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A B S T R A C T

Sami people in the northern Fennoscandia keep reindeer as semi-domestic animals. Ownership of the animals is individual while animals are kept together in herds in common pastures.

The herders move around with the herd between the inland and the coast according to the seasonal grazing conditions. The summer pasture is divided in orohat (reindeer districts). A district is a geographical area in which some herders have exclusive grazing rights. In 1994 the Reindriftsadministrasjon has proposed to make only a few districts in Finnmark. Each district shall include both summer and winter pastures. At the same time the districts shall be responsible for the management of their pastures.

The proposal means that the boards of the districts shall plan land use, and their main tool is the number of animals the herders keep. Does the proposal mean empowering the Sami herder population? In this paper I will outline some dilemmas in the management of the reindeer pastures.

Key words: reindeer, pasture, district, pastoralism, land use, co-management, Sami people

1. Introduction

Reindeer are indigenous to northern Europe and Asia. In Canada these animals are called caribou. Both reindeer and caribou form groups called herds. These herds may number in the thousands or smaller groups of only a few hundred animals.

Caribou are hunted. In the old days Sami people also hunted reindeer. However, now they keep reindeer as semi-domestic animals. Ownership of the animals is individual, and each owner has his/her own earmark. The owners keep their animals together in herds.

Reindeer diet changes with the seasons. During the summer they graze grasses and green plants, and in the wintertime the reindeer and caribou graze lichen. Therefore the owners move around with the herds in a yearly cycle between the inland and the coast according to the seasonal grazing conditions. On the coast the reindeer find grasses and during the summer they graze proteinrich green plants. The females get calves in the springtime (May), and the reindeer growth is based on summer diet.

The winter grazing in Finnmark lies in the inland which is lichen-rich tundra land. The weather in the inland is dry and cold without rainfall. Thus, in the winter the climate in the inland does not destroy the grazing conditions with heavy snow and icecover over the lichen, and due to the conditions it is possible for the reindeer to dig and find lichen through the snow (Reindeer dig with the forelegs).

Summer is a season to large herds, while these herds are divided in several herds in the autumn. Larger herds can not be maintained in one place, as the available pasture would soon be exhausted. It is usual to allow the animals to go their own ways in the summer, but only in their own district. In the winter the owners moved the herd according to the pastures.

The summer pasture is divided in orohat (reindeer district), and there are around fifty districts in Finnmark county and North-Troms. A district is a geographical area in which some herders have exclusive grazing rights, and with its own board, which are elected annually from among and of the herders themselves.

Winter pastures are not yet divided in districts like summer pasture, and therefore the winter pastures in f.ex. Guovdageaidnu is common land in legal sense. However, each winter herd, which has been called siida, has its own pasture. The other herd-owners know the borders. These borders have been based on traditions and "rights" in informal sense.

The Reindriftsadministrasjon has launched a plan to make only seven districts in Finnmark. Each district shall according to the proposal include both summer and winter pastures. The districts shall be responsible for the management of their pastures (land use) and that the number of animals is in proportion to the capacity of the pastures. Thus, the districts have to submit making formal plans for grazing, the number of animals and herders, technical installations etc.

In this paper I discuss some conditions for co-management in reindeer pastoralism in the main Sami settlement region.

Development and Changes- What is going on?

During the past couple of decades there have been changes in the pastoralism with technological innovations like snowmobile, motorbikes and other vehicles. The families of the pastoralist have been changing their lifestyle and they have e.g. begun to live in houses in villages instead of staying nearby the herds in the grazing grounds. Nowadays the herders, who generally are men, stay alone in their herding cabins while the women and the children live in the towns, and thus, the herders often go by snowmobile between the dwelling houses in the towns and their cabins in the grazing grounds. This development combined with a general supply of market commodities have generated a growing monetary economy.

The outcome has been the integration of the pastoralism into the Norwegian agriculture system with a law¹ and an economical agreement² like in branches of primary industry (agriculture and fisheries).

The political purpose today is to make reindeer herding more profitable and avoid overgrazing by reducing A) the number of animals and B) the number of herders. These reductions were supposed to increase 1) the weight of the animals and thus, 2) the income of the remaining herders (St.meld. nr. 28(91-92)).

A separate program for implementation of the goals has been approved by the Norwegian government and parliament (Stortinget) and a third part of this program is connected to establishing opportunities for employment and continuing education (courses i.e.) in order to increase the ability to adjustment among the herding people.

The measures and rules are common for all herders in Norway, and thus, the level of income and other economic measures are approved by the Government and they are the same for all herders in Norway. To carry out the goals the reindeer husbandry is defined as a commercial activity concerned with

¹The Reindeer Herding Act of June 9th, 1978.

²As recently a yearly contribution of around NOK 80 million. The first agreement was entered in force in 1976.

meat production, and to implement these aims modern agriculture serves as a model. Therefore the economic and biologically trained staff in the governmental administration serves as experts. The experts have issues of economics and biology as their focus, and they do not care for the relations between the reindeer herders (people). To the experts that kind of aspects seems to be "social" issues and other professions have to take care of these (Kalstad, 1991:54-62).

2. Comprehensiveness through self-governance

When we want to take care of both economics and culture, we have to maintain factors that lead to political development. I use the term as

"...systems that can facilitate economic growth while managing the conflict created by increases interaction among people." (Dickerson, 1992).

Managing of conflicts can be done either with or without force, and here we are perceiving systems which work without. Such a political system depends on its legitimacy, which means that the reindeer owners voluntarily obey the regulations. Therefore we look for management leading to a situation where rules etc. are implemented without use of force, and even without control. Thus, enforcement of rules without force means that the reindeer herders are accepting the regulations through mutual trust, and that the authorities have legitimacy. The concept of legitimacy is connected with procedures and consent. The second one deals with what the rules entail, whether they serve their purpose, function justly and are understood by those who are regulated (Jentoft, 1993).

In Canada they have been in pursuit of some alternatives to management of common land, and their solution is expressed in the model called "Co-management". In brief, it is a body which is authorized to manage the natural resources. The model has also served as a part of the land claims from the Aboriginal peoples, which by the Constitution Act (1982) are defined as Indian, Inuit, and Metis (Boldt & Long, 1985, IFA, 1984 and Binder & Hanbridge, 1991).

Co-management concerns decision-making among actors, and then in a situation where everyone of these ones has his/hers desires connected to a common good. The point is that if the actors design a system which benefits them, and the co-management might to be the arrangement in which the payoffs are greater than for competition.

Evelyn Pinkerton emphasizes that "Co-management operates most favourably where agreements are formalized, legal, and multi-year."(1988:27). The decision-makers on the State-level are often accused to not have sufficient knowledge about the situation at local-level, e.g. it has been very discussions between pastoralists and the biologists on the knowledge of the carrying capacity. The President of the Sámidiggi has in general terms argued that knowledge about the Sami conditions is still greatly lacking in the decision-making bodies, and he asks if the responsibility can be managed well when the basic knowledge about matters in hand is so deficient (Diedut No. 1-1994:48-49). The co-management system allows knowledge from the local level to enter decision-making process together with the user groups , i.e. the user groups bring their knowledge into decision-making.

Knowledge is something what is connected with values. The linkage between these two terms is why it is usual for people to say that a person learns whatever he or she wants, and that means that willingness is a part of a person's acquisition of knowledge. Willingness is sometimes based on consideration in a rational way while it can also be founded on tradition. In the latter sense some areas of knowledge may be tacit and these areas we do not explain. However, also this part of a person's knowledge exists and it is behind actions in the same way as other knowledge, but it is never asked or spoken. In this paper I consider knowledge as a technology to make plans and decisions, and every system has its own technology.

Co-management systems are meeting points between overall government concerns for efficient resource utilization and protection, and local concerns for equal opportunities, self-determination and self-control (Jentoft, 1989:145-146). Due

to its connection to the local level and the knowledge of user groups this system allows the rules to be less detailed, and more comprehensive decisions is a part accordingly developing communities where the traditional economy based on land and animals is the core, and where it is neither possible nor desirable to separate them. When the aim is to maintain a comprehensive development, co-management represents self-governance, and what in my framework is like the tool to link the goals of land, cultural preservation, and economic development. An experience in co-managing local fisheries in Canada is that the co-management operates most favourably where the mechanism for conserving and enhancing a fishery can at the same time conserve and enhance the cultural system (Pinkerton, 1989:27).

3. The Pastoralist-who are they and what do they do

"But whichever way these values flow, pastoralism implies radical control over herds of animals", these words are quoted from Robert Paine's recent book (1994:15). A general variable to describe and understand the pastoralism lies in the relationship between the herder and the animals, and the fundamental question is why some people herd animals, and secondly how do they manage the capital in their herds. For the pastoralist the herd serves as social, cultural, and capital goods, which, put in pastoral production, serves as a technology for transforming otherwise unpalatable cellulose into consumable products (Galaty & Johnson, 1990:2-3). The herd is an intrinsic value when it serves as a social and cultural factor opposite when the herd is as a market commodity (Paine, 1994:15). The Sami pastoralist hold to both of these factors.

Most of the reindeer people live in the Sami settlements of Guovdageaidnu/Kautokieno and Kara-johka/Karasjok and some ones in Deatnu/Tana, Unjárgga/Nesseby, and Porsangu/Porsanger. In these villages they have their dwellings, and they also pay their taxes in these municipalities. The children go

to school in their home towns. The pastoralist who leave reindeer industry usually look for employment opportunities in these areas.

In the inland municipalities the reindeer industry is important and it plays a significant role in maintaining settlement and employment. However, the coast and the coastal regions have always been an important part of the pastoralism, even if the pastoralist have their dwellings in the inland areas and every spring around 150 000 animals are moved from the inland and to the coast and back again in the autumn.³

In pursuit of a complete set of activities I put the tasks of the pastoralism in some categories. Doing that I am introducing two terms: herding and husbandry (Paine,1964, 1994:19-32,145-167).

Herding concerns the day to day work with the herd, including moving between seasonal pastures and managing the animals within the pastures. The point is to have control over the herd of animals. Thus you have to have contact with them in the terrain; and know where the herd is, in which direction it is moving, gathering and checking that all the animals are present. If an animal is absent then the herders have to find out where it could be and get it back to their own herd. Herding then includes tasks of gathering, checking and moving the animals, seasonal migrations, building and mending fences and corrals and gathering information of other herds to avoid mixing.

The husbandry concerns the animals in the herd and the management of the capital in one's own herd as a livestock. The family lives off its herd and takes wages from it, which means that some animals are slaughtered for sale while the rest remains as a capital asset. Selecting and making decisi-

³The migration patterns vary from area to area, depending on the natural conditions, and in some parts of the reindeer areas they move the quite opposite direction when they have the winter grazing on the coast while their summer grazing grounds are in the inland. This because winters on the coast particularly in Nordland and Trøndelag are comparatively mild and with little snow (Golf stream).

ons of which animals are to be slaughtered is the responsibility of husbandry. To be able to make decisions the owners must have knowledge of the single animal, as it is a question to select a particular animal for a particular purpose, and "This kind of husbandry implies constant and accurate observation of the herd by the husbander" (Paine, 1964:85). If you do not know the single animal, you can select animals for slaughtering in case they wear your earmark. But that may imply that the owner is about to loose the control over the animals in the herd, even if he retains control over the herd of animals.

As mentioned above, both the herding and the husbandry are changing, and the families do not move in same way as before. For instance all members of the family are not present at all the seasonal camps. It is becoming usual that the herders move the herds while their families usually move later on directly by car to their summer camps. The autumn migration is done in the same way by car while the herders move the herds. However, the families participate in connection with earmarking of the calves in the summer, slaughtering in the autumn and winter. Usually the family take care of skins, legs and antlers when the reindeer are slaughtered, and it is essential in regard to make souvenirs and products which members of the families sell to tourists. To many families the tourism has grown to be an important business and it has become an ordinary husbandry task.

Totality and Comprehensiveness

Reindeer pastoralism⁴ as a totality is to understand both economics and culture and the interconnection between these two dimensions. Therefore, the concept of a totality is not primarily a method to calculate incomes from the sale of meat, tourism and other business activities a pastoral family

⁴Pastoralism is itself a comprehensive system, and in this system are the relationships between the herders, animals and the pastures considered.

should have, even if it surely is a point to include all sources when calculating income.

In maintaining the system consisting of economies and culture you can use organizational variables to design the structures of the governing body. The governing structures today are linked to the Government of Agriculture, and it constitutes a segment with its own values and knowledge (Kalsstad, 1991). These structures have worked well in periods when the pastures have not been a limiting factor. However, the segment has not ability to solve problems between the people on local level, because it is not involved in aspects of the structures between people that enable them to create new values, and what Elinor Ostrom calls social capital. The abilities of the segment have been developed according to the pursuit of solutions concerned with the physical capital (fences etc.), human capital defined as education, skills and capabilities that make people able to act in new ways (Ostrom, 1992:13) and making rules without succeeding in getting the herders to follow them.

It will not be possible to increase or maintain the present number of pastoralist without overgrazing, but if you are willing to consider several kinds of resources in order to get a acceptable level of income (wage employment in seasons, agriculture, fishing, tourism a.s.o.) it will be possible to retain a larger number of pastoralist even if the number of animals are "limited", because each pastoralist does not in economic sense need more than 3-400 animals (Kalstad, 1992).⁵ I point out that the challenge is to lead to political development in order to generate a comprehensive growth.

⁵Most of the families have each 200-300 reindeer.

4. Co-operation in reindeer husbandry

Stabilizing the number of reindeer is a main concern in order to reestablishing sustainable development. The Norwegian Government has decided that the pastoralists have to accountable their pastures rather than centralizing authority to combat overgrazing. To carry out this policy the Government wants to transfer the responsibility for the number of animals to the districts (St.meld. nr. 28(91-92). According to this policy the districts will themselves be responsible for their land use.

In the plan which the Reindirftsadminsitrasjon has launched in 1994 is co-operation among the pastoralists pointed out, and the districts are the main tools. Therefore, the districts shall plan their use of land, for example where the herds have their seasonal pastures, the total number of animals in the district, and how this number is distributed among the herders. The districts will in regard the proposal get responsibility for their use of pastures throughout the year, because the winter pastures will also be derided legally (Distriktsinndeling, 1994:115). The districts will then be authorized to divide the available pastures among the winter herds in the area of the district.

To enable the districts to make formal plans and carry out the decisions of the boards the management capacity will be increased by increasing the number of herders, establishing a secretariat, and devolution of management authority by legislation.

The report is being considered by the districts and the appropriate bodies, and some of the districts have already expressed doubt concerning the proposal. Herders in the small districts are nervous and opposed that they will be incorporated in districts with large herds and that districts with many herders will dominate the decision-making by their number of votes. But even large districts have expressed doubt and one of them is Peer Gaup, the foreman in Cohkolat. The head of Reindriftsadministrasjon, Ole K. Sara has replied that it will take maybe one decade to rejuvenate the system of districts. He is, however, sure that it happens, because a

system consisting of a number of small districts is not effective nowadays (Nordlys, Sept. 30, 1994).

Some herders are nervous that an effective system may lead to an extensification of the herding form because the herds get large, and that an extensification of herding may be the first step towards ranching of reindeer in a commercial way. Tim Ingold has already a couple of decades ago pointed out that "reindeer ranching" is becoming established in several areas in northern Scandinavia. Both pastoralism and ranching are based on grazing and livestock. The fundamental difference lies, however, in the land use. The pattern of land use of ranching is characterized by control over large units and land, extensive use of land, and extensive use of labour on the land (Ingold, 1980:236). Some of the herders see that changing the system of districts may change the herding form and thereby the reindeer husbandry.

Indeed, the report of Reindirftsadministrasjon is in great extent concerned with juridical aspects regarding the districts and the report is a review of the legislation with reference to the reindeer districts, and it does not pursue economical and cultural consequences of a new system of districts.

People are aware that the linkage between reindeer husbandry and Sami culture nowadays is fragile, and without this connection reindeer husbandry will become anything else than a Sami industry. And even if the reindeer people assess the new structures as a tool to create co-operation among themselves, they are opposed for leaving their form of reindeer husbandry. Therefore, a main problem is today "what kind of reindeer husbandry do we want to have in Sapmi". Should for instance the production of meat be the primary goal, or should reindeer husbandry become more closely re-embedded within Sami culture traditions? In the first instance, reindeer husbandry is a specialized source of income and a private business aimed at profits. Here, culture is a bi-product of herding practices.

Reindeer husbandry and knowledge

The problem concerning the kind of reindeer husbandry is not tied only on governing structures and who is governing, but also what kind of knowledge is used in herding.

Management of domestic animals according to available pastures and other herding conditions, e.g. risk for mixing, is a core in herding practice, and knowledge of that can be considered as technology to resolve problems and make decisions. However, this knowledge is at same time embedded in the way of living and it is a part of daily life in reindeer husbandry.

By regarding knowledge as premise in decisions concerning our common future, the importance of knowledge is emphasized, and expressions like "knowledge is power"⁶ must be seen in such a context. Therefore, the matter "what kind of pastoralism do we want to have" is connected with choice of knowledge, too. If the decision-making in reindeer husbandry is based on biologists', economists, engineers' and lawyers' basis for knowledge I think the pastoralism in future will be like the alternative concerning a specialized source of income and as a private business aimed at profit, while choice of traditional knowledge as premise will imply an industry embedded in Sami culture and with employment as a goal in itself. Some of the values in traditional Sami knowledge constitute the institutions which have made the pastoralism possible even if the pastures have been common. However, lack of knowledge of reindeer, also the single animal, and the land lead to an extensification of the herding form (Beach, 1990:294). In that sense the matter about choice of knowledge is a part of managing the pastures.

⁶ The quotation is based on Francis Bacon. He regarded knowledge as technology which gave people possibilities for understanding and controlling the forces of nature. Control is exercised through collaboration between people and these forces on the basis of knowledge about the laws of nature.

Co-management -some other aspects

The grazing areas are not considered to be wilderness, because the areas are a part of small communities which are composed of the herders, their families and other people, who in Finnmark generally are dalon and mearraolbmot, i.e. the Sami peasants. Some of the peasants fish while others farm like smallholders, do hunting and berry picking. A point of interest is that the Sami peasants usually combine the exploitation of several natural resources, and even keeping a few reindeer has been customary (now it is forbidden). Thus, pastoralist and Sami peasants use the same natural resources. Particularly in the inland peasants and pastoralist have lived together quite compatibly until recent time. However, the communities have neither a legal opportunity nor responsibility in the management of the land. In stead of managing their land together there has grown competition between reindeer industry and Sami peasants. In some villages there have appeared conflicts, and the relations are now unstable. The peasants do not assume that they are struggling against the reindeer herders, but they are rather opposed to the "system", which has closed the reindeer industry and the peasants seem that they are denied access to use of land nearby their communities.

The Sámidiggi (the Sámi Assembly) has discussed the relationship between reindeer husbandry and the Sami community at great length even if it has not authority in matters concerning the reindeer husbandry. However, the Sámidigge would like to have a body which could exercise influence in vital Sámi issues as management of the land (Diefut No. 1/1994:47). This means that there the Samidiggi would like to have authority to coordinate the land use of the pastoralists and residents of the villages.

In addition, the population in Finnmark county and North-Troms is heterogeneous, and in that sense this area does not have favourable conditions to succeed in managing together- (Pinkerton, 1989:28). On the other hand, just such a region needs co-operations, and when establishing a new system there would be an opportunity to pursue a solution at local level.

Conclusion

The recent proposal does take care of the management of the pastures. One main issue is to make the districts responsible for the number of animals. In the proposal, co-operation among the pastoralists is emphasized.

The districts shall make formal plans in regard to their use of land, for example where the herds have their seasonal pastures, the total number of animals in the district, and how this number is distributed among the herders. The districts will also get responsible to their use of pastures throughout the year, because the winter pastures will also be derided legally. The districts will then be authorized to divide the available pastures among the winter herds.

To enable the districts to make plans and carry out the decisions of the boards the management capacity and authority will be enhanced. The intentions according to the recent proposal show that there is willingness to devolution of authority and the proposal means use of governance structures in order to empowering a local user group.

However, the matter about choice of knowledge as premise in decision-making has not been taken into consideration, and the matter of knowledge is connected with choice of herding form. Traditional knowledge as premise will imply an industry embedded in Sami culture and with employment as a goal in itself. On the other hand, lack of knowledge of reindeer, also the single animal, and the land lead to an extensification of the herding form.

When the aim is to maintain a comprehensive development, co-management represents self-governance, and what in my framework is like the tool to link the goals of land, cultural preservation, and economic development.

It is agreed that pastoralism is at the core of Sami culture, and it is a goal of the Norwegian government to preserve both the culture and the reindeer industry. It is, however, unclear how to achieve these aims, and the implementation of the objectives has had unintended consequences.

The land constitutes economic basis and land use is also a basis for the culture, and it is in the interaction between

land use and culture that knowledge is maintained. The knowledge in its turn serves as a technology in maintaining the reindeer pastoralism, and in that sense the economic development and the cultural preservation go together. The interaction between land and technology constitutes the basis of a comprehensive view, which allows to take care of the environment in sense of harvesting renewable resources in a way that the natural resources are preserved. First and foremost the environmental challenges for the present are connected to limiting the number of animals and through the institutions in the culture in daily life. At the same time the residents (pastoralist and peasants) have to understand and avoid the unfortunate impacts of modern technology, and therefore it is of importance that they all participate in governing bodies.

The pastoralist are but a minority within the Sami people, and they are unconvinced that there will be any advantage in sharing power with non-pastoralist. However, the rights of the pastoralism will retain, i.e. the laws as e.g. the reindeer herding act will as now be amended only of the Norwegian Parliament as a legislative assembly.

The proposal does not care about the relationship between pastoralist and peasants either, and it does not recognize institutional structures in sense of Self-governance on local level in a specific region. Due to prone to unstable relationships, the pastoralism will benefit from participation of and co-management with the peasants. Such a body or bodies could exercise influence in the management of natural resources.

There are increasing demands from Sami organizations to become more involved in management of renewable resources and co-managing of the land use could be a tool to obtain a comprehensive development in Sami societies especially in Finnmark county and North-Troms.

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