both concepts are thought of as ongoing processes with the human element in the centre, more than focusing on objects to be protected. Heritage is not only rooted in the community, but it is central to identity, to intergenerational approaches, influenced by the collective and individual perceptions and influencing in turn how lives and relationships are formed. The idea of place is

strongly linked to heritage, as it creates, in time, changing ideas and feelings in the mind of people inhabiting it.

Cultural sustainability interpreted as a balance between cultural models, identities, creating a bond between local and global influences that make up a living component of a city was explored in the article "The role of memory in the culturally sustainable development of Dubrovnik (Croatia)" by Misetic and Ursic, 2015. They interviewed selected cultural actors about cultural heritage and modern culture-production that enriches the community. The common goal of all those interviewed was the coexistence between the community, "which simultaneously 'consumes' and 'produces' history" (Idem, pag. 82) and the urban space, given that two practices are constantly intertwined: the preservation of the historic centre of Dubrovnik and the innovation in cultural activities meant for the cultural development of the city: "Living with/from heritage: In order to make it continual, cultural identity is realised through the dialogue of the past with the present, which is sometimes hard to achieve." (Idem, pag. 78)

Heritage constructed as an experience, which moves beyond a purely visual and distanced presentation in museums, can also have the potential to appeal to other senses. Littler argues that this has been the direction of museums in Europe and America with an interest in: "engaging with a broader range of sensory perceptions, in moving the frame of reference beyond solely emphasizing the gaze toward a static object as enshrined in the form of the museum" (Littler, 2014, pag. 96) and in this way shortening the distance between the audience and heritage. It is my argument as well that the Coastal Sami community has constructed the Riddu Riddu festival as a cultural product that closes this distance, and according to research on experience economy (Pine & Gilmore, 1999), successfully sets the stage in a distinctive place, creates a theme and delivers a memorable and personal experience for the participants which has lasting effect on them.

The author explains how intangible heritage, by its nature, challenges this particular traditional encounter between the museum and its audience: "intangible heritage with its emphasis on multisensory knowing, on movement, sound, touch and smell, disturbs this traditional formulation" (Idem., pag. 97) and connects it to the development of cultural experience.

2.5.   Festivals and indigenous people

Setting the scene for cultural sustainability as a process that aims to preserve cultural rights and practices, which include representations, expressions, knowledge, skills as well as objects and artefacts, in the next section I will describe festivals as cultural events and their characteristics, as well as different political and social roles that festivals have had in relation to indigenous people.

At their origin festivals were an expression of religious beliefs, with a specific social function and a manifestation of the culture of a community. However, as society developed from a post-industrialist economy towards service economy, a distinct type of culture-based products emerged, with characteristics that distinguish them from previous services. Unlike services, experiences engage customers actively and stay in their memory. An enriching experience, Pine and Gilmore (1998) conclude, affects the guest or the customer in four dimensions, or realms: entertainment, education, esthetic and escapist. A determining point in an experience is its theme, which, when successful on the four dimensions, "creates a reality other than everyday – for doing, learning, staying and being and is at the heart of establishing a sense of place" (Pine & Gilmore, 1998, pag. 49).

With the economic aspect taking a more prominent role in relation to culture at a local and national level, festivals were used for marketing purposes, to improve the image of a place as well as for the economic development of a region. Increased income and more free time led to seeking a variety of cultural activities and experiences as a result, festivals diversified as well. In any case, they are defined as "a part of the non-material culture, as they present art, customs and cultural symbolism" (Cudny, 2016, pag. 13).

Due to the varied types of these events, different research themes have developed to address different categories of impacts of festivals: the analysis of the festivals' effects on culture and society (based on anthropological and sociological studies), the influence of festivals on economy (regional management and economics) and the practical organisation and event management (regarding planning, financial, programming and promotional aspects). From this

classification, this study is part of the first category, looking at the effects of the Riddu Riddu festival on the Coastal Sami culture.

Cudny also gives an overview of the different sciences and branches of research that deal with the festival as a phenomenon related to space, for instance geography, in particular cultural geography. Festivals are the proof of a close relationship between the people, their cultural identity and a particular space, "an emanation of the local or regional culture" (Idem, pag. 49). As such, they reveal the dimension of culture as meaning, the significance of the tangible and intangible, wrapped in the history of the place, for the people who take part in the festival. There are other dimensions of culture that festivals influence, as they deal with cultural products, culture as way of life, culture as doing (as an interactive, complex process) or culture as power (Idem.). The last instance is particularly relevant for indigenous people's festivals that Phipps (2010 & 2016) exemplifies with the Merrie Monarch festival in Hawaii and Garma festival in northern Australia.

I discussed above the argument put forward by Bresner (2014) that positions of power are revealed by control over information flows and participation in indigenous tourism. In addition to that, Phipps proposes that the role of festivals as contributing to the revitalisation process, as a space where indigenous people, and he gives the case of Hawaiians, can celebrate but also renew their traditions, in a performance that goes beyond touristic purposes: "enjoyment can also be an act of resistance against the dominant global culture" (Phipps, 2016, pag. 252). This renewal of tradition in the case of hula folk dance makes the festival flexible and able to address questions of modern identity of Hawaiians: "cultural performance can be simultaneously a commodity, a spiritual ritual, and a transformative political project" (Phipps, 2010, pag. 221). A powerful statement is made towards the use of the festival as a cultural and political tool for teaching the young generations of Hawaiians:

"The cultural revitalization that Hawaiians are now experiencing and transmitting to their children is as much a *repudiation* of colonization by so-called Western civilization in its American form as it is a *reclamation* of our own past and our own ways of life…its political effect is decolonisation of the mind" (Hunani-Kay Trask in Phipps, 2010, pag. 223)

The hula dance at the central point of the Merrie Monarch festival is as important for touristic purposes as much as an integral part of the Hawaiian identity. The flexible festival platform facilitates impactful experiences and Phipps argues that it can be used as "a manifestation of this subtle shift toward a globalising indigenous identity that emphasizes the specifically local". (Idem., pag. 220)

In the case of the northern Australian festival, garma means "strictly, a Yolngu ritual and learning space, but with the festival concept it becomes useful as a widely familiar cultural form that provides certain license for framing experiences that cross over entrenched cultural limits." (Idem. pag 230). As a meeting point for Yolngu clans and relevant national actors that help further indigenous issues and local cultural development, the exchange and increase of knowledge, as well as activities and artistic performances foster respect and are seen as a learning experience for non-indigenous participants, to understand the indigenous way of living, which can be inaccesible to non-indigenous Australia.

This festival is therefore a local manifestation of indigenous modernity, a tool to express the cultural richness of the Yolngu people as well as a strategy to improve intercultural relations and strengthen the indigenous global community in one of the few spaces that allow indigenous sovereignty. Of course, the indigenous historical background and political context varies so in the following section I will contextualise the indigenous Sami festival Riddu Riddu in Northern Norway, by presenting a brief history of Sami in Norway, showing the evolution of cultural policy in the area and the ground on which the Riddu Riddu festival was developed for Sami people.

2.6. History of the Sami people in Norway

There are approximated about 40.000 Samis throughout Norway, the highest number of them among Sweden, Finland and Russia, but concentrated in the areas of Finnmark and Troms in Northern Norway. In Norway a distinctive Sami culture has been traced to about 800 BC, while linguistic research shows that at the beginning of the first millennium BC there was present a Sami language. Influences from different cultures around are constantly mentioned, from the south of Troms Province, from the East and Northeast into Finnmark. Later when they

entered in contact with the Romans, they were considered a "wilderness supplier" culture (Lehtola, 2002). The Sami were in the sphere of influence of the Norwegians and Swedes as they advanced northward, in 1251 being agreed the first border, between Norway and Russia. Reindeer herding went through various development stages, from taming and reindeer keeping to a later extensive herding economy. However, because the Sami people are not a homogenous group across Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia, these changes in livelihood also varied across different Sami groups. Until the colonists arrived, the Sami Siida was the social, economic and political unit which divided the land and waters for usage, with member having voting rights.

The traditions of the Sami changed drastically with the Christianisation process, which aimed to remove completely the old world-view. Lehtola (2002) notes that from the 1500s the influence of the nation states reflected threefold: by Christian missionizing, social control and colonisation. The 1700s saw campaigns to further Christianity in the north with missionaries learning the Sami language, which was developed by using it in teaching. By the 1800s shamanism and implicitly, the connection to the spirit world, which would provide, for example, answers in a crisis situation, had been severed. The relationship between Sami language and Norwegian constantly worsened, with Sami language being used as a helping language the mixed districts (like Troms and Finnmark where Norwegian was used along Sami and Kven languages). The situation in these two districts was different in terms of the livelihood and language policies that affected the preservation of Sami culture. Bucken-Knapp (2003) characterises the language policies as "having been initially repressive (1850-1950) and then more 'enlightened' (1960s to the present)" (Bucken-Knapp, 2003, pag. 102). During the first period, the emerging nationalism had been at work, as it was in the rest of Europe, with the purpose of creating the nation state with one national language, in which minority languages were seen as a possible threat to this unifying idea and therefore had to be assimilated (idem. pag 108). The firm assimilation policy tackled two aspects: the livelihood policy and the educational and language policy. Sami language was forbidden to be spoken in school starting in 1898 with the Educational Act and institutions such as schools, healthcare services and church which used Norwegian language had an increased influence. Only after the Second World War a more supportive cultural policy towards the Sami was visible, and in 1956 a Sami Committee was established by the Department

of Church and Education that would "suggest concrete measures of an economic and cultural nature to the Norwegian Parliament in an effort to better the lives of the Sami" (idem, pag.105).

In the 1970s and 1980s a political uprising surrounding the Alta dam situation had led to a stronger ethnic and social bonding of Sami people. Hansen (2005) notes that at the time there was a revival of indigenous communities around the world which increased awareness of Sami culture and their participation in the political landscape. In the revitalisation process with regards to language, Bucker-Knapp (2003) points to the different in retention of dialects in Finnmark and Troms, due to the fact that in Finnmark the Sami population had kept more the traditional livelihood around reindeer herding, whereas in the coastal areas, the language was less protected and preserved. These features of language use in the two counties are still visible and mentioned by Sami people today.

2.7 Norwegian cultural policies and development of Riddu Riddu festival

Norway was one of the first countries to ratify the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (no. 169). As stated in the current cultural policy, the overall aim of the Norwegian government's Sami policy is to facilitate the safeguarding of the Sami people to help them develop and maintain their own language, culture and social life. The Sami people have their own parliament – Sàmediggi – which is responsible for Sami issues, and is an independent institution elected by the Sami. The Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK) has a special department – Sami Radio – that produces and broadcasts programmes in Sami on radio and television. Some of the municipalities in the northern part of the country are defined as an administrative area for the Sami language. (Compendium of Cultural Policies, 2016)

At a national level, Bakke (2001) identifies three cultural policy perspectives: the democratisation period lasting until about 1970s, with the welfare state as the main provider of cultural facilities and activities, in a top-down approach. In the next period, that of cultural democracy, the perception of culture is opened with the participation of citizens and the services in consequence adapted to this, with more culture and community houses, youth clubs, sports facilities etc. The third period has mixed private and public support for culture, marked by the introduction of market elements in funding (Bakke, 2001, pag. 15). Going one step further in the analysis of the cultural policy since the 1990s, Henningsen et al (2017) notes the decreasing

influence of the Ministry of Culture and Science in local cultural development, as more freedom was given to the local governments in funding and managing culture. By analysing the statistics of public spending on culture, the authors explain the different shifts in policy that have changed the role of the local governments from producers of culture to "facilitators of an emergent <event culture>" (Idem. pag 353) and the mechanisms by which support has been moving from institutions towards events. One of these mechanisms was the belief that culture is a source of urban and regional regeneration, which reinforces the role of culture in local sustainable development.

On this background of local cultural policy, the first Coastal Saami Cultural Days event, organised in 1991 developed into an international indigenous people's festival known as Riddu Riddu. I will provide next a short history of the festival, until 2006, to illustrate the stages of development and most relevant milestones. Unable to access the original book of Lene Hansen which writes about the evolution of the festival in Norwegian, I relied on another Master's thesis that goes through the history of the festival in order to show its development as an ethnic revitalisation tool and where the programming has been described in details.

Leonenko (2008) identifies two periods in the development of the festival, from 1991-1994 there was an exploration period, being initiated by a Sami youth organisation in search of their identity, and 1994-1998 which formulated the festival as an international celebration of indigenous groups. The older generation, which has suffered through the assimilation years, did not provide a clear answer to what a Coastal Sami is, and in absence of their guidance, the youth had to explore themselves traditions and decide what was specific to Coastal Sami and what was not. During this process, the inland Sami culture dominated the festival, through language or clothing; until in 1995 a restored Sea Sami gakti came in use in the event (Idem. pag. 58).

In 1994, when a group of Sami from Russia visited the festival, the organisers understood that they are confronting with the same indigenous problems: lack of Sami language and feeling as mostly Russian, which sparked the connection of the local Sami community with indigenous people around the world, starting to feel part of the larger indigenous community.

The festival got its current name, Riddu Riddu, in 1995, and it refers to the natural phenomenon of a storm on the coast and it was associated with a symbolic storm that the festival triggered in the revitalisation process of the Coastal Sami culture. Questions of authenticity of the traditions strongly affected this process and Leonenko (2008) distinguished between two paradigms in bringing forward the Sami culture: "that what one Coastal Sami creates means it has Coastal Sami cultural value. In this sense, people themselves create and recreate the culture. The second influence is "primordialist" in nature, meaning that the Coastal Sami culture exists already within people's hearts and it will find its way out, without needing to create it" (Idem, pag. 57). Hence the festival provided the community with a platform to continuously express and renegotiate the self-awareness of the people. It dealt with the questions of authenticity and combination of traditions and modernity as perceived by the people, for example including yoiking in different musical genres.

As the festival grew, common voluntary work was another feature of the organisation of the festival, as well as making it environmentally friendly. An association was set up in 1998, the Riddu Riddu Searvi, to help with the organisation, as limited budgets and volunteers were not enough for the growing event. Riddu Riddu becomes more international focused, with an emphasis on Arctic people, therefore hosting guests from Greenland, Canada, with an Arctic Youth Camp in which young people would learn from their similar dancing and yoiking techniques and performed it in the festival, as part of a strategy to bring together indigenous people above the Arctic Circle.

The year 2001 marked the ten year anniversary it was acknowledged as growing from Coastal Sami Cultural Days to an international indigenous event so the programme was mainly devoted to them. The festival would choose a theme for each edition and special mentions such as the youngest artist of the year. In 2002 a new step for Riddu Riddu was receiving national recognition through a cultural prize and a literature festival, its role being recognised: "year by year the festival has achieved a public recognition, even among the non-Saami public that has obviously assisted the young Saami from the Coastal Sami territories in acknowledging their culture (a translation from Nordlys in Leonenko, 2008, pag. 67).

The Riddu Riddu festival has been previously studied as a tool facilitating ethnic revitalization of the coastal Sami (Leonenko, 2008), an example of cultural resilience and re-claiming place (Fowler, 2017), music as an expression of indigenous identity (Udaya, 2017) and the festival as a vehicle for social change and expression of Sami identity (Hansen, 2015). These previous studies have all used different qualitative, specifically ethnographic methods, through field interviews and participant observation, to explore the festival as a platform to express in a living, diverse and flexible way the Coastal Sami identity. From this point of view, the current study adds to the qualitative research of the festival exploring further the perceptions of the participants and drawing different kinds of impacts from it. From a theoretical perspective, this study adds to an operational understanding of cultural sustainability through a good case practice of safeguarding intangible heritage.

3. Methodological approach

This study explores the ways in which individual experiences of Riddu Riddu festival reflect the preservation of intangible Sami heritage, by looking at the cultural outcomes and perspectives of change in individual stories. As a qualitative study it aims to give a detailed view on the participant's perspectives, keeping them intact and providing multiple contexts for understanding the festival as a platform for heritage preservation.

I discovered the approach known as cultural impact assessment first from Adriana Partal's article "Cultural impact assessment as a tool to assist sustainable development" where the author explains that for culture, though becoming more relevant in public policy and sustainable development, there isn't an established practice of impact assessment, unlike environmental, social or health practices which have developed instruments to analyse the changes following the implementation of action or policy. A subsequent article "Cultural impact assessment: a systematic literature review of current practices around the world" (Partal & Dunphy, 2016) deals with a literature review of application of Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA) internationally, identified mostly in relation to development processes in indigenous contexts and in cities. Paul James' Circles of Sustainability framework is cited as an evaluation of current state of a city by a group of experts and not as an assessment of outcomes that non-academics could perform.

I'll give a brief description of this method as it is part of a larger framework used by the Cultural Development Network (CDN), that supports local governments in Australia in better integrated planning across all levels of government, with a focus on understanding cultural outcomes and their connection to other economic, social, civic and environmental outcomes. I will argue that this tool can be used also in highlighting a range of changes that an indigenous people's festival has brought about with regards to the expressions of the Coastal Sami cultural heritage. Significant cultural changes that can be measured can inform better cultural indicators and support the goal of achieving a more culturally sustainable society. (Partal, 2013)

After describing Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA), I will describe briefly the tool known as Most Significant Change that shaped CDN's perspective on three degrees of change: who perceived and experienced the change – with an inclusive view from different stakeholders, what type of change and to what extent it happened, to give an overall assessment of a project. This influenced my choice of interview questions to be oriented towards identifying perceived change in the eyes of the participants, and encouraged me to approach a variety of participants who to interview.

Impact assessment has been defined and used both for assisting decision makers by envisioning what are the impacts of a new given policy or project and for evaluating the outcomes of a specific development. However, given the general difficulties of defining "culture", this aspect of impact assessment has not been clearly conceptualised or operationalised. It was used mostly in relation to indigenous communities, cultural heritage, resource management, property and state property boundaries, in countries with indigenous populations such as Australia, New Zealand, Japan, USA and Canada. Sagnia offers one of the only substantial definitions of CIA: "a process of evaluating the likely impacts of a proposed development on the way of life of a particular group or community of people, with full involvement of this group or community of people and possibly undertaken by this group or community of people. A CIA will generally address the impacts, both beneficial and adverse, of a proposed development that may affect, for example, the values, belief systems, customary laws, language(s), customs, economy, relationships with the local environment and particular species, social organization and traditions of the affected community" (Sagnia, 2004 in Partal,

2013). It was this reflexive awareness and analysis of the cultural impact assessment process that intrigued me and pushed me to use this approach in my study.

One thing that sparked my interest was the way CDN worked with the integration of an outcomes framework acknowledging five domains of public policy: civic, cultural, economic, environmental and social, which are all important and interconnected for a good quality of life. CDN posits that cultural development activities impact on, and are impacted by, all policy domains. (Dunphy and Smithies, 2018) While cultural outcomes are often perceived as intangible, intrinsic and immeasurable or instrumental to achieving other social or economic goals, in this framework specific cultural consequences are fleshed out and evaluated, using a theory of change and a measurable scale.

A simple schema delimitates clearly inputs, which are the available cultural resources, outputs, the activities performed with said resources and outcomes, referring to the impact or the change that said activities brought about. The cultural outcomes proposed by CDN are: creativity stimulated, aesthetic enrichment experienced, knowledge, ideas and insight gained, diversity of

These outcomes required an adjustment to the festival format and in relation to expression of cultural heritage, for instance all the participants experienced aesthetic enrichment by choosing to attend this artistic event, and from those, the Sami participants were developing their relationship with their cultural heritage, while Norwegian and foreign participants acknowledged and appreciated the specific Sami cultural expressions, along other indigenous performances. Also, in the analysis chapter I interpreted certain changes as belonging to the social and civic outcomes, which fit better in terms of describing evolving relationships between people or communities.

The theory of change originated in the field of evaluation in response to the challenge of understanding causal factors that lead to desired community change. The measurable scale (0-9) is not standardised or assessed against an external norm or benchmark, but allows every respondent to decide for themselves what is the greatest (or least) *stimulation of creativity* or *aesthetic enrichment,* etc., they could imagine for themselves, and rate their experience in this activity accordingly. (Dunphy and Smithies, 2018)

One idea informing the theory of change used by CDN relates to the Most Significant Change (MSC), developed in this context from Davies and Dafts (2003) article. MSC is an evaluation tool that involves the regular collection and participatory interpretation of "stories" about change rather than predetermined quantitative indicators. These success stories reveal valued directions and support the projects to focus the work towards these. The stories answer the question: "During the last month, in your opinion, what was the most significant change that took place in the program?" A group of stakeholders continuously search for significant program outcomes and then deliberate on the value of these outcomes. This dynamic dialogue between designated stakeholders concerns the question "what do we really want and how will we produce more of it?" In this way, MSC is a valuable addition to the evaluation process of participatory programs that have diverse outcomes with multiple funders and stakeholder groups. This understanding of the different perceptions and experience of the desired outcomes helped me correlate the questions of a significant change with the outcomes. For example, it helped me frame the questions about how the festival raised the sense of pride among Sami people and what were the most important achievements of Riddu Riddu, with different answers varying from the organisers versus a Norwegian volunteer coming for the first time.

The different kind of stakeholders – the funders, staff, beneficiaries of a cultural activity and audiences, have all valuable perceptions and experiences of the impact the project has and the outcomes sought. I followed this principle in the choice of the respondents as my idea was not to point to an empirical generalisation, but rather to go into the depth of the festival experience through different stories of Sami identity and relation to heritage.

According to the range that CDN uses for cultural engagement, there can be the following types of participants:

- Ambient participants, defined as those who have not decided deliberately to participate in the cultural activity, but were walking past an event, such as those in public spaces, on the street, in cafes. This was not the case for the festival participants as it happened in a closed area, around the Centre for Indigenous People, which required a bracelet type of entrance ticket to access, and all the participants I interviewed were on the festival premises.

- Receptive participants (audiences): those who deliberately attend the cultural activities. By being present at the festival, all the interviewees were at least receptive participants.
- Active participants (enablers): people who actively support the operations of the event, outside a directly creative role. This includes roles such as organiser, facilitator, teacher, tutor, guide, board member and others that enable cultural activity. Five of the interviewees also belonged to this category.
- Creative participants (creators): participants who make something new with the use of creativity and self-expression. This includes participants in interpretive (interpreting or representing an artwork created by someone else), curatorial (a curator or creative organiser) or inventive (creating new artwork/s) roles. This term can refer to participation at all levels of expertise, from those who are participating creatively for the first time to those who identify as highly skilled and experienced artists. One interviewee is an artist who had an explicit professional connection to the festival, but some activities of the festival, such as the weaving or yoiking workshops, give the possibility for more participants to be part of this category.

In addition to categorizing the participants from which I sampled the respondents, it was necessary to have an overview of what types of activities could take place, since on the festival's website limited information was available beforehand.

The activities I was looking for were categorized according to the definition UNESCO puts forward in the Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage from 2003. The meaning of intangible cultural heritage, manifestations and ways of transmitting it and its central position to identity are laid down in Article 2, paragraph 1. In addition to this meaning of intangible heritage which I presented in chapter 2.4, I add paragraph 2 of the Convention which refers to its manifestations:

"Intangible cultural heritage manifests through the following domains: (a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; (b) performing

arts; (c) social practices, rituals and festive events; (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; (e) traditional craftsmanship".[4]

It's important to mention, besides the definition of intangible cultural heritage, also what UNESCO understands as safeguarding, since the festival makes a definitive contribution to consolidating the Coastal Sami culture: "Safeguarding means measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage." (Article 2, paragraph 3).

In a critical analysis of UNESCO's understading of festivals, both as intangible heritage inscriptions and as a heritage safeguarding tool, Hafstein (2018) draws the attention to the objectification and commodification of heritage when "festivalised", to attract more media coverage, to be optimised for visitor's consumption and as a consequence to distance it from the community. In the example of Vimbuza healing dance from Malawi, which originally was a dance performed for addressing illness and an act of healing, through "heritagization" it had become a dance for visitors. As such, this medical practice was unnecessarily safeguarded as heritage, and one Malawian healer declared she was: "critical of the idea of a Vimbuza festival…or other occasions where Vimbuza is performed outside of the ritual context, because this display strips it of is significance" (Hafstein, 2018, pag.136). Taken this into consideration, the author notes that successful safeguarding happens in three directions:

"(1) reforms the relationship of subjects with their own practices (through sentiments such as "pride"), (2) reforms the practices (orienting them toward display through various conventional heritage genres), and ultimately (3) reforms the relationship of the practicing subjects with themselves (through social institutions of heritage that formalize informal relations and centralize dispersed responsibilities" (Idem. pag.128)

I will discuss further in my analysis about these three directions, showing how the Riddu Riddu festival acts as a platform for preserving intangible heritage, in an innovative, flexible and

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tolerant way, by providing experiences that change the relationships between people and with their traditions and practices. Consequently, according to recent studies, I argue that festivals in general, and Riddu Riddu in particular, can be considered as a good case practice in effectful cultural sustainability.

3.1.   Data collection

Pine and Gilmore detail the parameters of a memorable experience, within four realms: entertainment, educational, esthetic and escapist with an engaging theme to "integrate space, time and matter into a cohesive, realistic whole" (Pine & Gilmore, 1998, pag. 51). Taking that the experience factor is one of the most important aspects of a festival, both for the participant and for the qualitative researcher looking at the perception of the participant (Cudny, 2016, p. 54) and taking into consideration the unique nature of the event, I considered the field study the appropriate method of data collection, which included semi-structured interviews and participant observation followed by data analysis performed in Finland. Being physically at the festival and taking note of the atmosphere provided exactly the kind of qualitative data that could not be gathered from other sources such as the festival website or secondary sources. Participant observation only allowed for spending enough time and creating a rapport with the participants and understanding the wider context of the festival, while the interviews were the main method of obtaining data.

I participated in as many activities as possible, such as art exhibitions, seminaries, presentations, particularly the ones available in English, to identify the different kind of participants (according to the stakeholder categories described above) whom I could possibly interview. I inquired whether they would be interested in a longer (recorded) discussion. I had at least one previous chat with them before the actual interview, in which I introduced myself and explained the reasons for this study and also got their consent for recording the interview and disclosing their (first) names and roles in the interpretation of the data. The

I chose semi-structured interviews as a way to collect accounts, experiences and meanings associated to the festival. The interviews prompted chosen respondents to "reflect meaningfully on individual experience and to enter socially relevant dialogue about it." (Sage

Interview Handbook, 2001, pag. 5) Since I didn't know who I would interview before arriving at the festival, this particular type of interviews also allowed me to be flexible and adjust the questions according to a participant's particular answer. I knew the questions that need to be asked, but I did not have all the possible responses planned in advance, as it's something the case with semi-structured interviews, to have only a guide of topics and questions.

I had prepared an interview guide based on the description of the festival activities, using as a source the festival website, English version: https://riddu.no/en. The list of musicians was released as well as the workshops that required pre-registration: the children's festival, yurta concert, ecogarden workshop, yoiking workshop, and the traditional song/dance from Taiwan. Movies, language workshops, academic presentations and discussions in the library were open for drop-ins.

This list of activities provided an overview on the forms of heritage presented as well as topics as a starting point to ask the interviewees about their general experience at the festival and how many times they have attended. For example, one of the first questions was: for how long have you been coming to Riddu Riddu and what is your role at this festival? After that I would ask more specific questions about the activities they were more familiar with, and a story would usually emerge about how they became involved in the festival based on their background.

I had eight interviews in total. I would let them speak freely for as long as they wanted about their previous experiences at the festival and what it meant for them. After that I identified a comfortable moment when I could ask a bit more personal questions, for instance related to growing up as a Sami or what language was be spoken at home. From their brief personal history I would then continue to ask about how coming to the festival affected in any way their own expression of heritage, or whether it provided a new opportunity to do so. Also part of the questions was about some memorable experiences and enjoyment of the festival events. For the respondents who were Norwegians or foreigners, there were also questions about how this festival has influenced their awareness of and interaction with Sami culture. The interviews have been recorded using my personal recording device in the summer of 2016 and then stored on my personal computer in a password-protected folder.

3.2. Research limitations

One limitation of doing interviews was that the language in which the interviews were conducted was English, which was neither my first language nor that of the respondents. Because of this, I have occasionally noticed the respondent is looking for a particular word that they know in Norwegian but cannot find easily in English. However, due to the semi-structured nature of interviews, that felt more like a guided conversation than an interview, I believe the environment was relaxed and casual enough for them to take the time and speak freely about their current and past experiences during the festival.

Another limit of the study was the duration of the festival (4 days) which mainly meant that the discussion time was limited to the one interview with each respondent, without additional time for follow-up discussions, also depending on how many days of the festival some of the respondents would be present.

One interesting assumption at the beginning of the data analysis process was the expectation that the interviews would relate to the pre-set categories related to heritage. While these categories can loosely be attributed to the ones UNESCO defines as intangible heritage, what emerged from the interviews was a more people-oriented perspective. While it was very important to preserve the traditional plant and food knowledge and the Sami language spoken in the area or the traditional yoiking, emphasis was placed on how inspired and determined people were to take even the smallest steps to preserve their culture and develop they relationship to it.

3.4. Thematic and Content Analysis

In thematic analysis, the emphasis is on "empirical investigation of the way in which meaningful elements or codes are combined to generate thematic or explanatory models" (Guest et al., 2012). Braun and Clarke (2006) describe it as a very flexible method and not tied to a particular epistemological or theooretical perspective, which gives variety to the method but can also cause confusion about its nature. The goal is to identify patterns in the data and construct themes which say something about the researched phenomenon, in this sense I have used thematic analysis more like a method, than methodology, which is what Braun and Clarke

propose: "patterning across language does not require adherence to any particular theory of language, or explanatory meaning framework for human beings, experiences or practices" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, pag. 2).

The patterns I have identified between these elements made up the themes and subthemes. In describing these I used content analysis, which comprises "descriptions of the manifest content, close to the text, as well as interpretations of latent content, distant from the text but still close to participant's lives" (Granneheim, 2017, pag. 30). I considered the cultural outcomes as manifest content, which connects the similar mentionings of cultural outcomes, and latent content other outcomes on different levels, such as social ones.

Initially, relating to the pre-set categories of heritage, I assumed each category could be fit to a theme, providing a general view of what the festival circumstances indicate for the safeguarding of heritage. However, what emerged from the narratives was a complex relationship to heritage, entangled in personal history, and therefore difficult to generalise in a one-size-fits-all description. Part of the thematic analysis meant also "identifying how much of the text"

In order to give each theme background information and explore the ways in which the festival safeguards heritage, I followed Cudny's different streams of research regarding festivals, namely the eight dimensions of understanding festivals which are: temporary and spatially unstable phenomena, the form (authentic, based on heritage or created purely for commercial purposes), the social and economic function, strongly based on experience that enriches human life, with a form of exchange (usually financial) present, connecting people through ideas, art and finally what positive (or negative) impacts follow a festival. Touching on these dimensions indicates more broadly the cultural outcomes of the festival.

Already at the time of the interviews I could notice some topics that would come up repeatedly so I had labeled them with a code consisting of a couple of words, to separate the data afterwards into bigger subthemes and themes. The themes range from general to more and more specific perspectives, from general changes in individual perceptions of the Sami culture, to an exploration of Riddu Riddu both as place brand and an organisation with clear cultural goals,

looking at an increased sense of pride which ties into a strengthened social connections and to a shared heritage and identity, leading finally into developing language skills, especially relevant for the youth.

The thematic analysis brought the interpretations and meanings assigned to elements of heritage to reflect these larger themes, while the content analysis led the description of impact in each theme and the most significant change mentioned by the respondent. As content analysis is used to identify similar content, I identified the common denominator as the cultural outcome, whether relating to creativity enabled, aesthetic enrichment, knowledge, diversity or expressions of a shared sense of connection to the past (Morse, 2012).

4. Data Analysis

There are constant changes and updates as the framework is tested and improved, and on the website some of these outcomes are not fully fledged yet. However there are further references and methods to evaluate an activity against the (most developed until now) cultural outcomes or improve public planning towards a more outcome-focused perspective, acknowledging that any project within these categories will inevitably have consequences in the other domains. Although there has been at least one article published by Dunphy (2015) about the outcomes, the website gets constantly updated so there I found the latest information about the framework.

In Table 1 below I introduced the domains in which outcomes of the festivals have been observed and will be analysed further. The three main domains in which I identified changes in the perception of Sami culture at the Riddu Riddu festival were cultural, social and governance related, but there were also mentioned activities that affected the local economy through sourcing local food and employing local artists, or practices regarding the organisation of the festival to have minimal impact on the environment, for instance providing volunteers with reusable coffee cups or connecting the participants more with the natural environment through hikes in the surroundings as part of the children's festival. Due to this I have decided to include the other domains in the Table, supporting also the idea put forward by Dunphy (2015) that cultural outcomes are, in reality, linked to social, environmental or economic ones in an integrated approach.

The research question refers to what impact does the festival have on safeguarding and preservation of intangible heritage. The answer is two-fold: on one hand, there are specific impacts related to favoring circumstances for speaking the Sami language more, or use the Sami knowledge of plants, fishing and symbols in a way that is easily transmitted and passed forward to next generations. This translates into an outcome related to the knowledge, ideas and skills and how they are transmitted, while the diversity of cultural expression may also affect the appreciation of the combination of traditions and modernity in expression.

On the other hand, the festival also affects other intangible aspects that have a direct consequence on the heritage: mentalities, self-understanding and feelings of pride to be a Sami, both individually and negotiated as a group. The behaviors and activities at the festival explain

how new and different knowledge was acquired and how the sense of belonging to a place and to a group was affected.

Cultural	Social	Governance	Economic	Environmental
Creativity stimulated	Social connectedness enhanced	Agency and voice enabled	Professional and/or practice capabilities increased	Natural world valued
Aesthetic enrichment experienced	Social differences bridged	Sense of civic pride enhanced	Individual economic wellbeing increased	
Knowledge, insight, ideas gained	Feeing valued experienced	Positive future inspired	Local economy supported	
Diversity of cultural expression appreciated				
Sense of belonging to a shared cultural heritage deepened				

Table 1. A schema of measurable cultural outcomes, adapted from culturaldevelopment.net.au, obtained 26.4.2019

As an arts activity, the festival will implicitly affect the aesthetic experience of the participants, which are being moved by an experience outside everyday life. Considering the political background on which the festival was developed, one of its core purposes was increasing pride of the Coastal Sami people. The sense of pride in being a Coastal Sami has affected differently various generations and I will touch on this in a theme referring to intergenerational impacts.

4.1. Theme 1. Re-interpreted relations to Sami culture

This theme collects the relation to cultural symbols, practices, and their availability, in this sense, the theme is strictly related to preservation of intangible heritage in the form of practices. The theme was constructed by cumulating all the instances when any practices or symbols were mentioned. With eight people in total referring to culture, I grouped the responses as follows: four respondents, all Sami, mention traditional knowledge and practices and their answers compose a subtheme referring to heritage. Two Norwegians describe the change in how they view Sami culture under the subtheme of intercultural relations. Three respondents refer to the festival as increasing Sami pride, both on a personal and collective level.

Subtheme 1. Re-negotiated relations through heritage

This subtheme collects all the instances where elements of heritage: specific knowledge, traditions, practices were mentioned in the interviews. The these heritage elements were either expressed in art (Geir), displayed to draw attention to a diminishing tradition (Tore), as availability of handicrafts workshops (Christine) and general preservation insights from the director of the Centre for Northern People (Astrid).

Geir is a Saami artist who has worked with the festival from its beginnings. He explained the symbol used in the festival 2016 logo: "it is both a meteorological phenomenon, the double sun, and also a celebration of the peak of the summer, and the two suns are composed of firewood, which given its use in winter, it's like a <holy material>". For him the Sami background means knowledge about the nature, the plants, food and ecology and the most important thing "is just to do things, to activate it, I don't do much for this <I have to preserve>, because I think then it will die somehow because you have to do things. And maybe you cannot do it all, but maybe you can do some small things here and there and you can make new stories".

From this point of view, the festival acts indeed as a platform where this knowledge can be put into practice and acted upon, experimented with by creative participants. The traditional knowledge can be also developed through the workshops like the Sami and other indigenous people's handicrafts. The availability of these kinds of experiences translates for Christina, who is the chair of the board of Riddu Riddu Festivala As – the association responsible for organizing

the festival, into "bringing the traditions to the next generations, new people learning it. Only by continuing with making the traditions available, only in that way we can bring it further".

This new understanding fostered also sets the basis for a deeper appreciation of another culture, which ties into other cultural and social outcomes. CDN explain this change as an unlimited and continually generated development of ideas resulting from the cultural engagement, as providing opportunities to learn new things or expanding one's perspective of an idea. Geir touches another important point of this engagement, that this experience should be sought and not imposed.

The uniqueness of the event leaves lasting impacts, as it happens outside the daily life and triggers emotions different than regular routines (Cudny, 2016, p. 30), even in small details like the one Christina mentions: "Of course, in a mixed society you have to navigate, you talk about different things…but right here and now it's all about how she made a gakti that way, oh that's new fashion and so on. And back home it would be more daily life". The new ideas the festival brings both in terms of programming and in the mentality of the people will be analysed further in the next theme.

Tore is another person who has been with the festival from its beginnings. At the 2016 edition of the festival where this research was conducted, he was introducing the dry fish, because it is one of the last remaining specifically Sea Sami traditions, as opposed to, for instance, the reindeer herding practiced more inland: "that's why quite many people living in Northern Norway in the first place, because we have ice free coast here and then preserving, in the winter we got a lot of fish, it's easy to dry it, in winter no flies, nothing, so they can be hanged and they can be dried". As he noticed more and more the disappearance of these racks of dried fish along the coast, he wanted to show the physical connection to the traditional resources, like fishing. Not only is this presented as a tradition, but also the food served on the premises is based on fish and meat that are locally sourced. For Tore it is important to maintain these traditions, if possible: "of course culture has changed much, not so many of the old culture trades are now, but that's how it is with cultures and people, it can change and we can still be alive, but this is also a discussion, of how much can it really change and still be real in a way, and sometimes no, this is not possible, but of course, culture cannot have a still form, it will always change, but it's interesting to try to keep and have this knowledge about ancestors."

Another general perception about preserving the culture came from Astrid, as she mentioned the diverse activities she's overseeing at the Centre for Northern People including a gakti costume project, a knowledge portal for the internet and a cultural exchange with a group from Siberia, among others. However, she does not have a very positive outlook on the current situation: "The language situation is very negative and I think actually that the culture and the language go hand in hand, and so if that disappears totally, maybe, in the end of the day, it's just a museum thing the whole culture".

Subtheme 2. Improved intercultural relations (Sami – Norwegian)

This subtheme details two examples where the festival experience affected the understanding of Sami stereotypes, especially spread in the southern part of Norway. I decided on this subtheme because the two respondents were Norwegians, not Sami and the change in their mentalities about the Sami culture was expressed clearly in their stories.

Camilla provided me with the description of an extra-ordinary experience of the festival as a Norwegian, a first time festival participant and a volunteer: "maybe people in Southern Norway have their impression not that up to date, it's more of a historic perspective, maybe they think about the full costume and the yoik, but I think one of the very important thing with Riddu Riddu is that you can see how the Sami culture is evolving and modernising and is not as static unity. I think absolutely we would need some more knowledge about the Sami culture, also the history but also modern culture". She underlined it primarily as a learning experience, in terms of showcasing Sami artists and the expression of a contemporary Sami culture: "it seems that it is for the young Sami people a process going on, that's also something that is always happening, but at the festival you could also see how young people were experimenting, both in the music and in the clothing, with both the Sami culture and the adaptation to the modern society or contemporary culture. I thought that was interesting to see, especially with the three young Sami artists that were playing at the opening concert".

Another story illustrating a change in the way a family of a respondent talks about Sami people is provided by Veronika, who acted as the volunteer coordinator at her second visit to Riddu Riddu in 2016. "I see it as it's spreading to my family, for example because there are some jokes in the south about Sami and they are really mean and I've never thought about them because we joke a lot about Swedes for example and I've never thought about the jokes as racist,

it's just a joke about the Swedes, why not joke about the Sami, it's like neighbours and neighbours, right? But ever since I was here, I realised how much bad history is wrapped into those jokes". She give the example she heard in her family, from her uncle: "He was in the military in Finnmark, he was in this bar and he was flirting with this girl and he wanted her phone number and of course it was before cellphones and she answered <no, you cannot call me because I live in a tent> and that's like, the joke. And I used to think it's hilarious and now it's like, it's actually really really mean, now I point that out every time someone makes a joke like that, and sometimes they get really annoyed but I think they also start to get the point". She believes she developed her empathy towards other cultures partly due to her anthropology studies, but also partly to joining the festival: "it doesn't have a revolutionary effect, that just because this festival exists, the world is automatically in a second a better place, but I think each person who comes here, leaves a better person".

In this subtheme was analysed as how an individual and a group (the family of a participant) improved their general knowledge of the culture and behaviour towards it, after someone in their family took part in the festival. Dunphy (2015, pag 253) notes a similar unanticipated impact of a theatre project on the family of the young participant. This is an example of how the effect can start from an individual level to the wider society level through unexpected ways.

In this sense, this subtheme referring mainly to how the respondent's individual perception of Sami cultural expressions and familiarity has been affected, and supports the idea that the participants became more knowledgeable about the handicrafts, traditional knowledge, traditional music and livelihoods, symbols, and these new insights in the culture has fostered more respect and empathy for cultural diversity.

Subtheme 3. Re-interpreted group relations through feelings of pride

The sense of pride that the people developed as they form an identity and a group identity is an ongoing process without clear delimitations, but with certain "nodal points", in which a person chooses certain elements in a particular combination to be something. (Hansen, 2015) This applies both at an individual level and collectively as a group identity, and each individual

negotiates their own relationship with these cultural elements, be it language or cultural practices (Hansen, 2015, p.13).

In asking about the most significant change the festival had, the sense of pride was emphasized constantly in different way. Four respondents made direct references to the way different elements were used as a way to express openly being Sami. As shown above when describing the process of safeguarding, the impact of the festival is visible when people reform their relationship to the heritage through pride, to the practices displayed and ultimately to themselves as practicing subjects. (Hafstein, 2018)

The outcome according to CDN would be sense of belonging to a shared culture heritage deepened, but the collective relationship to this heritage has been challenging as evidenced by the local history. Nonetheless, Hansen (2015) argues that the success of the festival in strengthening Sami identity came from "strategic use of positivist essentialism" which has coagulated the Sami community around reindeer herding and Sami language. However, in the case of the Coastal Sami culture, which has suffered loss of language and traditions more than inner Sami culture, based around reindeer herding, it was a longer process of discovering authentic traditions, as shown by the beginnings of the festival, when the young organisers faced reactions from elders towards Riddu not being "fully Coastal Sami", but rather borrowing elements of the other Sami groups. From this point of view, Christina explains the role assumed by the festival to: "bring variations in the Sami culture together, the Sea Sami culture, the reindeer Sami culture, other Sami cultures, because we are not a homogenic group".

The change identified in the way people think about themselves was expressed as a comparison between the past and what takes place now, in the light of the festival. For example, Geir says: "of course it has been a big change when it comes to that cause after 25 years, to wear the Sami clothing, this pride that appears these days would not be possible to show in the same way".

Christina mentions the emotional difficulties of expressing Sami identity as an individual in this area: "It has been very hard for Sami people in this area and in other areas, for many many years and it is still very hard for some people to acknowledge who they are because they have been told all their lives that that is not good enough. You should forget your language, it's not

worth shit and so if we can make people feel good about themselves and who they are then that is also one of our main goals".

The political impact of the festival is noticeable although formally the festival does not take a political stand. But the audience is moved by performances, for instance in Veronika's words: "I wanted to go out and start a revolution after, first it was The Pig on stage, the dancing pig, that was crazy and then it was Ana Tijoux and the whole song was really political and I just wanted to join her and make a revolution. After the performance (The Pig stole my gakti) they got the entire crowd to shout those words and it was really effectful, it was a really effectful way of ending a concert and it also reminds you of how this festival started, what they're doing here it not just to listen to music and it's not just to make new friends, it's also that very political part of having to fight to be allowed to be who you are".

The respect and appreciation of Sea Sami culture from the Norwegian majority was also an important point, as Astrid mentions "I think it has improved that the Norwegians understand that they are Sami themselves, in a way, not all of them, but a lot. And it was really difficult here in the 90s with all this shooting and so that's changed, you don't find that anywhere in this society anymore. As a local person, living here, it's much easier now than it was at that time. "

Astrid notes two things in relation to building the Sami identity, the language and self-awareness and identification as Sami, as directly affected by the festival: "so for me this festival, I'm too old to find my identity and not for my children either, because they're grown up and very strong, they have the Sami language as their mother tongue and never had to think about who they were, but for many youth in the village, I think it's been very important." It is this space, place for reflexiveness over one's own Sami pride that is juxtaposed with the effects of assimilation: "you have to do something yourself (my note: in learning the Sami language), or otherwise you will just be sucked off by the main culture, slowly, even though with the governments in the old countries used so much money and tried to kill all that was, during the assimilation and all that, we are still here and so much resources has been used on that, to try to get people to stop speaking Sami and to teach them to be good Norwegians. And they still speak it".

4.2. Theme 2. Festival management perspective

"It is almost a name of a place" is a description given to the Riddu Riddu festival by Geir who was born close to Manndalen, where the festival takes place. As shown above, Phipps (2010) brings forward the argument that indigenous people's festivals are one of the few positive spaces for expressing indigenous sovereignty, strengthening a distinct cultural identity in local, national and international contexts. Riddu Riddu has become a strong brand associated with indigenous struggle and an international presence, as mentioned by three respondents.

This theme refers to event management aspects that reflect formal goals expressed by the organisers, different activities and the brand of the festival and its influence in place branding and people's connection to a place.

Subtheme 1. Cultural experience of Riddu Riddu, Sami-themed

According to the schema of inputs - outputs – outcomes which has been explained above, the festival organisers aim to bring together the different Sami traditions and other indigenous traditions (inputs), to the programming of the festival and various activities (outputs) therefore determining cultural outcomes (among other types of outcomes), which consist in a changed view on Sami people as well as more broadly, indigenous people. These are explicit cultural outcomes explained below as goals put forward by the organisers of the festival.

In addition, there are elements that make up the theme of an experience and provide the participant with a learning experience, an entertainment experience, an esthetic one and an escape from daily life. Organising an experience to affect different participants on all these levels makes it memorable: "when you customize and experience to make it just right for an individual…you cannot help changing that individual. When you customize an experience, you automatically turn it into a transformation" (Pine & Gilmore, 1998, pag. 163). I argue that through its organization and goals, the festival manages to create these kinds of transformative experiences, which I have tried to showcase in the following stories.

Christina, in her role as the chair of the board of the organisation in charge of the festival, articulates a three-fold impact on the Sami culture: "this festival has brought to life again a culture that was hidden, due to the assimilation years. That is one thing, the other thing is that it brings variations in the Sami culture together, the Sea Sami culture, the Reindeer Sami culture,

other Sami cultures, because we are not a homogenic group, right? That is the second thing, and the third thing is of course that we bring indigenous people from all over the world here and it becomes so evident that we share so much, and we share so many traditions and share points of view on many aspects of life, so that this festival enriches a lot of people, in particular this week in summer but of course, the experiences you have in this week follow you through your life, I think".

The awareness this festival is aimed not only towards the local community, but towards the majority Norwegian culture, to Sapmi and to the world. The collaborations with other indigenous people were a core part of the cultural programming of the festival and contributed to the "mutual respect, all about respecting each other and acknowledging the special features of each other's culture". She mentions the instance of a goal achieved raising the sense of pride not only among Samis, but other indigenous groups: "So when I hear that the indigenous people from Taiwan that are here, are planning to create their own festival because they have been so inspired by this, you can mark that as checked, that is an accomplishment and that is not the first example on that so, the festival has contributed to raising pride again, on who we are". The finding of similarities between indigenous people through cultural engagement denotes a social bond and strengthening of the indigenous status: "it becomes so evident that we share so much, and we share so many traditions and we share points of view on many aspects of life, so that this festival enriches a lot of people". This collaboration and its effects can be seen as well through the presentation of a different Northern people every year.

Christina speaks more about the organisation of the festival by travelling with the Sami artists to participate in other indigenous festivals around the world and meet other indigenous people that would participate in Riddu Riddu, so as a main festival for a this particular genre, they also assumed the responsibility to mentor smaller festivals.

Astrid mentions as the biggest achievement: "It has changed people's way of thinking in the Sea Sami area" and its threefold importance: "the festival itself is very important for the identity of the people, to build up the youth and the background and to feel that you belong to some place". Attachment to a place is a part of one's identity and Nyseth (2014) argues, looking at Sami identity in relation to place, that feelings of belonging to a Sami core area are stronger, even when born in the city. The quotes he collected "illustrate a distinction between belonging to

a place and the place where one lives their life. These two aspects of place identification do not always match" (Nyseth, 2014, pag.143).

Geir also mentions the festival "as a celebration, you do it for these days, and this is the arena for your sami-ness. But of course we need this for cultural expression and as a gathering place….and all these things that you experience here, the seminars, informal talks, around the fireplaces, many different layers and parallel things going on". Leonenko (2008) finds similar results identifying "a conglomeration of inner independent festivals" that cater to everyone's interests (Leonenko, 2008, pag. 75).

Astrid has worked as a producer for the festival and although she kept some aspects of the organising unchanged, she tried to also bring something new. She mentions two activities, a seminar in Saami translated to Norwegian and a traditional yoiking workshop: "because Riddu Riddu have only yoik in the music and in a modern way, and I had five different yoikers from five different areas to make something new together, without instruments. You also have to see where we are living, in the time we are living, we have to live in the time we are and not always go back to the traditional way all the time, and kind of crying for something that we have lost, but somehow to show the old in a new way is also important". Showing the old in a new way, reflects the variety of the same artistic expression – the yoik. Udaya (2017) goes deeper into the role music has in constructing indigenous identity and notes the importance of development of culture through new forms of expression, through performances that allow experimentation without the shackles of tradition. (Udaya, 2017, p.34)

Subtheme 2. Organisation of the festival space

The space of the festival is an important part of the arena Geir speaks of, and it has seen experimentation with locating the different elements, such as the stands for the marketplace, location for showing the movies or artist's exhibitions.

Veronika explains: "And how important it is to have an are in front of the main stage alcohol-free for it to be possible to bring the kids and to bring everyone because the festival started as, well, to put focus on indigenous identity and being proud to be Sami and connecting with indigenous people all over the world…and if you're gonna do that, it can't be a major beer fest, it needs to be room for families and room for conversation".

She continues: "I want to create that sort of atmosphere at the festival and at the volunteer tent, which is why we have the sofas and everything, to make it possible to sit and chat…I think we're doing something right if we can create an environment here where people from different parts of the world get to experience other people's culture and make friends across country lines and across continents and across religious beliefs and everything and see that sort of commonness and being part of the festival, because I think it's a really good festival for having room for everyone, every identity is welcome".

Caroline is a Canadian researcher who volunteered at the festival in 2011 and 2016. Although the 2011 edition of the festival was cut short due to unfortunate events in Oslo, I asked her if she noticed any differences in its layout: "It's always different depending on which Northern people are here (…) seems to me there are a lot more lavvus and the setup, how it's laid out physically, it's a little bit different. I think it's better, they used to have the marketplace as you're walking in but they felt sort of to the side whereas here they were really in the centre of things and there's a lot more craftspeople here, last time it was maybe 7 or so, whereas here they're so many". In addition to the festival enabling artistic development by supporting artists it also creates a brand for the destination and makes a place attractive, based also on the cultural products available.

The festivals are increasingly popular because "they meet the requirements of contemporary societies as they are dynamic events, remaining in continuous motion" (Cudny, 2016, pag.79). They are dynamic as events, with the freedom to move things around depending on their needs.

They are also dynamic in revitalising the culture, in navigating traditions and modernity in a local and international context.

4.3.   Theme 3. Intergenerational perspectives

This theme builds on the transmission of heritage and how different generations interact in the festival. As the festival began with youth action and it always had activities destined for this group, behaviours are fostered to preserve and transform the cultural resources, according to the principle of intergenerational equity. Hansen (2015) explains that sharing experiences and group activities in the youth camp with international guests contributed to the feeling of belonging to a global group, as indigenous people. Four respondents address this theme in particular.

Astrid mentioned already the influence of the festival in building the identity of young people, and a special group mentioned are the teenagers: "I think the festival has a lot to give and to the youth in the festival, the workers 12-16 years old, it's a huge group, about 30 there are. But that's because some of the people here are picking them up from school already and some want their friends to come in, even though the parents can be very against the whole thing, but the youth are strong and they want to work and be with the other youth and the Riddu organisation is looking very well after them". In developing this human resource, the festival's organisation creates a lasting impact on the relationships in the community. Cudny emphasizes this positive role of festivals as enabling the members of a community to spend their free time together, a platform for interesting and close interpersonal relations. (Cudny, 2016, pag.86)

As a volunteer coordinator, Veronika provided me with details on the management of the "bargin norat" program for the young helpers aged 13-18, of which some of them are the children of the staff members. The program implies 16 work hours, like the other volunteers and they have their own coordinator. It is almost like a kind of teenage festival for the ones that fall in between the children's festival and the other programs for which they are too young. Veronika explained that in 2016 there were 34 of them: "I think that the program is really good for making them feel useful and they also have social events year around so they get to become this really good group and the idea is that, if they're a closely-knit group of friends then they will help each other out and they will continue running the festival, because it's very easy that when people start high-school or university they disappear and they get other interests, but if all your friends

are doing this then it's easier to stay as a group and they're really valuable assets cause they're just so creative and good at what they do". In this way the teenagers create a positive bond with their peers by taking part in the festivals' organisation, which in turn strengthens their own Sami identity and transforms the social capital of the community.

By intergenerational impacts I am referring to how different generations express being Sami in the festival, as Christina explains that it can be easier to the youth to develop a sense of pride about who they are: "for some, I think it is, of course, easier without the baggage. They don't have these ideas behind them, of course they can hear about it from their parents and relatives but it wasn't their struggle, it was the past generations' struggle and now, hopefully, the next generation can benefit from that and it will not have to do the struggle again".

The same conclusion about young people's sense of identity is brought up by Nyseth (2014), although in an urban setting, but underlining the development of a new Sami identity without prejudices or shame. His data supports the argument that it is easier for the youth to be more confident about their Sami identity and more free and explicit as well in expressing it: "a small group of young Sami could be characterized as City-Sami, those who live their ethnicity in the city, even if they were born elsewhere. To them, being a Sami is something obvious, nothing you question, and therefore nothing to be demonstrated all the time…The city represents, to the City-Sami, a freedom to express themselves as Sami." (Nyseth, 2014, pag. 145-146)

Seeing children around triggers positive emotions and inspire a positive future for the community. Geir mentions: "It's both old people and new people and that's really a joy to see, so many kids, I enjoy very much that there are many kids, and also to see the older people, like I see my old aunt here and it really warms my heart", Christina as well: "so when I see Sami kids running around here in gakti like it's the most natural thing for them that is indeed moving and really, really cool".

4.4. Theme 4. Insights on language use

The Sami assimilation policies had functioned in Norway since the early 19th century when the Samis were seen as a distinct people threatening the integral one nation, one people, one state, nation-building process. The norwegianisation policies they were subjected to implied

no right to ownership of the land, no Sami language to be used in schools or in official places. They were thought to disappear on in dire need of civilising from the superior Norwegian population. However, only after the Second World War this ideology was replaced by more supporting policies that protected their culture and language.

The Samis were then considered as a part of the nation, not a distinct ethnic minority. Between 1960s and 1990s a wave of development of Sami associations and organisation started and consequently an improvement concerning Sami policies. Samis were acknowledged as "people", the Sami Parliament was established under Norwegian Law and a Sami language act made Sami equal to Norwegian in some municipalities in Sapmi. (Rasmussen & Nolan, 2011)

Besides the Sami political advancements, the attitudes towards Sami people influenced also "intergenerational language transmission, language use and language attitudes in Sapmi" (Idem., pag. 44). The Sami ethnopolitical movement convinced over a period of 30-40 years the Norwegian government that Sami are a distinct people and not just "Sami speaking Norwegians" (Thuen, 2004, pag. 88)

This theme wants to explore the different perspectives that have stood out in the interviews regarding the individual relation to the language. The circumstances in which the respondents learned the Sami language were varied, and it points also to the way in which a family negotiated their relationship to the language. There were five respondents talking about their various language experiences.

For instance, Geir made a comparison between the attitudes of learning Sami when he grew up versus learning it now: "when I was a kid we didn't have Sami language in school, my parents didn't want us kids to learn the Sami language, they told me that you should learn Norwegian first and it was better. It had such a big influence on the state of mind here, because my father, he says he is proud of being Sami, but he doesn't want to show it, in a way." One idea promoted at the festival is that anyone can express their identity however they feel like.

Christina comes from an area where Sami language is not used anymore, and she finds that at the festival she gets the kind of understanding over common issues and this is also a bond within Sami as a social group: "Also in a mixed society, you don't get to discuss very much Sami issues perhaps, but here everybody knows what you're talking about, you can go to a

seminar and have the same background, the same perception of what is this. You look at people and they get it so you don't have to explain things". This individual perception compounds also to the social impact around group identity formation, social bonding, for individuals belonging to the same group, but also social bridging, which involves people from different groups relating and establishing a relationship. From this point of view, at the festival anyone regardless of their background can communicate with people, enjoy the performances and interact with the displayed cultural symbols. The interaction doesn't leave any parties unchanged, as it happens in all events specific of the experience economy (Pine II and Gilmore, 1999).

Especially interesting was the perspective of Astrid who worked as a leader for the language centre for 6 years, before working as the producer for the festival and now the director of the Centre for Northern Peoples. She expresses her pessimism concerning the language preservation, both because of the school system without enough resources and because it is not used at home, it is increasingly difficult for students to improve their Sami language skills. The transmission to the younger generation has to happen naturally, and Astrid believes the language is essential for the preservation of the Sami culture as a whole: "if you don't have the language, what do you have then? (…) if you really want to live, you have to, it's costing a bit but you have to do it. You can talk about reindeer herding, you can talk about handicraft, but the language is in the reindeer herding and in the handicraft and in the fishing and in everything".

She emphasized that progress is slow, lengthy and requires a lot of personal determination: "Language is very important and so I think everyone should do something themselves, not say <but it's so difficult and we don't have time and it takes a long time and it's costing so much money >". She mentions the language policies that seem insufficient for ensuring the learning "we have policies today, we have the language law, that everyone has the right to learn and that what does it do? Are we learning more, are the schools doing more? Nay, so we have that policy anyway".

She's learned the Sami language at 16-17 years old, not on the coast but when she moved inland to Kautokeino, Finnmark which has a stronger language presence, and in a way she would refer to it as her mother tongue, she has been speaking it longer than she has been speaking Norwegian and she transmitted it to her children as their mother tongue. She remembers the circumstances of her own learning in a comparison with the current situation: "Here on the coast

when I grew up as a child and we heard the Sami language everywhere, in the shop, in the bank, the workers were using it in the 70s, but we didn't speak it ourselves, and today I have two children who had Sami as their first language when they grew up, but they couldn't speak it with anyone, isn't that interesting?"

From this point of view the festival provides a way to develop one's language skills and Tore mentions that this is one of the places he speaks probably most Sami in the year. Hearing the language can spark interest and motivation for young people to learn it, as Veronika noticed "someone's kids were jealous of the teenagers at the festival because they were speaking much better Sami than they were".

The expression of one's identity through language is supported by Nyseth (2014) who draws his analysis from urban Sami settings in Tromsø, Umeå and Rovaniemi. As one of the most important effects of the norwegianisation policy was that the following generation grew up without Sami language, it affected the perception of identity, as something that can be chosen or not.

5. Conclusions

Similarly to caring for the environmental resources and ensuring economic development for future generations, culture requires preservation as a vital part of the society, which is usually addressed by cultural policies, especially in national contexts. While policies concerning indigenous people have initially aimed for assimilation within a unified nation state, after the Second World War there has been growing support for preserving their traditions, language and livelihoods. Revitalization policies affected both intangible and tangible heritage. Global cultural developments towards indigenous rights reflected similar struggles that indigenous groups encounter at a local level. In 1991 in northern Norway a group of Sami youth set the bases for a celebration of their Sami identity, although challenging due to the assimilation process which lingered in the collective mentality.

The festival found fertile ground and sprouted into an international celebration of indigenousness, spotlighting the distinct Coastal Sami culture and collaborating with many other indigenous groups from around the world. It has increased the awareness and pride of the Coastal Sami community and improved the transmission of heritage to the coming generations. By providing an engaging experience that has an impact on the participants, whether across generations of Sami people or participants from the majority Norwegian or from abroad, the Riddu Riddu festival has a valuable effect to local cultural sustainability.

The festival is both a cultural product and a platform where vital intangible heritage preservation is facilitated. It is the case of Sami language learning, which happens across generations, in addition to other efforts to formally preserve it, such as language schools and policies. Traditional knowledge is shared in workshops or in informal discussions throughout the festival, indigenous performers showcase both traditional kinds of music, such as the yoik, and modern reinterpretations of it. This flexibility of expression is useful for the diverse programming of the festival, creating a brand that associates it with the place of the festival. The sense of belonging to a place is also strengthened through social connections.

One other contribution this study provides is in the use of a framework to identify change. Given the difficulty to establish cultural indicators that are reflecting grassroots developments and are readily included in cultural policies, CDN proposes a framework of outcomes that relate to five policy domains, emphasizing that economic, environmental, social, cultural and governance activities do not exist isolated. The cultural outcomes they proposed have served in this study to identify a visible change with regards to knowledge, diversity of cultural expressions, a sense of belonging to a shared heritage, creativity and aesthetic experience. I adapted this framework that targets cultural policies to apply it as a kind of impact assessment of a cultural activity. The impact noted here is individual but gathered from different categories of participants, whether receptive, active or creative. Individually occurring, the impact can accrue in the community, society or population level. In further research regarding the value of cultural activities, cultural outcomes can point further than economic or social goals, but as value of what impact it has on the participant and therefore leading to planning activities in order to achieve a certain outcome.

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