

Annexe:

Retranscription d'entretien semi-directif avec Lina. Réalisé le 10 octobre 2023. Durée : 1h16.

Langue parlée : anglais.

Léo : So here we go. Feel cool to answer whatever you want. First I wanted to ask you about your experience in Kåbdalis. So where are you born ?

Lina : Actually I was born in Colombia in 1991.

Léo : And you spent your childhood here?

Lina : Yes. And I was adopted by two swedishs parents. And one of them my father comes from here.

Léo : Ok and is the house I currently live owned to your grandmother too? I didn't understand everything about this house.

Lina : The house that you are living, it's on our family's land or used to be on our family's land. My grandmother lived in two different houses. For a little while she stayed in the yellow house, the big yellow house. And for another while they had a house that was further down behind yours towards the lake. But it's not there anymore.

Léo : So did she lived there?

Lina : For a short while yes. And she stayed with her husband and her parents. And then her husband bought this little slot of land and built this house. So my father was not born in this house. He moved here when he was 11 years old I think. It was finished in 1956 and he was born in 1945. So I guess they just wanted to move out from living with the entire family.

Léo : Ok I see. And about the house behind mine close to the lake you told me about two Sami herders.

Lina : One Sami herder and one other man they both killed themselves. So first it was my grandmother's brother who shot himself. I think it was in the eighties. I'm not sure because I was just a little child and it could have been in 86' – 87' somewhere in the middle of eighties.

Léo : I understand yes.

Lina : He had some personal issues and we never really know why but he had some problems with alcohol and emotional issues. And the second person was a reindeer herder and it was a lot later I think it was at least 10 or 15 years later. And he came from another family, the Tealus family and relatives of him like the generation before used to live in this yellow house here. And this Tealus family is still in this area but this protects particular branch and ... I don't know if he rented the house. I think he did and he stayed there and he killed himself.

Léo : I don't know if I can use this sensitive information in my work

Lina : I don't know either because it's not my family. So regarding my class and my relative I think you can but Robert Tealus I don't know.

Léo : What's the name ? The family name?

Lina : Of my family or their family ?

Léo : The reindeer herder's family.

Lina : Tealus. T – E – a – L – U – S.

Léo : Ok thank's. And so you spent many years here in Kåbdalis ?

Lina : As a child yes. Pretty much. And until I was... let's say 14 - 15 years old I didn't come for almost 10 years. I was only here for very short visits if ever. Because I was a teenager and didn't want to travel with mom and dad and ... yeah.... so you prefer to be in a big city. But when I was 24 I started coming again by myself and staying with in my grandmother's house here or staying with relatives when "Inge" and "Gunther" lived into the big house I could go in and sleep in their house as well.

Léo : Were you already working at this time?

Lina : Yes, I was. I used some of my first real salary money to travel here and buy proper clothes to be in the forest so yes. But I think even before that we started coming because I was when I was 24 I was still studying and I will travel up either by myself or with David or with my father who still came visiting his mother when he could.

Léo : Ok I understand. And I guess you carried on the lifestyle here? You told me that you like to help "Lasse" with his herd.

Lina : Yes "Lasse" and "Runne". Whenever we can and get the opportunity we just love to go out and visit the reindeers and help out with some work. And you know it depends on what part

of the year, it depends on what type of work there is. And since we had kids we have to split up, me and David, and you know.

Léo : Yes I guess it's getting difficult to come, etc.

Lina : So you know when you're pregnant maybe you can't carry very heavy stuff and maybe you don't want to hold onto reindeer step could kicking you badly and things like that. So you know I had to take care of the fire or other things for a little while.

Léo : Ok I see.

Lina : But that's only for a few years. Before that I used to come and I would rent a car and I would drive here and I would either just hang out or study sami and work on the cabin and then during the daytime sometimes I would go and help out feeding the reindeer.

Léo : You said that you learned sami language at school?

Lina : Yes it's like a class that Umeå university has in collaboration with Luleå university. So I think I was formally enrolled in Umeå university but we never went there. So we always had our classes in Luleå Technical University in their lecture halls in Luleå. So I would only have to drive to Luleå from here.

Léo : So was there "Lula" course?

Lina : Yes. And what they do is that they do every other year. So one year it was "Lula Sami" and the next year I think it was "southern Sami" and then the next year it's "Lula Sami". So they shift in between. So yes It's not every year you can study "Lula Sami".

Léo : Does anybody can come and learn?

Lina : Yes and people did. So I think half of the people attending the course flew in or took train from other parts of Sweden.

Léo : Ok so now you speak but do you know ...

Lina : I'm not speak but ...

Léo : Maybe not fluently but you picked up some words?

Lina : Yes. And it was also because I felt that there is a lot of information in that language that can't be translated. And there's so many words connected to the reindeer and to the land or nature that I wanted to understand. So that's mainly why I wanted to study some words.

Léo : Only in “Lula” ? Or maybe also in “Northern Sami” ?

Lina : No only in “Lula Sami”.

Léo : Is there still somebody talking Lula?

Lina : Yes.

Léo : Perhaps in Jokkmokk?

Lina : Yes in Jokkmokk. And I am not sure about “Lasse”. I never heard him speaking Lula Sami. But his brother does.

Léo : Does his brother also live in Kåbdalis?

Lina : Outside of Kåbdalis. So you have ”Lasse” who lives there and then you have ”Runne” who lives in ”Yalle” and then you have ”Yoke” and Jon who lives in Tellejokk.

Léo : Ok so he has many siblings.

Lina : Yes, maybe more but those are the ones. And at least ”Yoke” and Jon have spoken Lula Sami to me. And I hear when Jon comes to like gathering the reindeers, some of the other people speak to him and he will answer him in Sami.

Léo : Ok I see.

Lina : I don't think I've ever heard “Runne” have a conversation in Lula Sami but he helped me a lot with my homework and he seems to be very knowledgeable in the language. Not so much in the writing but in the spoken he would help me a lot to interpret and explain why something has a certain name so on and so.

Léo : Nowadays just a minority of Samis speak Sami language?

Lina : I think so but I really reflected upon that when I when we got here like a few weeks ago when I was in ICA in Jokkmokk and I was standing there in silence and realising that everyone around me was speaking Sami.

Léo : Oh amazing!

Lina : But for me it's hard to differentiate between Northern Sami and Lula Sami because they're very similar and it is ... I don't know very much but from when I read Nordic Sami and then I read Lula Sami I notice that it's more about the spelling and the letters that there is a difference.

Léo : Oh even the letters?

Lina : Yes. So like “Ajjte” in Lula Sami is spelled more like it would sound like the Swedish way with “A” and “T – T” and “J”. But in Northern Sami it's more “A-C-H”. So when you read it, it sounds like the same. So that's why I'm not confident enough to differentiate between Lula Sami and Northern Sami when somebody speaks it just at ICA. But I realised that there was at least four or five other units of people there like friends or family or people working in there who communicated with each other in Sami. And I was the only one who did not speak Sami here ha ha.

Léo : Ok ha ha I see.

Lina : But it was really nice because it was two older women speaking to each other. It was a mother speaking to her children. It was a guy and a girl who was like something 30 inches speaking to each other. And then there was one person asking ...

[interruption des enfants]

Lina : Ok sorry.

Léo : Don't worry take your time.

Lina : So there was different generations speaking in Sami.

Léo : So we can say there is still a transmission between generations?

Lina : Yes. And I think also that's because all of these classes so a lot of young people are learning in Sami.

Léo : Yes. And also you told me about a Sami School in Jokkmokk. Do they have courses in Lula Sami?

Lina : They have different combinations of classes that you can take.

Léo : Do you know why Samis herders no longer speak Lula now?

Lina : So I think... sorry so they have different courses. I just wanted to see if they still do it and yes they do. It's different classes like how knowledgeable you are. So it's ... [Inaudible]. I can give you the link.

Léo : Yes please.

Lina : But why they don't ? That is very good question. I think ...

Léo : Maybe there is no answers.

Lina : No I don't think that you have one clear answer but I think there are many factors. So some of them weren't talked to hide it or being ashamed of being Sami. They aren't comfortable speaking it in front of people they don't know. And although they are even settling where you would expect a lot of the people to be Sami. I think it's ... when you're out in society and you adapt to certain behaviour it will follow you. Into private situations and so. But I don't think... no one, to me at least, no one would ever like not to speak Sami.

Léo : Yes I guess so.

Lina : So if I ask a question or I tried to speak a little they will laugh and encourage and say that something good and maybe correct me. So I think it's more a reflex instead of they really don't want to speak. And if you don't speak in a lot you lose a little bit of the language.

Léo : That's logical. Do you know how many Samis herders are there in Kåbdalis? I suppose it's complicated to know now how many are there due to ... As you told me last day: "Who's Sami? Who's not? Who's Sami enough?"

Lina : Exactly I don't know. But reindeer owners they are not many.

Léo: There is "Lasse".

L: Yes there is Lasse and his family. And there there is Runne and his family. And of course his brothers and then ... I don't really know where the "Tealus" family lives. I think some of them live here in the area still. I don't know. I'd say 15 maybe. Approximately like 30 owners in "Utdja".

Léo : Utdja ?

Lina : Yes. The Sami village in Kåbdalis. So at least they are approximately 30 but not all of them live in Kåbdalis .

Léo : Where is located Utdja?

Lina : Here ha ha (me désignant tout autour de nous).

Léo : Ok I understand ha ha.

Lina : There is a small geographical place name Utdja and that's quite far into the military area "Nausta". So "Nausta" is the name of the area and on top of one of the mountains there is like a small village named Utdja.

Léo: Can you write me the name?

Lina : Yes.

Léo : Thank's.

Lina : So this is the Sami village. Now it states nature protected area. What's the name already? I don't know but you can look for that and you will find it. And "Utdja Sameby" is one of the Sami villages working in there but I think also that some of the other Sami villages are also allowed in there but I think like the majority of the land is Utdja. There are other smaller neighbouring villages that has land that sort of crosses over the border like the heartland and the majority of it I think it is Utdja.

Léo : Ok I see. But ... If we take "Lasse" for instance, does he say that he lives in Kåbdalis or in Utdja?

Lina : In Kåbdalis. So the case of "Lasse" is very funny because he actually lives in Utdja as well sometimes during the summer.

Léo : Ok.

Lina : So he lives in Kåbdalis and he's apart of the Sami village in Utdja. What is funny about Lasse and his wife he actually does have a little cabin in this tiny tiny village up on the mountains that named Utdja. So he lives there in the summer. He likes to go there.

Léo : Ok I see. And we can locate it on a map?

Lina : Yes like a formal place.

Léo : Because when I asked where is Utdja you told me "here".

Lina : Yes. Exactly because that's what it is. So Utdja Sami village...

Léo : So it's small houses, small cabins up in the mountains?

Lina : It's in the village. It's in the geographical place called Utdja.

Léo : And the lands are everywhere?

Lina : Yes everywhere in this area. So I think it would be easier if you would talk about the Sami village like "Luoktumava" or "Turpan" because ... There is no geographical place who has that name. It's much easier to differentiate between the geographical place and the Sami

village. So that's quite unfortunate with Utdja since there is both a village and a Sami village. It's confusing.

Léo : Ok that's funny. Do you think I can meet Lasse one time ? Because I already tried going to his house and knocked at his door but nobody was there. I guess he's very busy for the moment.

Lina : It's the hunting season yes.

Léo : And yes of course I understand. I'd really like to ask him about and to learn more about his herder lifestyle here in Kåbdalis. But I don't know how to communicate with him because...

Lina : English is a problem yes.

Léo : Maybe I can try in another way. Do you think he will accept me?

Lina : I'm not sure. I don't know. So usually before it used to be Runne was the one taking care of all the questions. But now older and I'm afraid he doesn't ... he used to take care of a lot of students during this time. And now he feels like he's getting older and he has much to do so he felt that no. Maybe he doesn't really have the time for that. But Lasse he is the younger sibling and I'm not sure because nobody... I don't think anyone is ever really come to him because everyone came to this other brother you know and ask him. So one could ask Lasse but I was actually thinking about maybe...

Léo : Are there a lot of people who ask to Runne ?

Lina : Yes. Research projects, people coming in the forest with him for months and you know so very a lot of people. But I was actually thinking that there is this young guy who is a part of the Sami village and I think he will maybe be a little bit better at English. And he is very active with reindeer herders.

Léo : Do you know his name?

Lina : His name is Ante. He's the son of Robert Edelbro. He is the person that you will buy reindeer meat from. So both Ante and Robert are really really nice people. I'm not sure about Robert because he is he's not as old as Lasse. Ha ha don't tell him this!

Léo : No worries ha ha !

Lina : Maybe he's not so good at English but I think Ante is about your age.

Léo : Oh so is he the young boy you told me before?

Lina : I think he should be better in English.

Léo : I'd love to meet him.

Lina : I don't know It's just my thinking like who could you ask questions when I'm not here and can interpret them. And then I was thinking that maybe Ante. I can ask him and we will see.

Léo : I'd love to. Where does he live?

Lina : He lives in Norden. So you would have to go by car. Actually I think Ante has an apartment in Älvsbyn because he lives in the city and study. But his father has this house outside of. So if you go to Arjeplog from here. You just go straight ahead, follow this road and then you don't turn left to Älvsbyn. You just continue ahead. So you just continue along that road and ...

Léo : Can you write it please?

Lina : Yes of course. I just have to Google it before. Oh he does live in Norden 1. I love this address. It's like Norden 1 that's it. So that's 12 kilometres from here. It takes 11 minutes to drive.

Léo : Ah ok it's pretty close.

Lina : So this is where we are. So you go out of the village. You passed "Sentoluokta" and then you just continue along this road. And here is the road that goes to Älvsbyn. And after that there is like a slope or like a downhill and then you cross Vitbäcken and so that's one water you will cross. And then you cross another small water. I don't think you will see it but it is there. And then when you cross the next bigger water it is right on your left-hand side Norden. So that's where it is. So if you google his name you will find his address as well.

Léo : So his name is Ante?

Lina : Yes Ante. And I can show you that too. And his father would turn 53 in four months. So his father is Robert Edelbro. And I wondered if you could find out how old is Ante. Yes he will turn 23 next year.

Léo : Ok just like me.

Lina : You are exactly the same age. That's interesting. If he has the time. You know because they have a lot of work to do now. But maybe later.

Léo : Yes of course. I didn't mean tomorrow or the next week. I stay until February.

Lina : That's good. I think for a lot of Sami people sometimes they feel exploited or that people are treating like there's something very exotic. You know like a monkey in a cage. And it takes a little while to earn their trust.

Léo : I can imagine.

Lina : So maybe the first time one asks you get a no but it doesn't necessarily mean that they won't change their mind after a while once they have got them.

Léo : Of course I have to earn his trust.

Lina : He just needs to warm up to the idea. So it might be that he accepts at the first ask but I'm just saying that it's a sensitive issue and there's a lot of racism appear towards Sami people. And they have had their fair share of hate and people going at them. So they have a little bit mixed emotions.

Léo : Yes of course I can understand. Maybe if I ask him to help in his work. That's the way I want to learn. That's my method. I'd like to be useful.

Lina : I think that is a very good idea to explain who you are. I will help and explain who you are and also say that I'm not just here to ask questions. I also just want to be helpful and you know so. But I still think that maybe Anta or Robert is a better bet than Runne or Lasse. And then if you get [inaudible] with them maybe Runne or Lasse will be nice to ask a few questions. But I don't think that they should be.

Léo : I can understand of course. So just to be clear Robert is his father?

Lina : Robert is his father. He's also a reindeer herder in the Sami village Utdja. And he is ... I would say that he is a very ... he is not the leader of the Sami village but he is an informal leader. And he is very active and I think he is one of the people who should become.

Léo : Haven't we already talked about him?

Lina : We talked about his son taking over as well. So he's like starting to do reindeer herding as well. But I think is probably the next one in line. I don't know because I can't answer what the Sami village decides to do and I don't know everything. But you know he's very active. He leads a lot of the practical work when we're out in the forest him and his son. So let's just say that they're very knowledgeable about what's on the Sami village does. I don't say too much. So maybe I say that he's like the next person to take over and somebody says "Oh I didn't know!". So I don't know. That's my interpretation ha ha.

Léo : And yesterday evening I was hearing you and Dominic talking about the connection between reindeer the animal and the human and I was really “wow!” It's fascinating. And I wonder what can you say about this connection?

Lina : ...

Léo : If it's possible to say something ha ha.

Lina : I don't know so I guess the problem with this is that you know ... you don't use words so how can I say ? So ... I think a lot of people just when they look at reindeer think that they're very pretty. Just you know like you look at the picture: “they have their furry and they're cute and they have big eyes and they are kind” so you know they don't have big thinks or anything. But also when you see them in their natural habitat and also in a group and see how they interact with each other and the landscape around them shows that reindeers are very very ...

Léo : Clever?

Lina : Clever but also kind and peaceful. So compared to cows ... but that's not really ... because cows are even more aggressive than reindeers. They rarely attack a person. And if they do it's something that you talk about a lot because that's so rare. Where is cows and horses you know they would kick him. They will attack him. They would bite.

Léo : Yes I see.

Lina : Reindeers never do that. So they are very peaceful and they shy away from like commotion and things like that. They rather run because they are like grass eaters. So the only fight that they do is between the males when they are competing for the women and also sometimes the female reindeers will use their antlers to defend food or their cup otherwise no. And they survive in an environment that is very very harsh we would probably die without protection within like an hour of just being out there where they live. So they're also very very resilient and they're also biologically adapted to where they are at something that we as people will never be. So just that it just gives me at least... it's like they become an artifact symbol of life in nature itself. In being so perfect for their environment and being so resilient and also when you connect with an animal there is just when you touch it and it comes down. Or when it sits and it looks ahead and look at you and you just ... [hochement de tête] ... then you continue to eat. And they will look around you and it's like a concern from a herd when they're coming down. So it's almost like fishes you know. They will move and they will be excited or like careful. And then it comes a point when they realised that : “Ok, everything is fine!” And

you light your fire and they will come down. And you just one of them. And then some of the reindeers you can actually handle then you could pick them or cut down them and feed them.

Léo : I understand. That sounds so kind. It's like a privileged relation?

Lina : Very much very much.

Léo : My grandfather was a farmer and a cows breeder. He didn't have exactly the same connection that you were describing but there was something like that.

Lina : Yes like a sense of their personality.

Léo : He couldn't predict the future but he could say something about the weather just watching cows behaviours.

Lina : Yes yes that's the same thing with the reindeers but I'm not that knowledgeable. The people who work with them are but it's just that there is so much to learn from the reindeers and still I solve a lot of my problems by just sitting in and watching them when I have the time. So during the winter time when we feed them (if we feed them during the winter time) you get to hang out with them. And it's just like watching them.

Léo : Yes that's interesting.

Lina : You just learn. There are so many principles regarding interaction animal and nature that is just adaptable to basically anything that has to do with life. Because life will always find its way. There's certain premises that goes for all of us right. So I find it very inspiring and I feel like they're helping me.

Léo : Ok I see.

Lina : While I just bring the food ha ha ! But I understand what you mean because that's what I see with herders at the Sami village. They can go like : “ Oh this is going to happen ! And then it's gonna rain ! And then ...!” And you're like : “what ???” And then everything just happens and in the beginning you just confused but now it's like : “Yeah of course ! So I better bring my raincoat then!”

Léo : And my grandfather had the same knowledge about wheater.

Lina : Yes they do ! And then there's different personalities of the reindeers. You know some of them are bitches and some of them are really kind of clever.

Léo : I've always found it fascinating.

Lina : Yes! That's the part that I love. I love it a lot. I think it is so cool because when you have a horse that you meet every day it's not strange that you develop a connection after. But the fact that I can meet "Imbra" (le nom de son renne) after haven't seen him for a year and he would stop when I called his name ! It's amazing and then we can hold on to him and we can pet him and he will just stand there like nothing's happened for a year. It was yesterday and we were cuddling last winter. So of course that is really strange. It just shows that if it's not intelligence they have some type of presence that recognises you again after individual. So I think that is amazing! It's mind-blowing!

Léo : Of course I can imagine. So I guess you enjoy working with reindeers?

Lina : I do.

Léo : Which period has the most work to do? The end of summer I guess ?

Lina : Yes so now in like September they're mostly chopped. You kill the reindeers so it's a lot of work and then comes the winter. So I would say sometime ... you can't really say what month but when the snow becomes a lot and it becomes really cold then you start to separate the reindeers into smaller herds.

Léo : Sorry can you repeat?

Lina : When in the winter like mid-winter. You start to separate their reindeers into smaller herds and that's a lot of work because you go from different places and you pick out your reindeers and you put them in your trailer and drive them somewhere and you let them lose what you think that they should be grazing. Because during winter food is very scarce. So you don't want big groups of reindeers eating at one place. You want smaller ones and spread out them and they're very particular with whose land what reindeers are where. And during that time of period the grazing is sometimes so sparse that you have to actually buy food and feed them. So that's what I was doing with "Lasse".

Léo : Ok I think I already heard about this.

Lina : So that goes on at least up until I would say ... until the reindeers can find their food again. It depends how much snow there is and how cold it is and you know. That can last for a couple of months and then you go out every day to the reindeers and feed them and that's a lot of hard labour. So we have helped out with. And then in April you start moving the reindeers up to the land where they are supposed to give birth to their host. So that's intense work for

them like first you gather them and then you move them and you move them in sequences. You know it's all the way.

Léo : In small parcels?

Lina : No. The big herd can walk maybe just like 10 kilometres a day or later and then you prepare for them to start at some place.

Léo : How do they manage that ? All day in their snowmobiles?

Lina : Yes. Snowmobiles and dogs and also sometimes they just use trucks. So they will gather them and put them on big lorries trucks.

Léo : So are there companies?

Lina : Yes. It's common and ... It depends on what you choose as a reindeer owner.

Léo : So you need to be outnumbered ? Herders are used to work together?

Lina : Yes. So several villages could work together and also you take help from friends and relatives.

Léo : Because it's too much work to do on your own so you need help ?

Lina : You might think so but they manage very well by themselves. They are clever and they are resilient and they are hard working. And still standing very very kind to tourists when we show up with our two kids and we tried to help out and one kid will just run off and do something and then they were just laughing about it. But yes it's. It's a hard work. It's difficult work.

Léo : Yes I guess so. And there are still now economics difficulties?

Lina : Yes. There are.

Léo : I guess it's very complicated to be herders nowadays in our modern world.

Lina : Yes. Yes. So I'm not I don't know any details so I only hear rumours when people meet and drink coffee or work together. But yes there are so many reindeer herders that during tough times cannot feed their reindeers. And they become very depressed about that. And also the problem is that if you choose to be traditionalist and not feed your reindeers. This "bot" food then it takes a few seasons before your entire herd becomes accustomed to eat that type of food. So you have to introduce it slowly to them and that's why even if you did have the money and

you go into a season where you know you have to feed your reindeers and you would buy all of that food that doesn't necessarily mean that all your reindeers gonna survive. Because they're going to get belly problems and if they can't eat their regular food and they get fed all of this store-bought-food. You know they're gonna have problems like diarrhoea and things like that. So that is also an issue that is complicating the whole situation.

Léo : Ok I see.

Lina : So it's not just the money. It also has to do with being able to make the right decisions in time. And if you don't have to suffer the consequences. I think that's a lot of what I understand as an outsider who doesn't work with them every day. It also has a lot to do with making a decision and accepting the consequences. You are the leader for your herd for your animals. And it's only you. So it can be very lonely even though you work in a village. And you probably have colleagues or friends it must be you who making the decisions for your reindeers.

Léo : Yes. I guess so.

Lina : But of course economically it's tough times you know. You have to pay for the fuel for your snowmobiles and your cars because you have to drive a lot. Also for four-wheelers or like train-bikes.

Léo : So hopefully you can rely on families isn't it?

Lina : Yes but not so much. These are not rich people. That just goes with the job. I think it's a part of the culture that you help out. So the family who's not active with reindeer herding will still come and help out when ... You know when it's needed over holidays. Maybe not everyone but you know most of them have one or two or more relatives that they can call in if there's.

Léo : Yes I see. And I guess nowadays it's even more difficult when your work is threatened by industrials projects such as mining.

Lina : Yes.

Léo : I was told about it in Jokkmokk.

Lina : Kallak.

Léo : Is it the mining project ?

Lina : Hum hum yes. That's another proof how the institutionalised racism is in this country. And it just proves because. In Jokkmokk which is like the municipally that is very Sami. The people who are considered to be like the finest people are the old Sami families.

Léo : I see ha ha.

Lina : You know "we have a lot of reindeers" and they have like the best silver when they go to the market.

Léo : The finest cloths ha ha? (Sur un ton un peu sarcastique et amusé)

Lina : Exacty. And people go like: "Oh yeah but that's the "Lamba" (nom de famille saami) or that's the "blinne" family".

Léo : Ok I see. It's like more authentic?

Lina : Yes exactly. So that's socially. They are high in ranking people. They are considering to be people who have some type of status. And that's what I meant because these people who are considered in their near area to be something positive and good and strong are considered by the institutions of this country to have no voice at all.

Léo : Ok I see.

Lina : And so there's a description between those two worlds. Because we're last. You know like regulation bodies are last institutions that we have and still has not cleaned out all their garbage from the 1920s 1930s and 1940s when Sami people was considered to be something really bad you know. The way people looked at jews in Germany. It's that level that they should be cleansed out. They should be taught to be Swedish. We should not make take him to consider and what their needs are or ...

Léo : Yes. They had to give up their beliefs.

Lina : Yes that's what they wanted them to do. And that's what society created. So they made a lot of people to give up their lives either they killed themselves or they left their identity and became Swedish. So it is in a way genocide. Or they would starve to death because they couldn't live without they were doing. So I think in the institutions even though it is not intentionally I hope anymore. But it has not been prioritised as me. So you have that there. And then you have in the society where people are starting to talk about it. You write an essay about it. People from all over the world come here to learn about the culture and something great and try to spread the words.

Léo : I see.

Lina : And so there's like these two worlds clashing. And I think it's really important for that particular reason that you started to ask about that we normalise being Sami. So that there are many different faces representing the Sami culture. So that people understand that there isn't just one type of Sami person. And then it's not just one type of economical or infrastructural need. There are many different ones. Some of them work at you know clothing store or some of them are reindeer herders or some of them are movie stars. But they should all have the right to be able to live in the culture that they were born if they choose so. So that's why we need to be... we can't ask for change if we can't show who we are.

Léo : Personally I'm completely aware that my arrival has some ethical issues. Because ... This kind of issue goes through all the academic social science research. Because yes... I don't want to be meant as an enemy or just a foreigner. And I know it's still ...

Lina : Sensitive.

Léo : Yes that's a sensitive position. Above all with anthropology because anthropology is linked in a way with colonialism you know.

Lina : It is yes. ... Sorry I have to answer. [Répond à un message]

Léo : Yes of course. Take your time.

Lina : Formally I'm still working.

Léo : It's been almost one hour we're discussing.

L: Yes. Sorry.

Léo : No worries. I've almost finished my questions. I really like the "Busa"'s handcraft with knives. I'm really interested in it. Basically I like knives. And it's much interesting when you make your own knife.

Lina : Yes. Very much.

Léo : I think I'm gonna ask him to teach me. Do you think he will accept ?

Lina : Maybe !

[Aslack arrive avec mes chaussures aux pieds]

Léo : That's my shoes ha ha!!

Lina : Yes ha ha. Well you never know. I think you should ask him. Well I think he should teach you. But you know I'm not the one to decide.

Léo : And why do you think so ?

Lina : He's an old man you know. He's not used being around new people. So I think he is a little bit shy actually. Even though he does like to speak to people. He is a very social and friendly person.

Léo : Dominic said exactly the same thing.

Lina : Yes so that's how I see him. But I only know him as an uncle. Not as a friend. So it's like ... Of course he's a friend because he's also my uncle but you know there's like this two different relationships. One that you would have with a friend where you're completely open. And one is where you like ... [Inaudible].

[Moment avec Aslack]

Léo : So personally I finished all my questions. Thank's for all.