



NORDREGIO
Nordic Centre for Spatial Development

Nordic Arctic Youth Future Perspectives

Eds. by Anna Karlsdóttir and Leneisja Jungsberg

Commissioned by the
Working Group for sustainable regional development in the Arctic

WORKING PAPER 2015:2



CASE STUDIES FROM
Steigen
Austur-Húnavatnssýsla
Norðurþing and Þórshöfn
Tórshavn
Runavík
Kujalleq
Kemi-Järvi
Inari
Kalix
Torneådal
Gällivare
Malmberget
Kiruna
Jukkasjärvi
Jokkmokk
Luleå and Luleådal

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Eds. Anna Karlsdóttir and Leneisja Jungsborg for the Nordic Arctic working group
on sustainable regional development in the Arctic.



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Nordic Arctic Youth Future Perspectives
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for the Working Group for Sustainable Regional Development in the Arctic

Cover photo: Rasmus Ole Rasmussen / Nordregio.se
The photo shows an example from central Reykjavik, Iceland, of the expressive and very artistic graffiti decorating larger parts of the inner town.

Nordic co-operation

Nordic co-operation is one of the world's most extensive forms of regional collaboration, involving Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and the Faroe Islands, Greenland, and Åland. *Nordic co-operation* has firm traditions in politics, the economy, and culture. It plays an important role in European and international collaboration, and aims at creating a strong Nordic community in a strong Europe.

Nordic co-operation seeks to safeguard Nordic and regional interests and principles in the global community. Common Nordic values help the region solidify its position as one of the world's most innovative and competitive.

The Nordic Council

is a forum for co-operation between the Nordic parliaments and governments. The Council consists of 87 parliamentarians from the Nordic countries. The Nordic Council takes policy initiatives and monitors Nordic co-operation. Founded in 1952.

The Nordic Council of Ministers

is a forum of co-operation between the Nordic governments. The Nordic Council of Ministers implements Nordic co-operation. The prime ministers have the overall responsibility. Its activities are co-ordinated by the Nordic ministers for co-operation, the Nordic Committee for co-operation and portfolio ministers. Founded in 1971.

Nordregio – Nordic Centre for Spatial Development

conducts strategic research in the fields of planning and regional policy. Nordregio is active in research and dissemination and provides policy relevant knowledge, particularly with a Nordic and European comparative perspective. Nordregio was established in 1997 by the Nordic Council of Ministers, and is built on over 40 years of collaboration.

Stockholm, Sweden, 2015

Preface

This publication has been produced as part of the project *Foresight Analysis for Sustainable Regional Development in the Nordic Arctic*, commissioned by the Nordic Working Group for Sustainable Regional Development in the Arctic. Foresight analysis is a method that is used in the development of local economic and social development strategies, based on a structured dialogue between relevant actors and with input from local, regional and national actors. The objective of this process is to create a foundation for action, focusing on the opportunities that become evident from the analyses.

The Nordic Working Group for Sustainable Regional Development in the Arctic has defined three key questions for this foresight analysis:

1. What social and resource conditions - both natural and human-related - can be expected to have a decisive influence on regional development in the Arctic over the next ten, twenty and thirty years?
2. How will the management of these conditions affect the living standards and future prospects for the regions?
3. What are the implications of the identified challenges for future planning and regional policy?

An investigation of social sustainability involves questions about attracting and/or keeping young people and women in peripheral communities. A significant part of the foresight analysis comprises a workshop series of three steps: the vision phase, the realism phase, and the implementation phase. First, in the vision phase, local workshops are organised in two selected local communities in each part of the Nordic Arctic with the participation of local inhabitants (a total of 12 workshops). Second, in the realism phase, the dialogue is raised from the community level with a workshop that also includes municipal, regional and national representatives (a total of six workshops). Finally, in the implementation phase, two transnational workshops are organised: one for the West Nordic countries and one for the North Calotte region.

The Working Group has been established by the Nordic Committee of Senior Officials for Regional Policy for the period 2013-2016. It comprises representatives from the Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation (chairmanship), the Norwegian Ministry of Climate and Environment, the Icelandic Regional Development Institute, the Prime Minister's Office of the Faroe Islands, the Greenlandic Ministry of Industry, Labour and Trade, the County Administrative Board of Norrbotten in Sweden, and the North Calotte Council in Finland.

This publication "*Nordic Arctic Youth Future Perspectives*" contributes with visions from the young generation to get insight on which trends are influencing young peoples' perception of the future and affecting their decision making in relation to their future. It is an important component of the Foresight work to understand the preferences of young people in relation to education, employment, family and settling in the Nordic Arctic regions. The case studies present a broad scale of expectations and ambitions both for them as individuals and for society as a whole. As part of the project, a policy brief has also been produced to present recommendations on how politicians henceforth can work with including young people in regional planning.

Lisbeth Nylund
Chairman, the Nordic Working Group
Oslo, October 2015

Kjell Nilsson
Director, Nordregio
Stockholm, October 2015



Picture on left, above: Nordic youth participants Youth meeting in Iceland spring 2014. Picture: Jónas Hrafn Kettel
Picture on left, below: Young people in the local youth club in Húsavík with their leader who loves NY. Picture: Matthias Kokorsch
Picture on right, top: The cohort of 1990 in Húsavík in a reunion in front of the old primary school. Picture: Anna Karlsdóttir
Picture on right, below: Real life shapes of kindergarten children in small N-E community. Picture: Anna Karlsdóttir

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Picture 1. Key words from the Nordic Youth Meeting (a “wordle”- word clouds developed from group discussions).

Summary

In English

A group of scholars from Iceland, Norway, Faroe Islands, Greenland, Sweden and Finland were asked to contribute to a study of «Arctic Youth Future Perspectives» in the rural areas of the Nordic Arctic regions. The study is part of a Foresight analysis about future visions for arctic communities in the Nordic Countries.

Young people are those who will carry out future development, and therefore their preferences in terms of education, employment opportunities, and cooperation around the region are also important perspectives when planning for the communities. The purpose of this report is therefore to get closer to the youth's expectations for themselves as well as understand what type of societal development they foresee.

This research base is conducted among youth in different Northern municipalities, villages and rural areas in the Arctic regions of the Nordic countries. The empirical study sites encompass: Steigen municipality in Nordland (NO), Austur-Húnavatnssýsla, Norðurþing and Þórshöfn, Langanes (IS); Kujalleq municipality (GL), Tórshavn og Rúnavík municipalities (FO), Kemi-Järvi and Inari (FI) as well as Sápmi (SE). Sápmi covers Kalix, Torneådalen, Gällivare, Malmberget, Kiruna, Jukkasjärvi, Jokkmokk, Luleå and Luleådal municipalities.

The case studies in the above areas are based on a qualitative approach, where the focus is on how young people articulate and perceive life in the rural regions now and prospectively for the future. Nordregio and the Nordic working group on sustainable regional development in the Arctic are also coordinating the Foresight analysis for arctic communities in the Nordic region. The overall Foresight project is taking place from 2013-2016 and is financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers.

In Danish

Seks forskere fra forskellige lande, forskellige fagområder og med forskellige målgrupper og metoder blev bedt om at bidrage til et studie af «Ungdommens fremtidsperspektiver» i de arktiske områder i Norden. Studiet indgår i en Foresight-analyse af fremtidsvisioner for arktiske lokalsamfund i den nordiske region.

Ungdommens præferencer for og tanker om deres fremtid, såsom ønsker i forhold til uddannelsesmuligheder, erhvervskompetencer og kontakt/samarbejde indenfor og imellem regionerne, kan udgøre en væsentlig usikkerhedsfaktor i forhold til både kort- og ikke mindst langsigtet planlægning, og det forventes at netop den unge befolkningsgruppes forventninger og perspektiver kan være væsensforskellige fra den øvrige befolkning. Samtidig kan de unge være svære at indfange i generelle borgerinddragelses-aktiviteter, hvorfor et studie med specifikt fokus på denne befolkningsgruppe ønskedes.

De nordisk-arktiske områder, som har været grundlaget for de kvalitative case studier i denne rapport er: Steigen kommune i Nordland (NO), Austur-Húnavatnssýsla, Norðurþing og Þórshöfn, Langanes (IS); Kujalleq kommune (GL), Tórshavn og Rúnavík kommuner (FO), Kemi-Järvi og Inari (FI) samt Sápmi (SE). Sápmi dækker over Kalix, Torneådalen, Gällivare, Malmberget, Kiruna, Jukkasjärvi, Jokkmokk, Luleå og Luleådal kommuner.

Case studierne i ovenstående områder er baseret på en kvalitativ tilgang med fokus på de unges udsagn og perspektiver i forbindelse med livet i regionen nu og fremadrettet. Nordregio er projektkoordinator på vegne af en tvær-nordisk arbejdsgruppe, som også står bag Foresight-analysen af fremtidsvisioner for arktiske lokalsamfund i den nordiske region. Dette overordnede projekt udføres mellem 2013 og 2016, og er finansieret af Nordisk Ministerråd.

Main Conclusions

The findings from the qualitative case studies in the Arctic regions of the Nordic Countries are best understood in the context of the region as well as the background of the young participants. Still, the following part seeks to illustrate some of those trends which are relevant across the Nordic Arctic regions for the young people living in remote areas.

Education and work expectations

The youth in the study from the rural regions in the Nordic Arctic will during the next 10-15 years be engaged in getting an education or establishing as part of the labour market. These young people expect to be mobile and move from their place of origin in order to achieve future dreams. Only a small portion of the participating young people expect to be living in their place of upbringing during the next ten years.

Many young people across the Arctic region imagine themselves holding secure and well paid jobs in the future, and they see education as one way to achieve this. Coming from rural communities, it is likely that educational options will determine the settlement choices of many young people in the future to come. The main reasons that youth move around are embedded in the settlement structure, where the smaller communities lack opportunities for young people to realise their dreams in terms of lifestyle and education. Yet, in the long perspective some young people articulate that they would be happy to live in smaller towns and villages in the rural area of their upbringing.

Therefore, it is the larger urban entities of the region rather than the rural parts which in most cases appear attractive to the young generation both in the short and the long-term perspective. If their future visions come true, smaller towns and villages in the rural countryside will be struggling with continuing population decline.

Mobility and multi-locational lifestyles

One trend identified across the case studies is the vision of a multi-locational lifestyle. The mobile lifestyle is also related to education and work opportunities as mentioned above. Many young people are obliged to move to pursue the dreams of a future life, and this

seems to be a basic condition which is commonly accepted.

Several of the young people also express how you can become wiser and more mature by experiencing different places. Among some, it is even articulated as a desire to experience a multi-locational life-style by trying to live different places for both education and work. In the longer perspective, some also anticipate that they will be a commuting work-force who might enjoy living and settling in smaller communities but at the same time work elsewhere than their place of residence.

Generally, mobility can be seen as a basic condition for young individuals to realise their future ambitions, and for many of the young persons the geographical frame of reference is global rather than local. To fulfil such ambitions, it requires resources and qualifications as explained by some young persons. Where some expect to be global citizens, others see themselves living in urban settings in the Southern parts of the Nordic Arctic regions. In both cases it is the possibilities to realise individual wishes which appear attractive to the young generation. The multilocational lifestyle can thus be seen as a result of a young generation expecting to continue the tendency of individualisation.

Social media, communication and new technology habits

Most of the young population in the study explain how online communication is an embedded part of life. Not one day passes without spending time browsing on the internet, checking updates on social media or being active in different forums for discussions and/or games. Experiences from young Sámis illustrate how social media platforms also can be used for empowerment purposes in policy issues concerning land use in Northern Sweden.

Examples among youth in several of the countries in the study demonstrate how social media plays the role of maintaining and nurturing relationships between friends and family who live far away. This also includes the older generation. As explained by some pupils, they have far more contact with their grandma now than before the time of connecting with her through

social media.

Together, the internet and social media serve as a window to a wider world which now more than ever is a source of inspiration and reference in the daily lives of young people. The ideals emerging from here, through e.g. role models, amplify trends of urbanisation by often displaying youth lifestyles that take place in urban settings.

Besides many advantages of extended technological communication, one problematic dimension of the technology is also identified. In the Faroese Islands, students articulate how they foresee a shift in communication habits where conversations with parents become more limited because it appears easier to just ask Google when they have questions.

Family relations and gender roles

Many of the young people have quite a conventional idea of what their families will be in the future. For most part it involves a mother, a father of different sex and children (and maybe pets). Their imaginary family fits the idea of a nuclear middle-class family, and this is particularly important for the participants from Northern Finland, Iceland, and Norway, whereas on the Faroe Islands the importance of accepting LGBT relations was mentioned.

Taking into account the young people's visions, they are likely to carry with them the concept of nuclear families. Current shifting demographic patterns of the family as an institution being dissolved by divorces, mixed families, and single households are not reflected as part of the youths' future visions. When envisioning the future, it is common to perceive ideals rather than potential difficulties such as a divorce.

Gender equality issues are, according to many of the youth groups participating, central in future societal progress and should be highly prioritized in all political strategies and daily processes. Despite this, it is striking how traditionally gender roles are envisioned in Northern Finland. Here, many portray women as those primarily taking care of the house as well as kids. Also, the articulations about equality show that young males and females don't have same type of focus. Generally, it seems like many of the female youth are more concerned about relational aspects of development in terms of health care, child care and equal access to education for all, while men take a more individual stance in their perceptions about the future.

Individual visions, societal predictions and worries

Overall, the individual visions among the youth are much clearer than those concerning societal development. The young people have many thoughts and

dreams about where they want to go in life, but their picture of future community, regional and national development is more blurry. They are occupied with their road to a happy life. Still, the young people care about the area they live in and in the Faroe Islands there are a lot of ideas of how things could evolve in 20 to 30 years. They expect an improved infrastructure better connecting the Islands, more school hours for the young people, and a balance with surrounding natural resources where new fish species enter the Faroese territorial water. For the youth in Iceland, Norway, and the Sami in North Sweden there are worries regarding degradation and a lack of environmental care caused by prioritising economic development.

The Finnish youth are worried about emissions and imagine that fossil fuel-driven cars will be banned for the benefit of electric cars. They think that fierce epidemics, even pandemics will be part of their daily lives, even within schools and at the kindergarten level. Meanwhile, Steigen youth are worried about food security on a global scale and declining environmental quality. Some Faroese link deforestation to climate change. The Samis want to make up for the past traumas as a population group in Northern part of Sweden, and many of them see mining exploitation plans as a threat to their future livelihood in the region. In North Iceland, the youth are bored by the fierce political debates on large scale industrial plans and oil drilling, if they care at all.

In spite of the worrying, when exploring the young people's habits they belong to a consumer culture where clothing, technological devices and other accessories are an important part of their identity. Many have a carefree attitude to what their future holds and they are not affected by environmental degradation or climate changes in their choices for their future. Being young also includes having faith and therefore it would be strange if bitterness over a potential melt down of the Arctic would be a strong presence when dreaming of their future life.

Democracy and political involvement

As discussed at the Nordic Youth Meeting "Nordic Youth and Future Visions", many youth have expressed their discouragement towards democracy. The Nordic youth feel their voices are only of concern closely before elections. Still, even in the election period, many of them feel it is useless to use their right to vote. They express a clear wish that young and elders be included more systematically and regularly into the political decision-making processes.

The future development of our society will be the responsibility of the coming generation. But why not

include young people now to hear their voice and opinion in, e.g., community planning? Other studies suggest that the more young people from rural areas experience inclusion in community development, the happier they are to live there. Consequently, it is also more likely that they will move back to a region or area after some years away pursuing education or jobs.

A shared Arctic vision among the youth group was absent. Rather, the youth group carry a number of different visions depending on their inspirational sources, which span from local connections, global networking, and everything inbetween. The limits for future global cooperation are widened and the young people articulate how international inspirations determine their dreams and imagined future scenarios.

Introduction

The question about maintaining and/or attracting youth population is a key question for policy development in the Nordic Arctic region. One element of a foresight analysis is thus to uncover the youths' own perspectives on their future possibilities in the Arctic societies – and this study is one way of trying to capture this.

Most rural communities in the Nordic Arctic share their fate with Europe's northern periphery in that demographic development is characterized by a population decline that has been going on for a long time. It is often difficult to get skilled young people that have moved away to obtain an education to come back to help create growth and optimism. In many cases, there is also a deficit of women, both because of the limited job opportunities and because they consider the opportunities for personal expression and recognition to be insufficient.

At the same time there is no doubt that development opportunities are numerous. The region's significant natural resources can lay the foundation for knowledge-intensive production possibilities within niches that provide stable income. However, the trajectories possible for resource extractive industries are contested in many of the Nordic Arctic countries, and therefore the youths' future perspectives on this are valuable. Tourism can be an important service sector if it is sustainable and successful in developing well-defined products with consensus and unity among the local population.

Successful and sustainable tourism development also requires long-term strategies, not only to communicate brand values both internally and externally, but also to safeguard and maintain pristine natural areas with sustainable planning, zoning and protection. Although it might be difficult to specialise service provision in small remote communities from a mainstream urban business standpoint, there are many examples of such establishments to prove the possibility.

The youths' preferences are in focus, in terms of local community development, their own wishes in terms of educational possibilities, vocational and occupational competences. Their intra- and interregional contact/collaboration can become crucial uncertainty factors

for short- and long term planning. More precisely, this population segment's expectations and perspectives can prove to be different from older and younger generations.

This report focuses on youth in the Nordic Arctic and how they perceive changes in the local communities in relation to their own development. What kind of lifestyle choices harmonises with conditions in the communities? How do the young people see the out-migration of their generation, and how do they feel about it? Will they be active in democratic processes? Such questions have contributed to developing the focus of this youth study and led to the final research questions presented below.

After all, sensible regional or local policies and planning are based on the local community's perception of what can be accomplished and the challenges it faces, with an understanding of how they will need to be solved. However, with an increased amalgamation of municipalities creating larger regional units, the frame of understanding in relation to local development may be changing. Also, with globalization and the influence of ICT on daily lives, the preference framework extends beyond national borders, and the world is understood to be within your reach by a few clicks on the computer. How does this affect our informants' views on local community development? What implications does it have for their own future perspectives?

What kind of development can we expect if one allows development to continue without special measures? In other words, will we have a sharper picture drawn of the future, if one tries to distinguish between the challenges that can be solved by market forces or through social processes and those requiring public intervention or regulation?

This report is a foresight analysis meant to serve a role in providing input into a foresight process conducted in three phases in each of the Nordic Arctic areas. A Foresight process cannot replace decision-making that determines what a public regional policy should pursue and how resources should be distributed geographically. It builds on local people's subjective perception of the opportunities, limitations, strengths and weaknesses found in an area and leads to the formulation of

proposals for possible areas. Thus, it is possible to create the link between overall government strategies for local and regional development and territorial potentials that are in demand at the national and European levels. It therefore helps to prove that a development policy that wishes to realize territorial potentials must necessarily be based on communication.

Work group composition

Project coordination

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Leneisja Jungsberg, Nordregio and Lisbeth Greve Harbo, Greenland

Case study areas

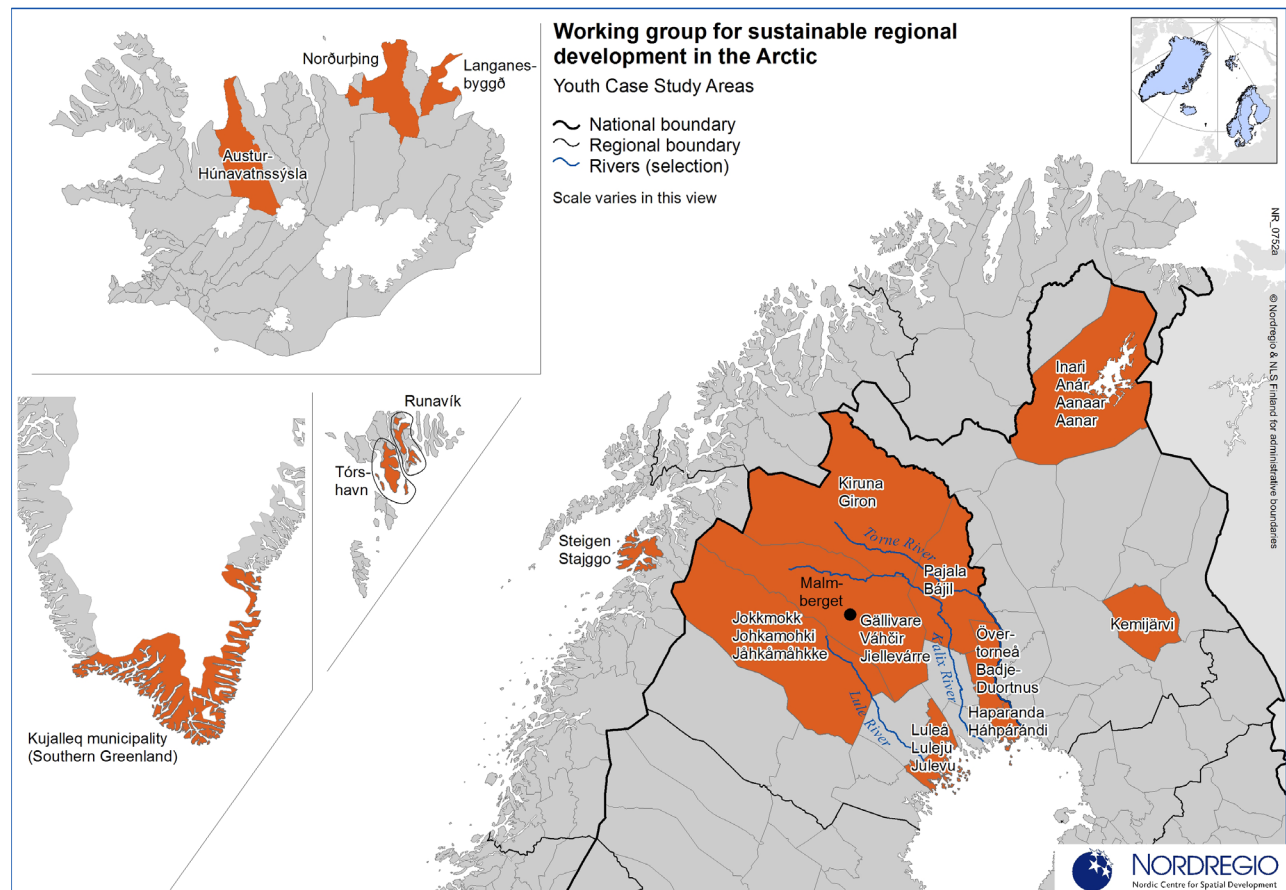
The special analysis team selected case study areas in their countries, fitting the criteria of being remote and located in the Arctic Nordic regions. All of them had experienced demographic change, the economy was in flux and it varied whether they represented the best or worst cases of Arctic communities in terms of these aspects.

Out of 567 communities, we chose a varied sampling of 18 locations across the Nordic Arctic. They are a combination of municipalities with population less than 1000, between 1000-5000, and 5000+, with Torshavn being the largest urban entity with 20.000 inhabitants.

Many of the communities' demographic profiles are characterized by aging in the community, a diminishing population, and outmigration. Their economic profile is dominated by primary sector occupations; secondary and service sector activities are supplementary to the economic structure. Tourism is on the rise and increasing in economic importance in some of the communities, though is a very seasonal activity.

Studied areas included Tórshavn and Rúnavík in the Faroe Islands, Kemijaarvi and Inari in Finland, Austur Húnavatnssýsla, Norðurþing and Þórshöfn, Langanes in Iceland, Steigen Norland in Norway, and Kujalleq municipality in Greenland. In Sweden, the case study focused on Sámis in a number of areas encompassing the Kalix and Torne rivers valleys. Gällivare, Malmberget and Kiruna with Jukkasjärvi, Jokkmokk, Luleå and Lule River Valley were also included.

Map 1. Case study areas. Map: Linus Rispling, Nordregio



Different methodologies of the case studies

Our approach is multi-locational, which means this study examines trends among the youth in remote areas in the Nordic Arctic. Many of the remote areas in the Nordic Arctic have similar traits and it is therefore a unique opportunity to ask questions that go beyond statistical information.

Therefore, this report has a qualitative approach where the aim is to unveil similarities and differences as they appear in each of the cases. The young generations across these regions all navigate between their present and future life. Bringing attention to the youth's longings and visions can contribute to an understanding of the type of agency these groups expect to perform henceforward.

Given the context of declining rural communities which, in this study, is the young peoples' place of origin, the authors also want to stress the need (often ignored in the local public debate) to place young peoples' own perspectives and visions in the spotlight.

Various methods have been employed. They encompass diary writing by youth, essay writing by youth, retrieval of postings, and discussion on Twitter and other social media platforms. A substantial part of the analytical material is also based on interviews.

Each chapter will go in-depth with the methods applied and explain the background for the choices in each specific case. The overall qualitative framework is inspired by Mørch 2005 in order to examine the phenomenon of future visions among young people (Mørch 2005:37-40).

The participants collected most of their data in the spring – early summer 2014. However, the length of the data collection phase varied, from late 2013 and until autumn 2014 (in the case of Sweden), to a comparison between state of affairs 2014 and 2009 (in case of Finland). Both the Finnish and the Faroe Island researchers were helped by assistants who are co-authors of their contribution.

The number of informants in each of the regions involved varied. In Sweden, numerous informants have contributed from the Sami community; in Iceland, there were 100 informants in a meeting, followed by 40 semi-structured interviews were conducted in three different municipalities. The same numbers of interviews were conducted in the Faroes in two 8th grade classes (one from each location). In Norway, meetings were held with young people in the municipality.

Where interviews had been conducted they were transcribed and analyzed. In the Icelandic and Finnish

cases, Nvivo software was used to facilitate thematisation and occurrence of repetitions and highlights. In some cases the researchers arranged focus group meetings as a follow up to their initial studies.

In the Finnish and Faroes cases, essays were written by the young people involved. The essay projects were organized in cooperation with the schools. The essays and diaries represent narratives based on the young participants' future scenarios. Here we give the youth the freedom within a framework to use their imagination and creativity to define a future society. The ideas might be unrealistic and "sci fi" inspired but they contain information that could be useful in understanding their future expectations.

One challenge of this research venture is to define a youth group. When does youth begin and when does it end? The age group varies in the different case studies. In some cases the informants covered a broad age range, e.g. in Greenland where the participants in the survey were from 16-32 years old. What is of interest in this matter is how the period of youth is being prolonged. Compared to 100 years ago, the expectations are that young people join the labour market and establish family are much later.

For this study the majority of the young participants are between 14 and 24. In both the Faroese and Norwegian cases it is 8th – 10th graders and their visions which are being analyzed. The visions among 8th graders tend to be very imaginative and with plenty of new ideas. Generally, the young participants had some ideas regarding societal development but the clearest visions articulated were concerning their individual future.

Reading guide for the report

This report is characterised by the variety in researchers, regions and methods. All chapters are centred on the young generation in a Nordic Arctic region. Through various methods the researchers are exploring a number of themes articulated by the young people. This reading guide gives an overview of the different chapters' outcome.

Chapter one "*The Faroese Society's Future According to the Faroese Youth*" explores how the Faroese Youth from Runavík and Tórshavn envision the Faroese society. Seen from the perspective of eighth graders, the future Faroese society is an attractive place to return after pursuing experiences, education and work abroad. The young generation speak about a continued tendency of urbanisation, centralisation and an improved physical infrastructure within the country as well as a fast and modern connection to neighbouring countries. Gener-

ally, the Faroese youth articulate optimistic scenarios in terms of education and working opportunities, economic and political development, and family and welfare policies.

Chapter two "*A Day in My Life as a 35-year-old – Northern Finnish Youth's Visions for the Future*" investigates essays from the Kemijärvi and Inari area, which have been written on a voluntary basis by young people aged 16-17 years old. The essay title is "A day in my life as 35-year old" and the writings portray a life with a well-paid job, good education, happy family life and a living in nice surroundings in a detached house.

The essays are compared to a previous research study from the 1990s, based on the young generation back then, and their predictions about their future life. It is concluded that the essays can be seen as not only an imaginative trip, but also a model and a point of reference of which dreams the young people are likely to pursue. One trend which is more dominant today than in the 1990s is the increase in family-centeredness in the future visions.

Chapter three "*Multiple longings in North Iceland*" illustrates how the youth from the NE area in Iceland have multiple goals and believe in multi-locational settlement for the next many years of their lives. A study presents how the cohorts from 1989-1994 today have moved toward bigger settlements in either Akureyri or the capital area. The contemporary youth also long to move toward urban areas, and generally they express multiple goals for travels and shorter periods of settlement abroad although the young people also reflect upon what they perceive as realistic in these longings. The Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and social media is useful in connecting with family and friends abroad and it has become an important part of daily life.

Chapter four "*Sámi Youth struggling for rights and recognition*" explores contemporary and future trends in Northern Sweden among the Sámi youth. The point of departure for this study is the young people currently experiencing that the Swedish state are threatening their future with the planning of an open pit mine in their area. This section illustrates how social media has contributed to changes in the way of organizing social protests. The Sámi community is actively engaged in the struggle against the destruction of reindeer grazing, calving and migration lands.

Chapter five "*Mobility trends among the youth in South Greenland*" shows migration patterns among young people in Southern and Eastern Greenland. It is common for the young people in Greenland to move on a regular basis, and education is usually the main reason. The empirical material consists of 32 phone

interviews about the young people's moving patterns. The sample indicates how societal structures in Greenland entail that the youngsters from Greenlandic villages move to continue education after primary school. Answers from the respondents imply that they choose education from their interests and accept being mobile as a consequence of their choice.

Chapter six "*Future visions from Steigen 2014-2044*" looks into the youths' future visions in Northern Norway in Steigen municipality. Young people aged 16 who have chosen to take their first year of comprehensive schooling in Steigen are asked how they foresee societal development as well as their individual future. In the broad societal picture, the youth in Steigen predict, among many things, a world with more extreme weather, improved technology, an urban centralisation towards Bodø and a world food shortage.

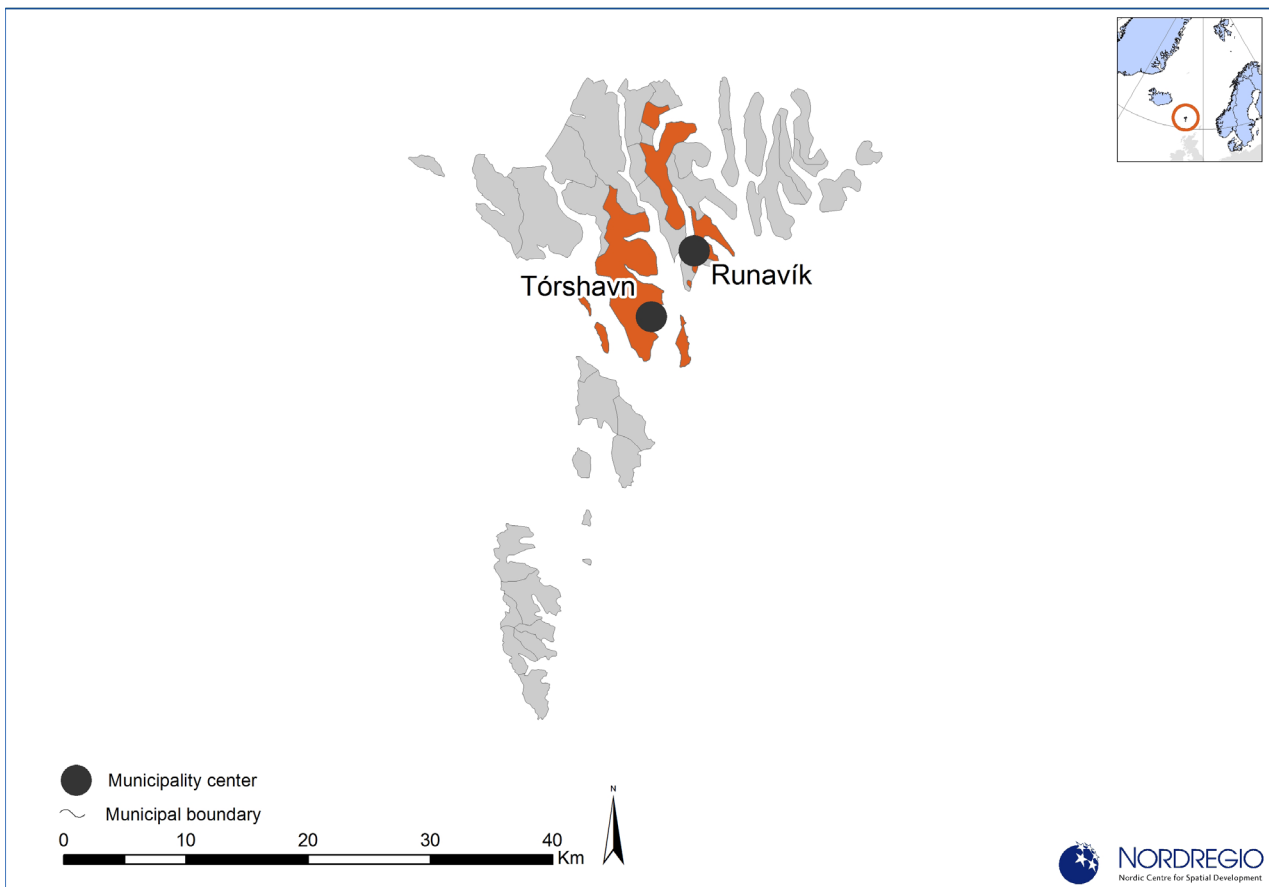
Generally, the individual picture is clearer for the majority participating in the foresight reflections. In ten years, the students see themselves all over the world, from Rio to Bodø and a few with homes in Steigen. In twenty years, 8 of 21 expect to live in Steigen, "whatever Steigen is by then", so around the geographical location. In thirty years, about half expect to live in Steigen, coming back from having spent years travelling for education and jobs.

Chapter seven "*Nordic Youth and Future Visions*" provides insights of the joint visions among the participants at the Nordic Youth meeting, which is organised by the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture in Iceland. The young people participating are generally involved in different types of organisational activities, and at the meeting they discussed societal development toward 2035.

The Faroese Society's Future According to the Faroese Youth

A Qualitative Study Among Eight Graders in Two Faroese Communities

By Firouz Gaini and Ester Áarskarð



Map 2. Case study areas. Linus Rispling, Nordregio

Introduction

It will come as no surprise that we consider children and young people as the most valuable resource in an exploration of the societal prospects of the Faroe Islands, a small-scale archipelago with a population of just below 50,000 inhabitants.

They cannot predict the future; however, each and every one of them is a source of ideas and scenarios

that not only differ from the typical forecast voiced by adult 'experts', but also expose foresights and interesting patterns of variation. Their visions, naturally, reflect current discourses in the Faroe Islands. Some are of primarily local character, while others are fuelled by global flows of information about a fragile world in change and constitute critical comments to today's order of things. Between utopian and elegiac prophecies, some of which are quite entertaining and provocative, you will find a series of interesting issues and questions that the youth take to the fore as main events in upcoming decades. Some are pessimists, others are optimists, yet all are expecting social shifts and technological developments veiling the 'traditional' Faroe Islands

to the past. Thinking about the huge developments of the 20th century, especially through the post-WWII era, it can only be expected that Faroe Islanders await irreversible societal transformation: who would have believed in, let's say, underwater tunnels connecting islands 30 years ago? Only a fool would, still they exist today. The ambition of our study is not to enter the time machine and reveal what is going to happen, or even speculate on what is most likely going to happen, in e.g. 2035 or 2045, but to collect information on young people's attitudes and future perspectives as a contribution to the comprehensive research on sustainable development in the Arctic.

Taking their young age into consideration, it is noticeable how much many of the participating girls and boys have to tell in their texts and in the interviews, and their perspectives, as already stressed, are often in opposition to the dominant viewpoints. If there was no difference it would hardly have been worth the effort to talk to children and young people at all; the analysis could just have been based on a few key persons' interpretations and arguments. As we see it, young people have a kaleidoscopic view of the future, offering alternative paths leading in different directions rather than a deterministic view of an unavoidable future scenario.

Methods

The study is based on data collected in two locations in the Faroe Islands in May 2014. The participants were from two eighth grade classes at two (lower secondary) schools. One class was from Torshavn, the capital and main city, and one was from Runavík, an important town on the island of Eysturoy with around 3,800 inhabitants. We contacted the headmasters of the schools and selected the classes to participate in agreement with them. Thereafter we planned the details of the data collection process in cooperation with the main teachers of the selected classes. The students were first to write personal essays guided by this instruction (translated from Faroese):

Faroe Islands 2045

Imagine that you travel in time and arrive to the year of 2045. You meet an 8th grader. He tells you how it is to live in the Faroe Islands in 2045 – about school, leisure, family life, culture, etc. – and you take notes. In this essay we want you to write the story of this youth. You are welcome to compare your own everyday life with the life of the youth living in 2045.

We received 25 essays from 17 girls and eight boys from Torshavn and 17 essays from nine girls and eight boys from Runavík. The teachers received the essays directly from their pupils and forwarded them to us by email. The students had been informed about our project beforehand. Afterwards we went to the schools to meet the classes. These were our first 'real' meetings with the participants and we spent one hour informing them about the project's aims, goals, framework, ethical principles, etc. We also made individual appointments for interviews with all pupils.

The semi-structured interviews took place at school the following days. Ester went to Runavík and made 21 interviews with 12 girls and nine boys. Firouz went to Torshavn and made 19 interviews with 13 girls and six boys. The interviews took place in a meeting room during and after the regular school hours. The questions focused on everyday life and leisure and future perspectives – regarding international issues, work and education, societal challenges, migration and demographic issues, culture and arts, etc. Most interviews took approximately 15-20 minutes. The interviews were recorded (voice recorder) and transcribed and analysed later. A few pupils (less than 10 percent) did not participate due to sickness or opted out. They were aged 14 and 15 during the interviews and had all received parental consent for this project cooperation. All the gathered material was kept in a safe place and the recordings were deleted after transcription. According to 'child friendly' interdisciplinary childhood research we recognise the participants as partners and consider the project results as theirs as well as ours (Gulløv & Højlund 2006). All translations from Faroese to English in this text are ours.

Education and schooling

An eighth grader from 2045 will hardly believe his parents when they describe their own experiences from secondary school, at least if we chose to rely on today's eighth graders as source of information. Obviously, accelerating technological developments in the educational media sector will revolutionize the whole idea of the school and the class as formal learning arenas.

Most participants bet on a new paradigm with much more online education and digitally transmitted teaching and communication. Hardly anyone gives the printed book a chance of survival as iPads and similar impending devices are expected to outperform it. Instead of carrying a heavy bag, a boy imagining year 2045 writes, "we now just have a bracelet that we talk into, then everything is kept..." Paper and pencils, many foretell, will be unneeded and thus disappear the

same way as the books. If you think there are too many digital screens in sight today, don't look into the future – there are going to be many more everywhere, warn our participants which have mixed feelings about this tendency. Let's look at an account from an essay by a Runavík youth:

In the school there is a big hall where everything is well aligned with furniture so that pupils can enjoy themselves. There are computers and televisions so that pupils can sit there if the weather is not good. Outside, in the large schoolyard, there are appliances automatically turning jump ropes, making it easy for the pupils wanting to jump them. Moreover, there are big screens showing when someone scores a goal in football or basketball on the courts around the school. There is also a wheel that goes around, it has a motor, and the pupils can sit on it, if they like.

Clearly the future school illustrates wishes as well as sober prediction, with a focus on features that the youth feels are missing today. In other words, wishful thinking influences many of the reports from the written essays. The participants expect the schools to become hypermodern with state-of-the-art facilities – like sports arenas and restaurants, swimming pools and study rooms – but without noteworthy change in curricula. Some participants suggest that Faroese language is going to be degraded while foreign languages with English as lingua franca are going to get higher priority. It is good to develop culture, one girl says, reflecting on the Faroes anno 2045,

...but it is almost like Faroese culture is vanishing. For instance Faroe Islanders are too bad in Faroese, because they hardly use it in their daily life.

Her fears echo the current emotional and politically charged debate about language and culture in the Faroe Islands: the state of the language in an era of growing cultural 'globalization'. Apart from the rather gloomy prospect concerning their native language the participants are divided in the question of the future school's quality. While some expect pupils to become more lazy and irresponsible as a consequence of excessive use of digital media in school, others are on the contrary convinced that the skills and competences acquired through school will reach higher levels.

They go to school 50 hours a week, i.e. 10 hours a day, that is because the requirements for the

children are much higher than in 2014, and therefore they go much more to school every week, they have to know much more in eighth grade than in 2014. The outcome of this system is that many pupils are on a high academic level while there are some who cannot keep up with the others at all. (Extract of girl's essay)

Surveys (e.g. Gaini 2012) have shown that pupils at lower secondary school – eighth and ninth graders – are not very satisfied with their school conditions, and it is obvious that they have many curious thoughts about what could be done to improve the schools, even if they might focus on very different questions and issues. Young people are also concerned with the important question of higher education in the Faroe Islands that is related to discussions on migration patterns and demographic transition. All agree that there will be better opportunities for those wanting to take higher education at home, but it is of course hard to guess which distinct study programs will be available in the future. Medical science and law, for instance, are qualified guesses. The difficult choice of staying at home or moving away, participants nevertheless underline, will not represent a total abandonment of the other as it will become more and more common to combine studies across disciplinary and geographical lines in our digital era. More educational and vocational training offers in the Faroe Islands, says an interviewed boy, would reduce the migration out of the country; it would help young people get a smooth entrance into the job market without a prior detour through Denmark and other countries beyond the ocean...

Family and children

What is a family? This question has become much more complex than it used to be, or at least it was very rare to hear anyone critically discuss this 'fulcrum of society' in public just a few years back. Things have changed and the participants of our study are not afraid of breaking taboos when they envision the family of the future. The two-parents-two-children nuclear family will be only one of a row of alternative family types. Same-sex marriage will be legal and same-sex couples will also have the right to adopt children. One girl creating an eighth-graders family in 2045 tells:

...I have a quite normal family, or maybe it is abnormal if you compare it with what took place 30 years ago. I have two fathers, their

called Emil and Ernst. I have two siblings, and we are all adoptees. It has not been very easy to grow-up with two fathers, but it anyway resembles everything else, I think.

This is highly controversial in a religiously conservative society as the Faroe Islands, and of course not all of our participants would wish or even expect this to happen even 40 or 50 years from now. For some participants, nevertheless, this seems to be an unavoidable shift in family life, as they already today witness people suffering from social stigma based on their sexual orientation. For others it may first of all be a thought experiment mirroring deep confusion about own identity and values. There will, many alerted participants tell us, be fewer children in the families and less contact between parents and children. Children do not talk as much to their parents as they used to do, as one girl expresses pessimistically in her essay about 2045:

...they sit mostly alone in the bedroom, chatting with friends, and the parents are also more and more preoccupied with the technology, so neither they have time for each other. They used to sit together when they were eating, talking about daily issues, but that has changed and today it is seldom that everyone is gathered for the meals. All communication goes through the telephone and if you are in doubt about anything you don't ask mother or father, like earlier, but either you find it on the net or you get access to someone through the net and get the answer to your questions in this way.

Many participants express concern for a serious lack of communication between children and parents and blame new information technologies – smartphones and the Internet – for the break. At the same time as they in general enjoy the technological devices of their everyday lives, young people are straightforward in their critique of the excessive use of such technologies. They also forecast more old people in society. An interviewed girl from Runavík says for instance:

...I think there are going to be more elderly people because the medicine just becomes better and better, so I just expect us to become older and older. I just imagine that there are going to be really many dark kids...because as there is a shortage of 2,000 women in the Faroes men go out...go to Thailand and such places to find themselves dark women, then they come back home with them, and then I just expect that

there are going to be many more dark people... maybe Muslims are going to come to the Faroes and...Buddha and...yes, are going to come to the Faroes and there will be really many dark people...

She says that she doesn't hope that this is going to happen, but that it illustrates what she expects to take place. Most informants do not express the same kind of anguish for non-European non-Christian immigrants; some are looking brightly at a future with more multicultural families in the Faroe Islands. What is clear, anyhow, is that the youth considers the family a vulnerable institution that needs to find a balance between continuity and transition, and that there is going to be greater variation regarding family types.

Transport and infrastructure

Nothing is more concrete and measurable for Faroe Islanders looking for 'hard' evidence of progress in society than the tunnels, especially the amazing underwater tunnels that have been constructed since the turn of the century. And for young Faroe Islanders the question is not if more tunnels are going to be built, but when and where they are going to be built. No-one expects this adventure to be over yet. Runavík is very interesting in this respect as the town is awaiting a new underwater tunnel that will give it fast and easy access to the capital area on the neighbouring Island of Streymoy. There is great optimism about the future among the youth in town.

The three villages Runavík, Saltangará and Glyvrrar had all gone under the name Runavík, and the number of inhabitants had almost reached 10.000 people. This number made Runavík the third largest city in the Faroes [...] Now there is also a tunnel between Runavík, Strendur and Torshavn. Runavík has also got a new swimming pool as well as a cinema, a hotel and a police station. The night life has also changed in Runavík. Dancehalls are open every night and young people drink more, but hardly anyone is smoking anymore in the Faroes. The Faroes have also got more rock stars and sport stars. Now there is only a small part of the world that doesn't know about the Faroes (extract of essay)

This account manifests the self-confidence of a town and municipality with lots of potential and an eagerness to grow and develop into a real city in competition

with Torshavn and Klaksvík. The tunnel is the key to the future; it symbolizes the passage for an influx of people, energy and capital needed. The account is also touching upon another relevant issue: the current lack of leisure and entertainment activities for young people. Many participants from Runavík have talked about the long awaited swimming pool.

Most participants, irrespective of location, expect huge developments in the whole infrastructure in the form of better roads, new tunnels, new harbours, a larger airport, etc. There are also several sci-fi-inspired reports of tunnels to other countries and flying cars in the collection of essays. Moreover, we have received colourful accounts of ultramodern trains and metros criss-crossing the archipelago, none of them totally unrealistic yet difficult to imagine within the near future. It will be much easier and faster to travel between the regions and islands, but also out of the country, in the future. The whole landscape will change, especially in the capital region.

When we came to Torshavn I noticed how much had changed. There were many more houses and several new shopping malls had been built. When we came down to Gundadalur we saw that Tórsvøllur [football arena] had become a real stadium. The ferry terminal had also been reconstructed and a new Smyril [passenger ship] had arrived (extract of essay)

While people discuss their need for tunnels and roads to neighbouring villages and towns, but first and foremost to the capital, they actively engage in their local community's issues, but for a small-scale island community a reliable link to other countries is probably the most important thing of all. I think, says an interviewed girl, "it is going to be easier to...go from the Faroes to another country". She expects the introduction of a larger airport and new companies competing on air routes to the Faroe Islands. Another participant is convinced that it will become easier, cheaper and faster to travel between the Faroes and Denmark in the immediate future. More airbuses are going to be used, says another participant happy about Atlantic Airways' new acquisitions that include airbus A319 planes overshadowing the Faroese carrier's older and smaller planes.

Nature and climate

Asked about potential global climate change and its effects on the Faroe Islands, most participants were reluctant to give any clear response. Many seemed at first

unable to suggest any answer, yet most participants offered relevant comments that just appeared indirectly through other subjects of discussion. For instance we were again and again told about a much warmer climate in the future. A small group of participants were fully aware of the risks of increased levels of pollution if society did not invest in renewable sources of energy, but most did not really believe that the Faroe Islands would feel any of the negative consequences. When for instance electric cars are portrayed in future scenarios, it ironically seems to be a trend copied from Europe rather than a reaction to new 'environmentally friendly' policies. The participants think it is difficult to understand what is what in the global debate on environmental issues. One interviewed girl says for instance:

I am thinking pretty much about trees and such, because we hear so much about...that so many trees are being cut down...and then also the other thing...it was something, we had about it at school...was it something about the air...and of course about the water or ocean that goes further and further up...

She doesn't believe politicians will take environmental hazards seriously until they get a real shock, until we are standing on the edge and cannot avoid seeing the dangers ahead. Another interviewed girl tells of own experience from the village she lived in before moving to the capital with her family:

Before there was more sun where I live or rather used to live, it was always sunny during summer, it was really warm, and there was snow in the winter, but now there is almost only rain all the time...I don't know how it will be in the future, if it changes again or if it...

Many young people are concerned about debris in the beautiful nature of the Faroe Islands. One interviewed girl from Eysturoy expresses her grievance in the following phrases:

...I get really irritated if anyone throws any paper out, I always ask them to pick it up again, but then I just get a 'I do not bother'...laziness, or something like that...it is so annoying, chewing gum is everywhere, I don't think it is good, annoying...

Other informants mention alternative sources of energy – wind and marine power, even nuclear power – as solutions for societies thinking green power instead of

polluting fossil fuels. More houses and buildings are going to be built on land that today is unspoiled nature. To no surprise current oil exploration ventures in the Faroe Islands influence other narratives:

The oil that was found south of the Faroe Islands and then pumped into the refinery in Vágur [Suduoy] in 2025 has turned Vágur and Tvøroyri the second and third largest cities of the Faroe Islands. Only Torshavn is bigger but it witnesses large emigration at the moment [...] drilling rigs in large numbers are lying in Skálafjørður [the fjord with Runavík as main harbour] for maintenance and reconstruction (extract of essay)

This youth expects the capital to lose grandeur to the benefit of major towns in the east and in the south if the oil industry materializes. As has already been decided, Runavík will get a very important role in the oil industry as the main maintenance harbour for the Faroe Islands.

Culture and traditions

The forthcoming technological revolution does not, according to most of the participants, necessarily mean that old cultural traditions once and forever will disappear. We are going to see deep changes, but something will survive the turmoil. People will still eat dry-aged fish and other Faroese specialties, but there is some uncertainty about the future of the controversial whale meat. Will Faroese Islanders continue to catch and eat pilot whales as has been done for a thousand years now? Some say that the pollution of the oceans will make it too dangerous for humans to eat the meat and blubber of the whales. Others believe the whaling will stop anyway. Faroese Islanders, says another participant, “still celebrate Ólavsøka [national festival], wear national costumes during feasts, and dance the Faroese ring-dance” (extract of essay). An interviewed youth from a small village near Runavík says about his own future:

...I actually expect it to be very different from now. I really want my children to get a proper Faroese upbringing, to get Faroese food and to learn Faroese culture very well, and Faroese national costumes and all that, and our culture... because I am just like...I like Faroese culture very much, but if everything is going to change, if we will not be able to eat whale and such things, then they will not strictly be able to get the upbringing that I want them to have, etc.

There are also several interesting accounts of the future of the Faroese language. Most participants expect the language to survive, but they believe that Danish and especially English are going to consolidate their domination as the communication language in media. Pessimists expect people to slowly forget their history and traditions because of a lack of motivation and interest. Rapid urbanization will also, according to many, make the peaceful village life a rare experience as remote villages die. There will be fewer peasants yet more tourists in the Faroe Islands. One interviewed girl with quite ambivalent feelings about cultural traditions says:

I don't think many will bother dancing Faroese ring-dance, at least I don't bother...I hate it...it is just like taking one step, waiting a little, and so on...but Faroese dance is something special, so hopefully it will continue to be something special then, because it is just like Faroese Islanders are Faroese Islanders, and that shouldn't change. ...we shouldn't mix up with all others that do things that are common...common in USA and such places is to eat burgers every day, that should not be changed, we should still eat fish and such things and...sheep...dry-aged meat...I am so picky, I don't like it...

Very few look at the past in nostalgia as they, generally speaking, believe the future will bring many good things to the country. Life will get easier and more comfortable, the participants believe, with new services making the atmosphere more metropolitan, but what many of them worry about is social isolation from family and friends. Many participants talk about asocial attitudes and lifestyles that were uncommon before the internet became a part of everyday life. They expect loneliness to become a widespread problem as people write rather than talk. Some participants go so far as to say that most people will not be able to communicate orally in the future.

Home, migration and education

These young people are optimists with high expectations for the future. Asked about their relation to the home community, nearly all of them see themselves living in the hometown as adults with a family of their own. Many of the participants from Runavík, though, do not expect to get jobs in their hometown, but they assume that they will be commuting between Runavík and especially Torshavn. By then, as mentioned, they trust the underwater tunnel between Torshavn and Ru-

navík to be a reality. Regarding higher education, the question of whether to go or whether to stay pops up, and many young people expect to move abroad to attend university, but, as mentioned elsewhere, most of them are quite sure more education will be available in the Faroe Islands in the future. Many young people would rather move away in any case, at least for some years of exile, in order to get new life experience. One interviewed girl reflects on her early adulthood:

...I don't know really, well I have been thinking about moving to Denmark after upper secondary school, to find myself something...I don't know, I cannot really imagine myself anything here...here there is not so much...I think I will come back to the Faroes anyway, I just don't know when...it is quite possible that I stay for quite a while in Denmark or elsewhere...but I will probably return back...

Even though some of them seem very decisive as to what education they would like to get, they don't know whether or not it will be possible to get the education in the Faroe Islands. Examples are some girls who say they want to become nurses or preschool teachers, but don't know if these study programs are available at home. The University of the Faroe Islands in Torshavn offers these programs.

Most of the participants are open to the idea that they might live abroad in the future, yet a large majority have the plan of living and bringing up their own children in the Faroe Islands. Young people often mention family relations, close friendships and general safety in the Faroe Islands as the main reasons for their strong wish to settle in the Faroe Islands in the future.

Society and lifestyles

Even if the youth sometimes are flying high and far in their dreams about the future, they are also able to get back to solid ground, as when so many participants affirm that they believe the fishing industry is going to continue to be the main export industry of the Faroe Islands. For some it may be a conservative guess, but for others it is the conclusion of a more complex analysis of societal processes. Here is one scenario:

The fisheries have changed a lot during the last years. Many new fish have entered Faroese territorial waters. It started with the mackerel in 2010, since then tuna, sardines and orange roughy in large quantities have entered Faroese

waters. The ships are now well-equipped with helicopters in order to find shoaling fish high up in the sea. All the catch is unloaded in sold and manufactured in the Faroes. Aquafarming takes place far out in the ocean now, and except of salmon we now also breed cod and halibut. Much of our export is transported by cargo planes to countries in the Middle East and Africa. Some of it also goes directly to China, Japan and USA (extract of essay)

Besides the rich knowledge about the fishing industry of the Faroe Islands, this account also uncovers a bright mind with focused perspectives on the challenges and opportunities for Faroese business enterprises. Another interviewed participant expects the traditional fishing industry to completely disappear in the near future while unnamed new industries will take the lead. At the same time he appraises the aquafarming sector and talks about the huge economic power of one specific enterprise that he has close links to. A few participants mention the oil industry and the tourist industry; otherwise there are hardly any suggestions for future 'substitutes' to the dominant fishing sector in the Faroes. Youngsters aged 14 and 15 are usually more interested in other activities in society, as for instance leisure and entertainment offers in towns and villages. Hopes are high for those thirsting for cultural choices in Runavík as well as in Torshavn. In Runavík the swimming pool, the bowling hall, the cinema and the youth club are on the top of the wish list. Young people are in general very interested in sports:

...also several new sports had arrived to Runavík, e.g. swimming, table tennis and snooker. But the most popular sport was still football, as today. Gymnastics had grown extremely much. Earlier there were approximately 600 members, but now there were around 2000 members in Støkk. The swimming club Neptune had around 800 members, making it one of the largest swimming clubs in the country. Sports like snooker, table tennis and archery were not very popular even if these sports had been there for almost 15 years now (extract of essay)

Another interviewed participant from the capital is interested in skateboarding; he says more young people would enjoy their city if there were more activities for them available:

...we could have made more skateboard parks for youth. I think there is only one place in Tor-

shavn now. We could have some more...and also things to climb onto...something like that... a tower that you climb up to...or maybe a new cinema...or renovating the one we have...

they would like to return to in case they move away to foreign countries for shorter or longer periods of time. They don't expect any drastic population decline within the near future.

It is much more than a question of pure entertainment and leisure, because many of the participants claim that such investments could help prevent young people moving away. It could strengthen their bonds to their local community. They are, as mentioned earlier, in general optimistic about their future in their community, but they point out that young people must be taken more seriously by local decision-makers as well as national authorities. One boy thinks adults usually expect things to stay roughly unchanged while young people see something very different in the future. We are, he says, maybe using our imagination more, thinking bigger.

Summary

Our qualitative material from semi-structured interviews with and essays written by Faroese eighth graders from two different communities has given us thick descriptions of change and continuity in Faroese society in the upcoming decades. Young people with limited life experiences have presented their interpretations and ideas about a future in the Faroe Islands. Our main conclusions can be summarized in these six statements:

I. The youth generation is generally optimistic about the prospects of the Faroe Islands as regards educational and working opportunities, economic and political development, and family and welfare policies.

II. The youth generation envision a more multicultural society with new ethnic, religious, cultural and social groups living together. This will also change the family structure.

III. The youth generation envision a more urbanized and centralized society with sophisticated physical infrastructure within the country as well as a fast and modern connection to neighbouring countries.

IV. The youth generation envision a more technologically advanced society with better computerized equipment at schools and other societal institutions. We will see side effects of the digital everyday life: social and psychological distress as a result of the exaggerated use of digital media.

V. The youth generation envision a society that might well be affected by climate change and global warming, but they do not expect any radical changes in the near future. It is veiled in unanswered questions.

VI. The youth generation envision a society that

A Day in My Life as a 35-year-old

By Marjo Laitala and Vesa Puuronen, University of Oulu, Department of Education

Map 3. Case study areas. Linus Rispling, Nordregio



Introduction

The report from Finland takes its point of departure in the case study areas Kemijärvi and Inari, and the data consists of short essays / stories written by young people. The writers were pupils. I contacted headmasters of six schools in Lapland (Salla, Kemijärvi, Kittilä, Enontekiö, Inari, Ivalo) asking them to provide the Project with the writings of the pupils on this topic: A day of my life when I am 35 years old. All headmasters had a positive attitude to the research and promised to inform the responsible teachers (mother tongue teachers) about the research.

The instruction given to the pupils was: “We would like you to think your future for a while. We hope that you could write an essay titled: A day in my life, when I am 35 years old. Please imagine ‘what is your ordinary day like when you are 35-years old’. Please describe the whole day beginning from morning, when you wake up and ending your description to the moment, when you go asleep.

This essay approach has been used in studies on the future orientations for instance in a comparative study of Russian and Finnish young people, which was published in 2000. Thus, we have a possibility to compare the future orientations of young people in different periods. In the analysis of essays we deployed the NVivo programme, which facilitates the identification and analysis of important themes.

The main challenge was the timing of data collection; even though we had made contacts with the headmasters already in the beginning of April and the message, including the instructions, was sent by mid-April to the schools by email, the follow-up call in the beginning of May revealed that the data collection was not complete. Due to this delay of beginning of data collection the amount of essays received was very low: we received only 12 essays from two schools. The value of these essays is increased by the fact that the writers from Kemijärvi (n=7) represent the majority ethnic group (Finns), while writers from Inari (n=5) belong to Sami minority.

The low number of essays poses, on one hand a challenge to the analysis, but on the other hand, the essays reveal quite interestingly for instance the relationship to the work of young people and their thoughts about family life and gender roles. In general, the essays reveal the dimensions of young people’s future orientation, which might influence for instance their immigration plans.

Research aims

In this research the aim has been to capture the visions for the future that young people from Northern Finland have. Youth attending an academic senior secondary school were asked to describe an ordinary day of their lives as 35-year-olds. What primarily interested researchers in these visions of the future was how the youth constructed their adult lives, what kind of roles are given, for instance, to schooling, work, family and free time, and how these various areas of life connect with the societal context. Further, they were interested in what the youth thought future society would be like in twenty years. In addition, these visions of the future were expected to reveal how trusting young people were of their future.

Nummenmaa and Shvets (2000) conducted similar research 15 years ago, and it will be interesting to compare the results of these two research projects. Nummenmaa and Shvets’s research focused on the visions for the future that Finnish and Russian youth in Finnish and Russian Karelia had on their future that would happen in year 2010. The results of this previous research will be utilised by comparing the visions of the future of the Finnish Karelian youth to those of contemporary (2014) youngsters of the same age.

Research material and methods

In this research, visions for the future were conceptualised as images of the mind. Visions for the future are formed from the conceptualisation, observations, knowledge, fears, hopes and imagery gathered in the past and the present. What is interesting about future visions, in research terms, is the link between them and the way that the future materialises in the end (Rubin and Linturi 2004, 13).

The research material consists of Finnish young people’s writings. They have been written during class, as part of a school day, in two different academic senior secondary schools in Northern Finland in the spring of 2014. Six schools were originally contacted but the writings were provided only by two of them. Writing was voluntary. As only a few of the schools were able to participate in the research, quantitatively, the sample is small. The research material consists of 12 writings, ten of which are written by girls, two by boys. The students were either in the first or second year of secondary school, that is, they were between 16 and 17 years of age. Most of the writings obtained are about one page (A4), but there are a few longer writings, even 3-page-long ones.

The starting point for the analysis of the writings was qualitative methodology, the practical method being theory-driven content analysis. First, the writings were thematised based on the research aims described in the first chapter. The themes included family relations, education, work and income, societal context etc. Secondly, the writings have been assessed in terms of their typical and divergent features. The Nvivo qualitative data analysis software was used at the beginning of the data analysis.

Results

About the writings

All the young students had composed their essays according to the instructions; that is, they described their day chronologically, starting with waking up and finishing with going to bed. Girls wrote considerably longer essays than boys, and they described things in much more detail and with much more sophisticated language than boys. Many of the girls used plenty of expressions describing emotions and situations. For instance, when speaking about hobbies, one girl described how taxing it would be to play in a band as a hobby, but that, nevertheless, she “would enjoy it from the bottom of her heart.” Particularly, it would appear, that the morning awakening was an important moment for the girls, as they tried very hard to convey the atmosphere to the reader. For example:

The alarm sounds. The rays of light coming through the venetian blinds reflect on our dark parquet. I turn off the alarm and look at the other side of the bed. My husband is still sound asleep. He is no early bird, like me. It is not even six o'clock yet, but I get up, make myself a cup of coffee and put on my sports outfit.

As noted in chapter 2, the sample is rather small (12 writings). For this reason, no comparisons between the boys' and girls' writings, beyond what has been stated above, have been made. For the same reason, the boys' writings have not been compared to the results obtained in the previous study.

Life with a nuclear family

The institutionalised Finnish nuclear family has been coming apart for a long time. The nuclear family,

formed by a legally married man and a woman and their children born in that marriage, has been challenged by new forms of families: today single people, cohabiting couples with or without children, single parents, the divorced and the remarried people, same-sex couples etc. compete for the legitimacy of being defined as a family. Such changing practices, values and thinking are not reflected in the visions that these young people have of their futures. As 35-year-olds, they live in a nuclear family formed by a man and a woman and two children. It would appear that most of them are officially married, because they refer to their spouses as a ‘husband’ or a ‘wife’.

Most of the writers have two children, but a few have either three or four. Only one of the couples does not have any children and childlessness is a conscious choice for them, as one girl writes: “Our friends ask whether it is the time to have children for us. With my husband, we respond that there will be no children. No more children are needed on this earth.”

According to the instructions, the writers had to imagine themselves as 35-year-olds, that is, in twenty years' time or around 2035. Most of the girls specified the ages of their children, and based on that most were going to have their first child when slightly under 30 years of age. If the plan was to have more than two children, the birth of the first baby happened a few years earlier. Girls, as opposed to boys, often stated the gender of their children—one of them defined even the names of the children. Mostly they hoped for a boy and a girl; a set of twins was imagined into at least two families. Many of the families in the girls' writings also had a dog, and taking care of and walking the dog appeared to be a part of the mother's routine; she does this often before the rest of the family wakes up.

Waking up the children or the whole family is described in detail in the girls' essays:

The girl squeals excitedly and skitters into the kitchen for breakfast. I laugh and turn to my 10-year-old twin boys. They wake up when I tickle them a little, but they have no desire of getting up. Then my husband arrives to rescue the situation and picks up one of the boys. This wakes up the boys and as my husband carries one boy to the kitchen I follow with the second. My daughter is already having cereal and with my husband we put the rest of the breakfast stuff on the table.

The imagery of the atmosphere and happenings in the mornings is surprisingly similar; this is how another girl describes the general mood in the mornings:

I start hearing whispering and the baby's babbling from upstairs. Steps sound on the stairs. My husband walks downstairs in his pyjama bottoms with our two-year-old in his arms. When seeing me our boy starts giggling cutely. My husband walks to me, kisses my forehead and gives me the boy who is reaching out to get into my arms.

Overall, it would seem, that family life, at least when described by girls, would include a lot of warmth and affection that is also expressed. In these families there are a lot of hugs and kisses, “warm welcomes” and “sweet cuddles” and children and husbands are looked upon with “affectionate gazes.” All in all, harmony and balance rule the relationships with children and spouses, as one of the participating boys describes the family's evening:

I spend most of my evenings with my wife and boys. I play with the boys and with my wife we talk about the day's events. In the evening we go out to eat and spend time together as a family. Still later in the evening I go to the gym with my friends and we talk about everything on the side. When I come back from the gym, my wife has already put the boys to bed. We spend a romantic evening together: watch a movie, eat strawberries and cream and go to sauna.

As the boy's tale tells, the couple normally has time together in the evening, after the children have gone to bed. One of the girls describes how, after the children have fallen asleep, she spends time alone with her husband and, at the end of it, “snuggles in her husband's arms happily and prepares for the next day.” The descriptions of the day outside work focus on the life of the nuclear family with only a few remarks on meeting friends or relatives. The couple without children has more time for meeting friends and, altogether, the structure of their everyday life is different:

After work I go home quickly and then leave for the gym. I keep myself in good shape and it shows. I do not have time to watch television, because I like to spend time with other people and to do things that interest me. The computer I use for work and for surfing the internet. At the gym I put myself through a good workout and after that I start preparing for the evening. With my husband we are going out for a drink with a couple who are friends of ours.

Eeva Jokinen (2005) has investigated the everyday life of Finnish adults and has noted that serving and taking care of children is the woman's task, whereas men take care of other matters. By this she means that women make sure there is food in the fridge and on the table and that the children have clothes to wear. Women also take care that the everyday life of the children runs along the schedule. Men, on the other hand, play with the children in and out and take care of the children's hobbies—not more than women, but relatively equally. (Jokinen 2005, 46.) This is how it appears things would be in the families of the future, at least in light of these writings. As was indicated, when taking care of the dog was discussed, women are the ignition that starts the day. They wake up first, prepare the breakfast for the whole family and carry the main responsibility for making sure that everything is timely, as in this girl's family:

I wake up our 6- and 4-year-old children and we eat breakfast with the whole family. After the morning routine I take the children to the kindergarten with my new Audi and head for work.

The mothers' responsibilities for making the everyday routines run smoothly continue after the school and work day, as “after the household chores, my children are ready for their evening snack”, one girl describes. None of the writers reflect on how the household chores are shared between the spouses from the point of view of gender equality, which might be considered somewhat surprising as equal sharing of housework between men and women has been debated for so long. In these families men take care of children and, for example, cook dinner: “When I came back from work, my husband had fixed a nice supper. The children were playing happily and the fireplace was lit.” It would appear that most of the traditional housework, such as cleaning and laundry, was left on the shoulders of the women and it would not appear that they had nothing against it:

My husband and the boys come from the sauna and we girls prepare for bathing. When we finish bathing, I fold the laundry and empty the dishwasher. I iron a couple pillow cases, after which I through myself on the couch. My husband reads the youngest one a bedtime story and the girls go into their shared bedroom to sleep.

These visions of daily life reflect Jokinen's comment about ‘the place of laundry’ (Jokinen 2005, 56). According to a Finnish study on how time is spent in daily life (1999-2000) women spend almost two hours a

week dealing with the laundry and whereas men spend 14 minutes. Doing the laundry appears very much ‘a habitual female activity’ (ibid.) in many of these writings. In one of the stories the way women’s and men’s work was understood can be characterised as a stereotype: “I am doing the laundry and ironing in the utility room. Outside my husband is changing new summer tires on the car.” Once the normal day comes to an end, it is time for every mother to relax and rest a moment. “A moment before falling asleep I thought about how happy my life was”, one of the girls noted.

A tightly disciplined, well-managed everyday life

In the essays, the alarm clock sounds almost at the same time; between six and seven in the morning. Bedtime arrives clearly before midnight, for some already at ten o’clock. The time in-between is filled with similar elements and in a similar order: preparations for going to work and school (or kindergarten), the work and school day, getting home from work and school, household chores and hobbies, preparations for going to bed. There are very few moments, if any, in these descriptions of daily life that are not planned or programmed, moments when one would ‘just be’. “After the dinner we head for the park to play, because tonight none of the family members have any hobbies,” one girl tells.

In the tales written by girls, hurrying and getting places on time plays a major role. Many express the accurate times when they need to be somewhere; in a car on the way to work, hurrying to get the children, finishing housework just in time etc. Generally, people move from place to place by car in these tales; it is not clear whether this is due to transport connections or due to getting there on time, or of both. The balancing act between making it or being late is challenging, especially in the mornings.

I make breakfast for the children and eat myself. I take care that the children brush their teeth and dress up and I dress myself at the same time. Soon it’s half eight and worried I check the watch. I hope I won’t be late for work. I fix the food for the dog and hurry the children to put their shoes on and to get into the car.

Constant hurry dominates the daily life, but these youngsters aim to manage both the rush and the routines. Nobody says they are tired, bored or too stressed. “It is rather busy, but there is also time for the family and for myself”, one girl, who wishes to be an entrepreneur, tells. Children march along in the tempo of their parents. They are dropped off and collected, often twice a day; at the school and at their hobbies. Rou-

tines and timetables are not compromised, especially when it comes to children, as one girl describes: “After the evening routines, such as a shower, a healthy evening snack and brushing the teeth, we take the children to bed. We tuck them in and read a bedtime story together.”

At the beginning of the 2000s, there was an energetic discussion about lacking parenthood in Finland. Lacking parenthood meant parents who could not be ‘real’ parents, but like ‘regressive spoiled brats’ they left the responsibility for their child’s upbringing to others, to the kindergarten, schools etc., which could be seen in the increasing desolation of children (Jallinoja 2006, 112). Without commenting on this discussion, from the viewpoint of normatively ‘good parenting’, the parents would seem to have succeeded. The young people participating in the research were children at the time of the heated debate about parenthood, and the parents who were accused at the time, seem to have succeeded at least in the sense that their children imagine that they can fulfil the requirements of parenting with distinction and without problems. “After my household chores, the children are ready for the evening snack, the clock is approaching eight. Our children have clear boundaries for how to behave in our family and they are used to obeying the nine o’clock bedtime.”

A secure, well-paid job

These youngsters are highly educated when they are adults and, by the look of it, all of them are in their dream jobs. At least three writers have a post-graduate university education (a psychologist, a doctor and a teacher), at least four have a bachelor’s degree from a university of applied sciences (a police, a physiotherapist, a midwife, an electrical engineer). They are in occupations corresponding to their education, for example, in a hospital, a school or in a company of their own. Those writers who did not mention their education, nevertheless tell that they are employed in a day care centre or, like one girl, that they are “in a high position.” Most of the girls mention the profession of their husbands; they are, for example, physical education teachers, chefs, tattoo artists or specialised dental technicians.

Nobody speaks about their years of studying or about their studies and, therefore, we can assume that these went as planned and without problems, as apparently finding a job did as well. There is no room for insecurity or uncertainty in finding a job or a profession in these visions of the future. One of the girls mentions that she is considering a new profession in the arts, which was her dream as a young person. In light of this,

she has been studying in an art college whilst working as a psychologist.

Both parents work outside the home except in the tale by one girl. She is on leave from her job, which is not explained in the text, and has the opportunity to do art and paint whilst the husband and children are away.

It is not like this is making a lot of money, but it is something I like and now that my husband works full-time and the children are grown up, I have a lot of time on my hands and I do not need to really work. It is temporary only, but I want to do this before I return back to working life.

Everybody appears to have a job that is reasonably close to home, except one girl whose husband's job takes him farther, which has an impact on the mother's everyday life. *"The morning is pure pandemonium and hurry, for my husband is on a business trip abroad once again and I have to handle the children alone."* Work has a regular "eight to four" schedule, except for the firefighter: *"My life revolves around work, as I never know when an emergency call comes through or when I need to hurry to another kind of rescue operation. My other job during the weekends is a salesman at Gigantti."* None of the writers have any atypical employment contracts and nobody works remotely. However, also the jobs that these teenagers have often do not allow remote working. None of the parents are on parental leave, even if the youngest child is a two-year-old.

Researchers of working life in Finland have talked for years about the upheaval of working life, which is characterised by the blurring distinction between work and free-time that results in chronic lack of time—and exhaustion (e.g. Pyöriä, Melin & Blom 2005;). The youngsters who wrote these tales clearly distinguish between work and free time. Hardly anybody says that they work or even think about work after the working day, some may skim their work emails in the evenings in-between other internet surfing. It appears that all the demands of working life are in balance with the resources and abilities of these young people. Economically all families are doing fine, or at least financial problems or, for instance unreasonably soaring loan costs, are not mentioned. Salaries are all apparently good or at least sufficient. One of the boys mentions that "I have a really good salary with which I can support my family." The writer does not explicitly mention it, but one can indirectly deduct that his wife does not work at all.

The standard and the quality of life appear to be good and the material foundations are sound. Everyone who

mentions housing arrangements, tells that they live in a detached house, which often is situated *"in a quiet neighbourhood"* or *"in beautiful surroundings."* In the description by one girl, the house has *"two stories, it is decorated with light colours and neat furniture. The house could be described as fresh ja clean."* The only girl living as a couple without children tells that they live *"somewhere in Western Europe"* with her husband and that *"I earn really well and I am in a high position at my workplace. My husband's salary is not small either."* Supposedly this level of earnings makes it possible that *"we travel a lot and we have a couple summer houses where we can go and relax together, with friends or with relatives."*

All in all, it would appear that work is meaningful and even fulfilling. The girl working as a doctor in a hospital tells that *"I found a good place, because here the atmosphere is nice and co-workers are helpful."* In turn, the boy who graduated from engineering has *"very nice and laid-back colleagues"* and says that *"the best thing about my job is my boss who is a very flexible and relaxed."*

Sportive free time

The couples living the so-called 'rush-hour years' often are not left with too much time for common hobbies. The free time of these young people would seem to consist mostly of indoors or outdoors activities with the family and of chauffeuring children to their hobbies. *"After my husband returned, we took Peppi [the family dog] out after which we stayed out to do some gardening,"* one girl described her free time. Evenings went along similar lines in other families:

After dinner we go out together with the family and the dog. On our way we call in at the nearby playground where we meet a family who are our friends and live in our neighbourhood. We catch up and speak about the events of the past few days. After the walk I head towards the ice rink for team practice.

As far as the parents have hobbies, these have to do with sports. The girl who went to practice above is a competitive sportswoman who *"plays women's ice hockey at the highest league level in Finland, i.e. in the Finnish league."* There is also another athlete, because one of the boys has progressed so far in his hobby that he *"plays volley ball in the Finnish league."*

The writers take care of their fitness either by jogging or by going to the gym. Going for a jog with the

dog in the mornings is a part of the morning routine for many women: “we go for our traditional jog and go around a pond that is rimmed by beautifully green leaves of water lilies.” A majority connect exercise to health and the maintenance of alacrity. Living healthily is talked about in many stories. Keeping fit can also be seen as a precondition for another hobby: “Health and wellbeing are important things in my life and, therefore, I invest in the quantity and quality of sleep”, one of the girls describes. “After work I went to the gym and for a run”, another girl tells, “in order to keep myself fit. During the weekend I must find the energy to pull a gig the band and that if something is exhausting.”

Global problems that are solved

“The world seems alright and the future is clear” is how a 16-year-old girl describes her spirits at 35. This sentence crystallises many of the visions of the future that the young people, who participated in this research, expressed. Firstly, they explicitly described the future social context only a little and, especially for those with a family, the social context was regarded in positive light. One of the girls started her morning with a cup of green tea. “Both organically produced food and fair trade produce were popular among everybody. Hardly anybody bought products manufactured by child labour and using child labour had become almost impossible with the tightening directives.” At her workplace in a day care centre she was quite worried about a flu epidemic, as “nowadays epidemics are quite fierce and not all medication functions in the right way, because viruses have become more resistant.” This concern passed quickly, as “I forgot my worries, when I noticed that the working day was over.”

As mentioned before, because the sample is limited, generalisations must be made with care. Nevertheless, the couple without children living “somewhere in Western Europe” seems to be more worried about global problems than others:

In the restaurant we talk about the world situation with our friends. There has been hardly any change in the developing countries in twenty years. There are still wars, poverty, child labour, famines and a lot of uneducated people. Natural and other resources have become a bigger and more acute problem. Waste accumulates more and more, but, nevertheless, the world seems to be pushing on. As a consequence of the greenhouse effect, the glaciers have melted somewhat

and polar bears are dying out.

The instructions given for writing (chapter 2) suggested that students should ponder whether climate change was visible in their daily life. Three writers approached this subject. One of the boys mentioned that “the climate change cannot be seen in my life in anyway, because it does not bother me.” One of the girls mentioned biking to work, “because due to the climate change I can bike almost all year long as there is hardly any snow.” In other words, the climate change is seen from the viewpoint of one’s personal life, mostly as a matter of the discomfort or advantages it causes. The third vision regarding climate change as well as technical and technological development goes as follows:

We bought a second electric car a week ago. I do not regret the purchase, because gasoline cars are out of fashion. It is cheaper to drive an electric car. Gasoline cars are prohibited by law, because they are too much of a burden on nature. On top of electric cars, one can also drive hydrogen cars.

Visions for the future 2010 and 2035

The aforementioned similar research project on young people’s visions for the future was run as a collaboration between the University of Joensuu and Petrozavodsk State University at the end of the 1990s (Nummenmaa and Shvets 2000). There, 106 Finnish and 128 Russian 15-25r-old youngsters wrote an essay about their visions for the future. This was a comparative research between Finnish and Russian girls and boys. Next we shall compare the future visions of 2010 by Finnish youth to the answers we obtained on future visions of 2035 in certain aspects.

In adulthood, everyday life is structured strongly around two components, i.e. work and family, and this was the case also in the writings on daily life in 2010 and 2035. However, half of the Finnish boys saw themselves as single in the research conducted by Nummenmaa and Shvets (2000, 186). Out of the girls, two-thirds included a spouse and children in their families. In the study at hand, the sample is so small that generalisations need to be made carefully, but it would appear that the appreciation of traditional nuclear families is on the rise. Out of the 12 youth only one planned a childless future. However, none of the respondents planned to become a stay-at-home parent, although many had quite small children in their images of the

future. In the earlier study, only a few out of the Finnish girls saw themselves as stay-at-home mothers (ibid., 187).

The pivotal role of family life can also be seen in how it is described in much more detail than work or education. In the previous study, altogether 96 per cent of the boys did not describe or hardly described their family life or its role in their writings. The equivalent percentage among the girls was 77. Generally, the young people described their future through their working roles (ibid.). Looking at the results like this, it would appear that the importance of the family has increased considerably in twenty years' time. However, both the girls and the boys participating in this recent study did describe their future everyday life in a rather balanced way, being shared between working and being a parent or a spouse. The transition would seem to be particularly strong in terms of the boys' increasing family-centeredness. Out of the boys, who participated in Nummenmaa and Shvets's study (ibid. 189), only 11 per cent saw their future in terms of a combination of family and work.

In the late 1990s, the youth in Northern Karelia construed their life in a future society in four different ways. One part saw it through the prism of globalisation, others through unemployment or increasing uncertainty (wars, crime) and, finally, another part saw it through the prism of technological development. At the time of the previous study, Finland had suffered the highest unemployment rates in its history and, therefore, it was not surprising that unemployment figured in the writings of the young people in one way or another. Yet, out of the Finnish youth, only five saw themselves as unemployed in year 2010. (Nummenmaa & Shvets 2000, 183.) In the recent research, none of the youth saw unemployment as a part of their future as 35-year-olds. In the childhood of these youngsters, the societal situation was different, that is, the Finnish economy had already turned towards growth after the depression of the early 1990s. Following the thinking of Nummenmaa and Shvets, it is not surprising that the youth of today see their position in the labour market in more positive terms.

A summary and the conclusions

"We all have two families", American historicist John Gillis has noted. One is the one we imagine and the other the one we live with, in our everyday life. (Jalilinoja 2000, 15.) Naturally, the teenagers who wrote for this research only have their lived experience from childhood families, meaning that the trip of imagina-

tion into their future families and relationships that they were asked to make was, indeed, literally a trip of imagination. Therefore, it is interesting to consider how these young people gathered the elements from their past and present that they put into their stories about their future adult life. Certainly, the family in which they live their youth is an obvious model and a point of reference, but it is clear that there are other sources from where these elements have been gathered.

The daily life of an adult is maybe surprisingly smooth and void of problems for these young people. Their lives at 35 are in many ways ready: they have a good education, a job, a detached house and a new car; they have a happy and functioning relationship, nice and well-behaved children, and their everyday routines run smoothly and as planned. Based on these stories there would appear to be no problems and no disruptions in adult life. If there are economic problems, these are not mentioned; there are no arguments in these families, nobody is sick, there are no addictions, no unemployment and nobody agonises over unfulfilled dreams of their youth.

Two components structure daily life: work and family. After work and after the requisite steps (cooking food, cleaning, laundry, gardening etc.), and also after hobbies—those of the children and of the parents—the couple, and specifically the hetero couple, has some time left for being together. The evening of the married couple can be spent watching television, but there are also some descriptions of the average evening that sound romantic, such as those picturing time spent having a class of wine and delicious tidbits. In general most of the girls described their relationship with their children and with their spouses with word choices portraying affection and happiness. Children brought joy to their parents, as did the spouses to each other. That is, in these writings the relationship of the couple had matured to its family- and work-focused phase without problems and everyday routines had become the third-wheel to romantic love in a self-justified way (cf. Jalilinoja 2000).

A critic of romantic love could see that in these writings too much is expected of the relationships. Where are these expectations coming from? According to Ritita Jalilinoja (2000, 211-212), who has studied the 2000s as a new 'time for the family' phase, novels, movies and television series function as models for relationships, if equivalent models are not found in one's own life. The family life and relationship imagery portrayed by the young people in this study would seem to originate wholly from somewhere else than from the lived experience of their own everyday lives. The television, the internet and the social media are likely sources of the

imagery.

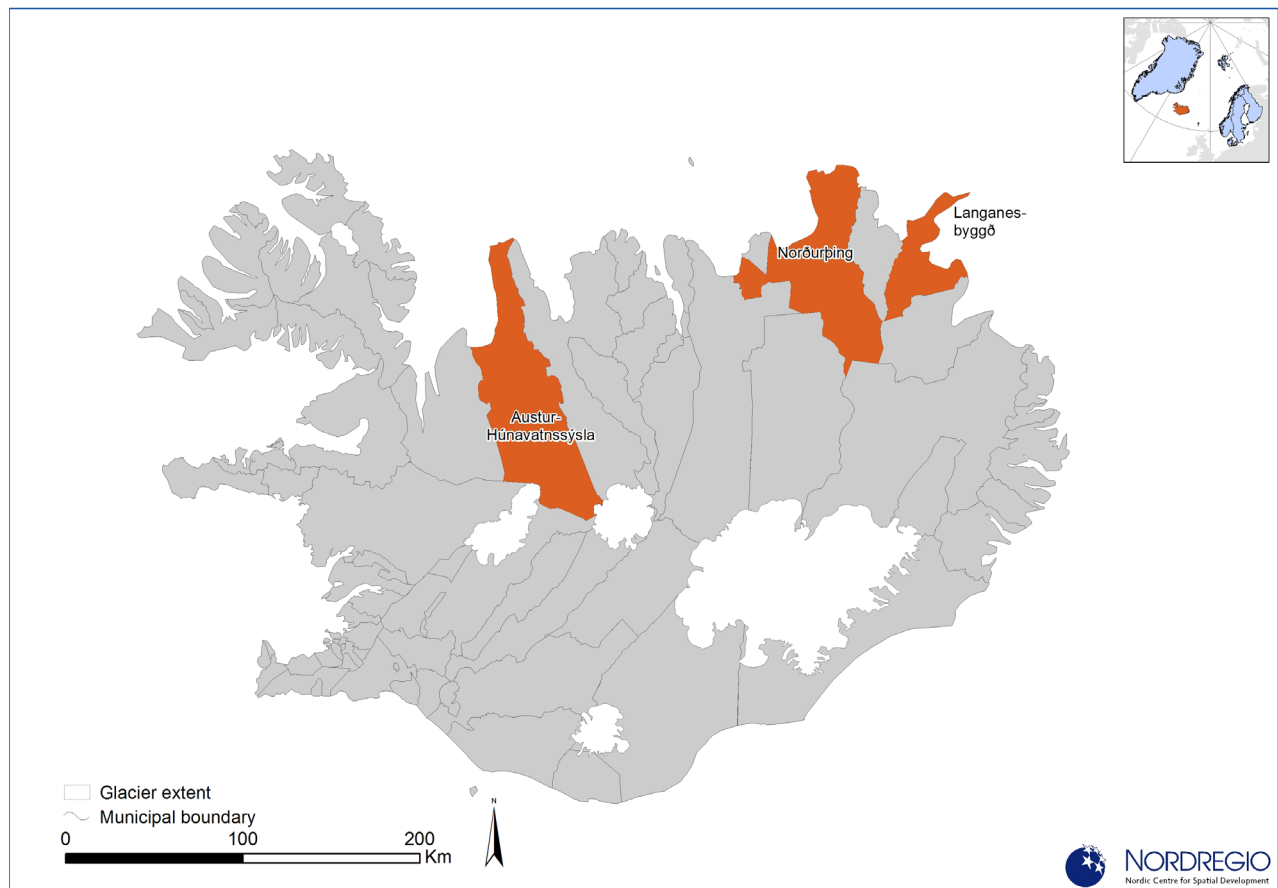
Societal structures play merely a role of a backdrop. The only exception to this is the almost canonised rush described in almost all of these writings. The pressures are handed down from above, the working mother's lot is to try to manage them to the best of her abilities; and she manages them well in these visions of the future. Global problems and global questions are not granted much space in these stories that rather centre on the life of the nuclear family. As far as the writers refer to some contemporarily unsolved global problems, in their adulthood these problems will have been solved. These writers do not really imagine new technological innovations, but it is possible to interpret that technology has played a part, if global problems will have been solved already.

The analysis outlined above lets us conclude that young people are very trusting of their futures. The analysis twenty years ago produced very similar outcomes, although Finnish society was burdened by unforeseen unemployment at the time. Also then hardly any of the young people imagined that unemployment or deprivation would touch their lives or that other factors would cause extra uncertainty. Risks, such as those created by increasing crime and the insecurity that follows from that, are not mentioned even as potential prospects in this research. A notable difference, in comparison to the results of Nummenmaa and Shvets's study (2000), is the increase in family-centeredness in the future visions of the contemporary youth.

Multiple Longings in North Iceland

A Qualitative Study among the Young Generation in Austur Húnavatns-sýsla, Norðurþing and Þórshöfn, Langanes

By Anna Karlsdóttir



Map 4. Case study areas. Map: Linus Rispling, Nordregio

Introduction

The contribution from Iceland is drawing on some statistical data but primarily on qualitative data. The first part illustrates the migration patterns among young people in the three municipalities in NE Iceland. After the quantitative overview, the fieldwork and the methods applied in the qualitative research are presented. To get a broader picture of the qualitative material, a study from the local knowledge center in Blönduós about the cohorts born 1989-1996 and their migration

pattern are presented. The majority of the young people resided elsewhere today. Most had moved to the capital region and also a large group had gone to Akureyri. The names of the informants have been changed for anonymity purposes in this chapter, and they have been given fictive names.

Following the section with migration of an older youth group, new empirical material will present current youngsters' perception of social media, future settlement and mobility, future wishes and expectations and climate change in the arctic region.

Migration patterns among young people in rural Iceland

In Iceland there is, in general, not a deficit of young people of both genders. In fact Iceland receives a surplus of young people from abroad, especially foreign

males.

Among young females, there seems to be a higher propensity towards outmigration and the number increases in all categories of migration after age of 18.

The regional pattern, however, shows that the most rapid decrease of young populations in the age be-

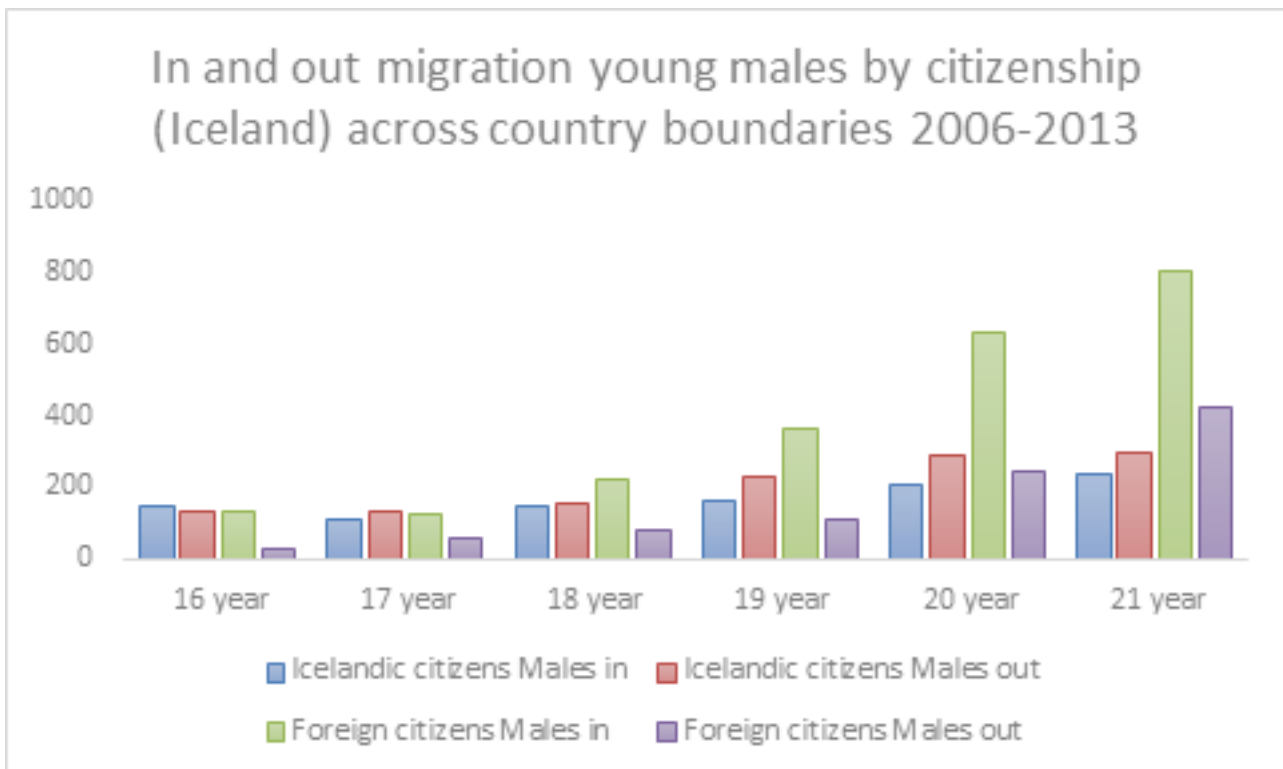


Diagram 1. In and out migration of young males by citizenship. Source: Statistics Iceland 2014

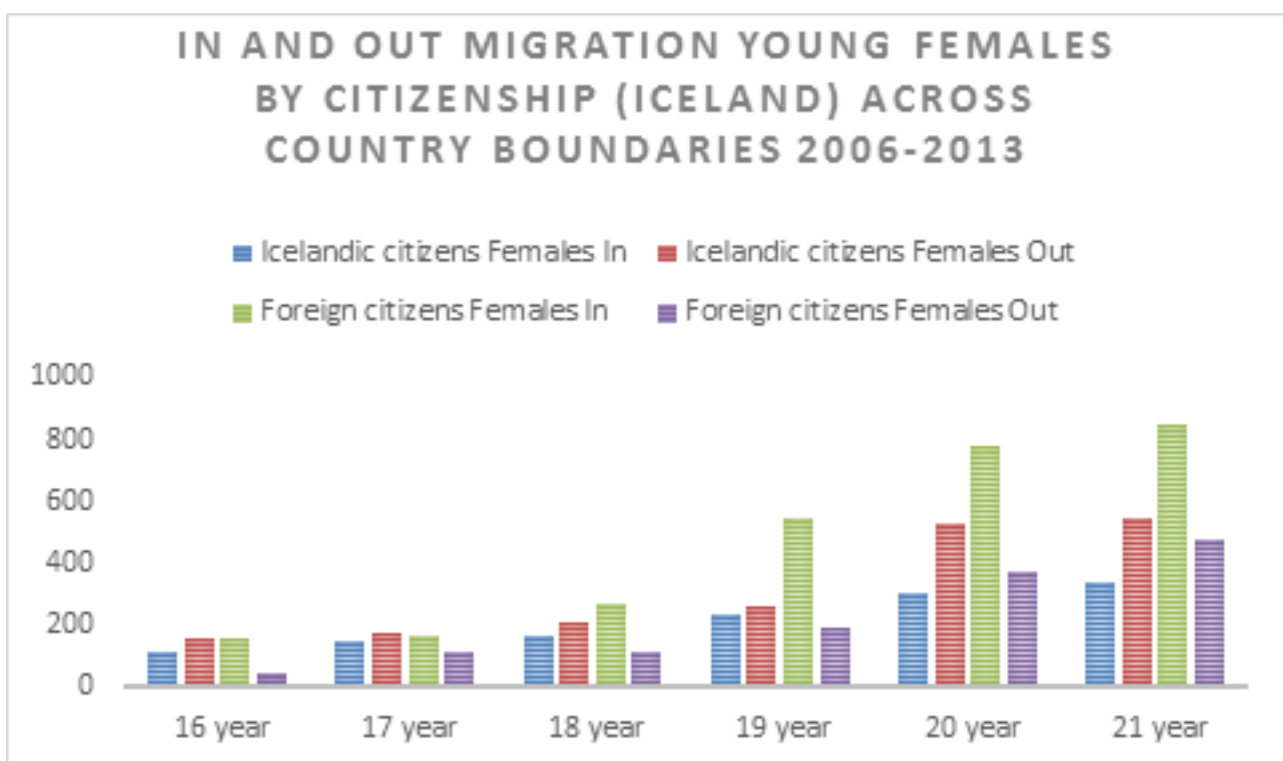


Diagram 2. In and out migration of young females by citizenship. Source: Statistics Iceland 2014

tween 16-24 years is in rural areas.

The Case study areas in Iceland consist of two or three areas depending on definition. They are all located in the North of Iceland. The first one is called Austur Húnavatnssýsla. It is a farming community area with a steep decline in the youth population, consisting of urban town cluster, Blönduós with 813 inhabitants in 2013, 416 male and 397 females (Statistics Iceland 2014).

The second one is an amalgamated municipality encompassing a varied area in the far North East of Iceland, called Norðurþing. The main population centre is Húsavík, a settlement of 2298 by 2013 (Statistics Iceland 2014).

I decided also to include a neighboring municipality named Þórshöfn into the study since it shares a lot of common characteristics and challenges with some of the settlements in Norðurþing.

Population by urban clusters and gender 2011-2013									
	2011			2012			2013		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
<u>Húsavík</u>	2234	1095	1139	2232	1095	1137	2228	1108	1120
<u>Reykjahlíð</u>	161	81	80	160	81	79	153	77	76
<u>Kópasker</u>	121	63	58	122	66	56	122	67	55
<u>Raufarhöfn</u>	194	104	90	185	100	85	169	93	76
<u>Þórshöfn</u>	373	191	182	375	195	180	379	202	177
<u>Bakkafjörður</u>	72	42	30	77	44	33	78	41	37

Table 1. NE Iceland settlement clusters and urban areas. Population development 2011-2013 Source: Statistics Iceland. 2014.

Fieldwork and outline of methodological approach

Empirical data collection has been conducted in three-four trips to the regions. The first one happened in April, when we had informal talks with young people in two different communities in the North committing them to do a future vision video piece. We also made some participatory observations, visiting schools and youth clubs.

After a few days' visit we made an agreement with the group to meet them later in June.

Meanwhile the fieldwork in Austur Húnavatnssýsla was conducted with an emphasis on getting ahold of the young people from farms. One main problem with retrieving young people is that their registry address, according to the national registry often does not fit with their actual place of living. We therefore had to put effort into tracing young people within the age group 17-24 through the national registry and comparing it with the phone registry, in some cases retrieving them through extended friends and relatives networks.

A phone survey was conducted with the youth of both genders, both those from the rural areas and Blönduós on their future perspectives.

According to the leader of the continuous education center, one of the characteristics of the region is that the population has in average the lowest formal educational background in Iceland. The regional leaders therefore believe that a real effort has to be made in lifting the educational level among the inhabitants of all ages.

First phase of fieldwork in N-East Iceland

In March and April 2014, we also held meetings with representatives from the Development agency and the local research center. From those interviews we gained much more detailed and accurate insight into what was occurring in the respective regions, among youth as well as socioeconomically in the region. Furthermore, we met and held meetings with youth both in smaller and larger communities in the youth centers.



Picture 2. Meeting with young people joining the youth club in Húsavík, spring 2014. Picture: Matthias Kokorsch

The population development in the chosen case study regions deserves attention and is most likely influencing future perspectives, if not consciously then subconsciously, as there has been vivid discussion about the absence of young people in the demographic development of the most remote areas of the North of Iceland. As for N-East Iceland, some of the more remote areas included in the N-East region of Iceland statistics and the regional development institute covers over a deep variety that does not show, when Akureyri the main population centre of the North dominates in figures for all statistical results. The measures taken to encourage or spur innovation and development thus may fail, as the structural information does not show the adequate conditions embodied within the region. It would therefore be much more relevant to talk about differing ruralities (landsbyggðir en ekki landsbyggð).

Informal meetings were held with young inhabitants at the age of 14-16 at Húsavík and Raufarhöfn. In Húsavík we enjoyed the uplifting spirit of young people meeting in the nights at a youth club, and followed them in their leisure activities. We even spent a Eurovision night with them, gaining an understanding of how well informed they were about the artists, seemingly independent of their national background in the European context. Surely the internet was their guiding light. Most of the young people had quite firm

ideas about which of the performers were more likely to succeed in the song contest.

This age group in Raufarhöfn (a community with

Picture 3. Eurovision night with a group of teenagers in Húsavík spring 2014. Picture: Anna Karlsdóttir



declining population from 404 in 1998 to 169 in 2014), is interesting in the sense that they are about to have to move for further schooling. Mobility for young people has become a necessity. The conditions in the rural areas of Iceland have for a long time embodied conditions of a shift for 16 year olds since the schooling opportunities have been elsewhere once primary school was finished. With an increase in regional secondary school institution established, as a part of a regional development policy in Iceland in last 15 years, many young people in smaller communities are offered an opportunity to stay with parents during gymnasium years. Thus in many communities, the number of winterstaying youth, particularly in the age 16-18 has increased significantly. Many scholars and policymakers underpinned the importance of this regional development strategy by arguing that losing this generation from vulnerable smaller communities meant they never turned back and that foundations for an eroding population base were to be found in these forced relocations. For smaller communities, emphasis has been on connecting gymnasium classes to distance education offers, so that for example young people in Þórshöfn are able to stay with their parents for a longer time (a community of 377 inhabitants in 2014).

In the rapidly declining village of Raufarhöfn, the public school has gone from having dozens of students enrolled, to having only a handful in some of the classes. In the last class of secondary students where I conducted participant observations and made informal interviews, both with students, teachers and relatives in Raufarhöfn, it becomes clear that it is a community standing on crossroads in the spring of 2014.

Five of six youngsters graduated. One of the students was a year younger and would normally have proceeded to graduate next year but cannot since she



Picture 4. Encouragement to Nordic politicians from Nordic youth. Picture: Jonas Hrafn Ketter

is left alone and one student in class is, from the view of the municipality, an inadequate size for a class. She, then seemingly the only student left in upper primary school, and her mother (with a younger brother at kindergarten age) therefore chose to move from the community in the autumn 2014 to Húsavík, the neighbour village in 131 km distance. Among those six students to go to gymnasiums or other youth educational institutions 2 went to Akureyri, 3 went to Laugar and 1 to Húsavík. How this immediate situation will shape the future is uncertain.

Tracing young people and their mobility

Being small can sometimes be a benefit. Prior research consistent with the theory of reasoned action has demonstrated that migration intentions are a moderate to strong predictor of individual migration across a wide range of countries (Bjarnason, 2014). In the Nordic



Picture 5. Reflections during the Nordic youth assembly. Picture by Jonas Hrafn Ketter

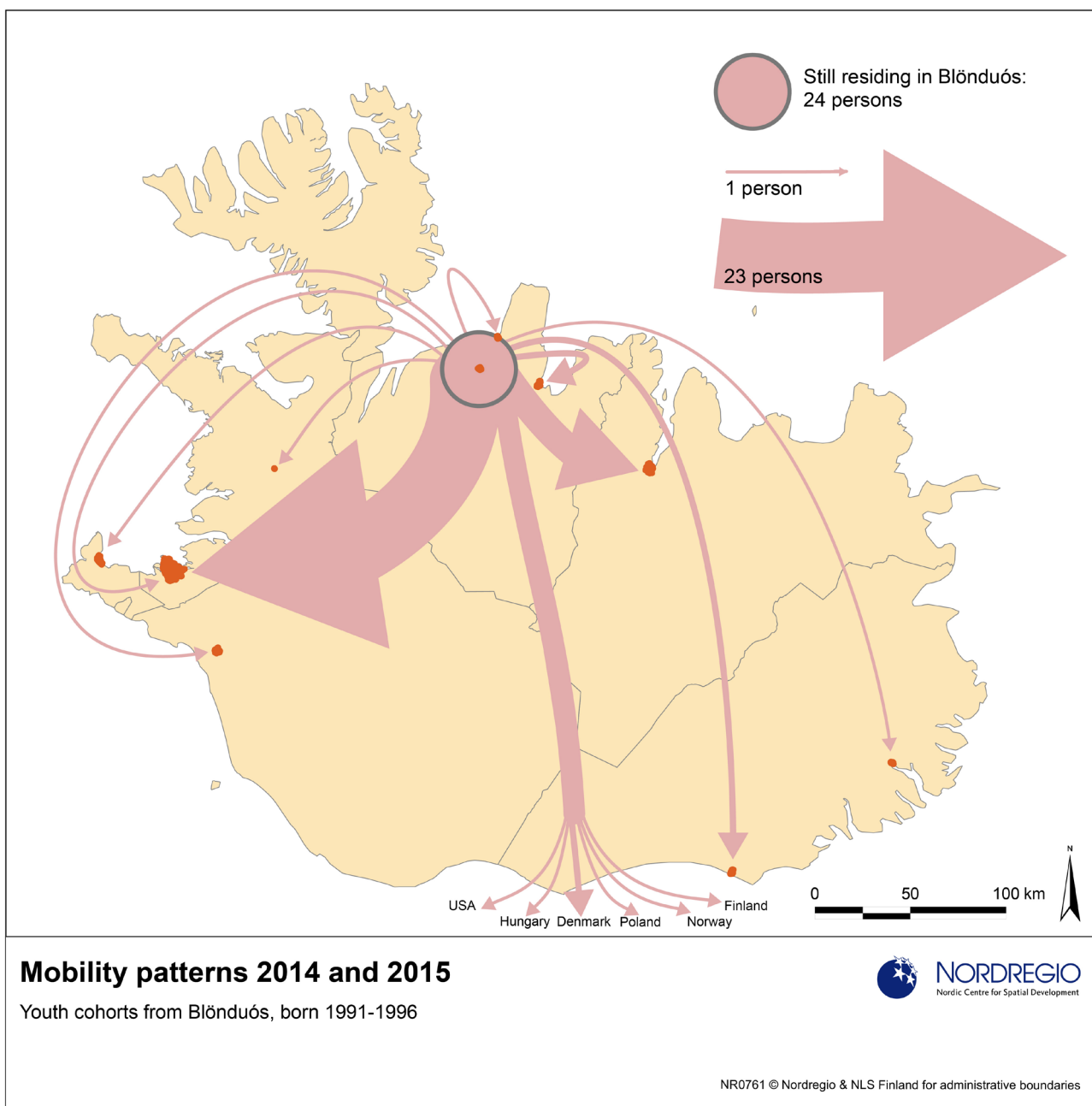
Arctic there is a clear gendered pattern where young people leave home to settle in more urban areas of the South (or other directions depending on geographical context). There is of course in every place historical contingency and therefore reasons for mobility can vary based on diverse conditions. With help of the local knowledge center in Blönduós and expertise from there, we traced the cohorts born 1989- 1996 of from the local schools in the region, comparing the national

registry and the voters list registration. They are now 20-25 years old. Most of them are registered at their parents house, even if they only live there in the summer months.

Sometimes studies have to look beyond the numbers, as in the case of this cohort meeting up in front of their old public school for a ten year reunion. These 38 young people growing up in Húsavík were born in 1990 and according to statistics that age group is fairly sta-

Figure 1. Tracing where the youth cohorts 1989-2006 went. Figure by Linus Rispling, Nordregio

By tracing individuals, cohorts and their mobility we found that majority of the young people resided elsewhere. A large majority had moved to the Capital region and also a large group had gone to Akureyri. Some people had settled in the Reykjanes area, and a few had gone to more remote places like Hrísey, and one to Reyðarfjörður. A small group of people had moved abroad and their countries of residence were primarily Norway, and Denmark and one in Finland.



bile. However when comparing the class from picture and the population this age in statistics, things did not match. Knowledgeable locals identified only around ten from this group still residing in Húsavík – but the number of inhabitants born 1990 according to the statistics was 26. This is therefore a case where numbers cannot only explain the settlement and migration dynamics of a people within and out of a region. In a broader perspective, one might claim that especially this age group tends to be mobile beyond what registration data and statistics would reveal (see also examples of mobility frequency from Greenlandic case).

ICT, social medias and their role

All informants use Facebook and to a varying degree perceive the internet and social media as crucial providers of information in their daily conduct.

Anna: “Even I use Facebook to be in contact with grandma”.

Alda is plugged on Facebook all the time via mobile phone, while Anna uses internet primarily to browse through facebook statuses and instagram after work hours, at night. She feels the net brings her news in her daily life. Some of the youth are using messenger systems frequently, even with people they are physically located with at the time of communication. Writ-

ten communication in a densified form transmitted digitally has become a common language. One of the young said: Skype is so 2008, I just use messenger. (22 year male).

Katla, who is a second generation immigrant feels she needs to be able to nurture relationships beyond borders, especially with relatives in Poland. In general the young people in Norðurþing, Þórshöfn and Austur-Húnavatnssýsla say that they are connected to people, for example, through Facebook both in Iceland and abroad. Especially in the other Nordic countries or in USA, Canada and the UK. Most of the connections with people abroad are relatives, parents, cousins or former school mates who now live there. This adds a personal window to the world and helps them envision how they themselves might be one of the foreign contacts one day.

Einar is very conscious about different etiquettes and behaviour protocols on the net, compared with face to face communication. He chats a lot on Facebook, so it is an extended social contact interface. He feels people expose themselves too often in an unfortunate manner, like that they are not aware that digital communication is an essentially different dimension than real life communication.

Guðrún tells that in her first year as an internet user, she was only allowed to use it when her mother was out

Picture 6. Reunion on a sunny day in Húsavík compared to population statistics 2011-2014, Picture: Anna Karlsdóttir



working. She uses the net for entertainment primarily and states she is not a frequent visitor of Facebook. She reads information and novels on the net and has discovered a world of authors who post their stories on the net. She follows them closely and feels she knows them. Googling is also a frequent activity.

In general it seems that ICT and use of social media and internet has become such an incorporated part of life that talking about it as a distinctive part of daily activities feels strange. The informants seem to have no problem navigating their lives through different dimensions. You might not be a top student but you can then be a legend in the MOBA games instead (a new gaming genre: multiplayer online battle arena). The choices associated with having multiple roles have become even more numerous with the technology development.

Akureyri as the place of choice in 10-15 years

From the interviews it is clear that if the informants future views will hold, urbanization will remain a driving force in population development in Iceland in years to come. Therefore it seems that for the youth at current time, Akureyri is seen as an urban alternative to the Capital region in S-W Iceland.

Many of their future expectations there involve a longing for a change and also the fact that Akureyri is closer to their own community and Husavik that they also mention often in connection with Akureyri. Quite a number of them repeat that their settlement would primarily be seasonal and that they would prefer residing in their own communities of upbringing if the opportunity was there. Family and parental belonging plays a role and it is a value often expressed in terms of importance of maintaining intergenerational relations and often phrased as „my people“. A dozen times across the interviews, Akureyri is mentioned as the favored place to acquire education, either on a secondary level or tertiary level. Some of the informants have already experienced being pupils in schools in Akureyri and therefore some of them know already the place and have experience living there. In the Nvivo analysis Akureyri was mentioned no less than 74 times.

Anna and Barbara (girls in the age of 17 and 23) mentioned Akureyri most often (13 times). All informants mentioned Akureyri. Some of them had gone to school there, especially gymnasium and the vocational training school center (Verkmenntaskóli). Others were starting tertiary education there. Urban living is a prevalent tendency in the future views of the youth interviewed.

Longings for a future

Many of the informants long for a life in many places – not one place. A few of them express that what they long for in the future is a free choice and that there is no peer pressure from parents, community or fellows. Educational preferences also indicate mobility choices in phrasing like: „I just want to specialize in something, you know – I really long to be out“ (in the meaning out of the community or out abroad)

„I just want to see something new. I really would like to travel“ (Adam, 17 year old male).

Barbara (23 year old female) talks mostly about her friend and what she longs for and what she does not long for after ended education at university in pharmaceuticals. Einar (22 year old male) talks mostly about his longings connected to a world travel he experienced a couple of years ago during a gap year. He got inspired by the different hemisphere's strokes and cultures and he feels this will define his future trajectory in life. Guðrún (18 year female) wishes to move to Reykjavik because she wants to become a geologist. However the dream seems a bit far ahead since she is struggling to complete gymnasium. She feels lonely in Akureyri where she tried to follow gymnasium but dropped out, but has begun again, and therefore her situation is uncertain and dependent. „I just wish to complete my studies“.

For the informants with dreams of staying and having a saying in their local community, there are various expressions aired. For example Brynhildur (18 year female) describes the hopes of her parents on her behalf, to get educated into a secure and financially rewarding



Picture 7. Young girl working in tourism service in Blönduós. Picture: Anna Karlsdóttir

job (she says her parents always have been struggling to get by because they have no specialised education). She, herself however indicates a desire to move out of the community; she is afraid to get stuck like her parents. She wants to see things change and would like to influence things locally but feels she only has a say as a voter. For Katla (18 year female), the family situation determines her choice. She indicates a longing to live somewhere else, but for the time being, she feels obliged to stay with her parents (that are immigrants) to help take care of younger siblings. *“I really don’t want to live here. I need to. Maybe I just want to live here..”*

Solveig (24 year female) is about to finish her undergraduate degree. After becoming more confident through studying, she articulates a desire to study for a PhD. *„PhD. You know I would like to take on that – I feel I am capable of taking on further education“.*

If that is not a venue in her life, she wants to apply her skills and knowledge to something worthwhile and productive in the community. For example, she could apply her knowledge to become an entrepreneur. However, the field is unclear.

Teitur (17 year old male) expresses longing for a steerman education. He says he is weighing pros and cons of different educational options in terms of future occupations and settlement possibilities. He feels the steerman education is more interesting than many other options. Partly because he has experience from working onboard smaller coastal fishing boats with his father. However, he clearly indicates that he is not heading for a small boat occupation. He expresses a longing to stay in the community but sees it as a meager possibility in terms of making a good living. He refers to his generation as caught in between wishes and realistic future perspectives.

Between possibilities and longings

Hanna (21 year old female) expresses a future place of stay, either in the small community she is raised in, or simply moving to Australia. Her Australian experience is from a student exchange down-under some years earlier. Therefore she talks about her family there as well as a determining factor for settlement choices. She has clear visions of working in the health care sector. Being a nurse would be fine, but because she has been struggling with school she is also looking at options for health and fitness sector jobs (for example a fitness trainer). If her dream comes true, becoming a nurse, it would limit her in settlement choices she reckons, since the small community she comes from is too small to



Picture 8. How can we interpret visions? Young participants and coach in Nordic youth meeting. Picture: Anna Karlsdóttir

hire a nurse. She feels she wants to keep her mother, siblings and relatives around her, but that is not entirely the case now. She feels that her hopes and dreams (keeping close relatives in near vicinity settlement wise) are unrealistic in future terms. She will in 15 years time be well travelled, and only then will she to settle down.

Multi locational settlement choices may be the future

Aldís feels it is important to gain experience from a different place than where you are born and raised. Her place is a small town in the proximity of where she is located now:

“Yes, I will be here...somewhere in a tiny town. Both in Iceland and elsewhere. I will also be here in this region.“ (Aldís, female 18 years).

Árni expresses a wish for multilocal settlement experiences. Here and there, and even abroad. *“I want to do something in a totally different place, maybe Reykjavik, maybe somewhere else.“ (17 year male).* Much of his extended family lives elsewhere in Iceland or abroad. He therefore feels he has rolemodels to help him envision what kind of places he would like to settle in.

Barbara feels the place will not be a permanent settlement location but more seasonal. People will prefer Húsavík in the summertime but move elsewhere in the winter time. All her siblings have already moved away – and they come occasionally for family and friends visits. She feels herself that she will be situated in a location where a medical/pharmaceutical company may reside (most likely the capital region).

Einar will in coming years visit and work in Africa or somewhere else abroad. He wants to gain experience in



Picture 9. 10th class school mates making cup-cake toppings in domestic science class. Picture: Anna Karlsdottir

development aid work and is educating himself in that direction.

Sunna says that one of the reasons for wanting to take on a geology study is motivated by the acknowledgement that professional geologists have a high degree of flexibility in choosing a place to live.

“Geologists can work everywhere, don’t you think?” (Sunna 19 year old female).

In the end she sees herself in a city abroad but she also mentions Akureyri as an alternative. She has overall a multilocational preference.

Changes in the Arctic and climate change

The vivid and increasingly noticable discussion on the changes in the Arctic and the prospects related to the North are relevant questions to pose young people who will be in their prime as decisionmakers and mobilizers of the society in the decades to come. In terms of associated business possibilities linked to effects of increased natural resource extraction in the region, most of the informants feel it is not important. Even if they reckon those prospects may have deep-seated effect on the communities, they feel it will not impact them personally.

For Iceland the discussion of plans related to the assumed boom in the Arctic is related to contested plans on building a hub-port in the North East, by Finnaþfjörður or Reyðarfjörður. Also oil drilling and extraction activities have been prospected in the Dreki area, NE of Iceland, and in Húsavík a very heated political debate has been on what future industry prospects would hold. They would involve either an aluminium smelter (plans now revised) or Silica plant (now on the plan).

None of those rank as prominent images in the minds of the informants in this case study. One of the informants responds to the question about industry development in Húsavík by saying: *“It is just a very tired debate that has split this community into divisions.”* One informant responds to the question with:

“I just feel our community is in rapid decline. I mean it is as the larger communities increase in size and those who are fairly established, but the small towns are slowly rotting.”

In the perspective of daily life locally or regionally – climate change seems like an abstract construction that they have not devoted much thought to.

One informant feels that the prospect for a Silica plant is not favorable, but put in perspective of declining job opportunities in the fishing industry, the need for jobs overshadows visions for what might benefit the town in the long run.

One informant responds with scepticism on the prospects related to the Arctic becoming a high activity region economically and having an affect locally.

“I don’t think people are prone to believe in changes for the better here, until it is proved by action.”

Summary

The case study involved over 147 people in the age between 16 and 25. 14 were interviewed in-depth, 112 were traced in their settlement mobility from age 16 to current age, by comparing registries and selections of those were informally interviewed (some by phone). Participatory observation and informal interviewing was conducted among 21 adolescents in youth clubs.

On the background of declining populations in

smaller North Icelandic communities, the young generation express doubts about living and working there. However, informants are stuck between their dreams and what they feel is realizable.

Mobility is a necessary means to realise themselves either through education, or vocational training or labour related experience elsewhere. The young people are laid back about this condition in their life, while the regional authorities are preoccupied with keeping the young people in the communities during secondary education, even if it is not possible in some of the places with most rapid decline in youth population.

The frame of reference in terms of settlement choices and strategies is way beyond national borders. As an example of that, countries faraway like Australia and those on the African continent are mentioned as places of choice for the next ten-twenty years in their life phase. While most of the youth say they will definitely move elsewhere, predominantly to an urban area, many of them express a longing to somehow move back to their place of origin, when they have settled and established their grown up life.

The North Icelandic youth's mobility patterns will be determined by educational choices and professional fields. While many of them are conducting or will conduct a long tertiary education in various disciplines, strikingly few of them express aspirations in the direction of the employment fields that reside in the region, for example in primary occupations (fisheries or farming) or in tourism services (a growing field of employment everywhere in Iceland) or for vocational training. Discussions of resource exploitation or prospects of new large scale industries to boost employment choices do not interest them and they are far away from identifying with other Arctic people. They feel more like global citizens, if anything.

In 20-25 years Iceland will be even more urbanised than in 2015, with the majority of the nation living and working in the capital region, and the only other real urban alternative domestically is Akureyri in the North. The young people will have gained experience from abroad in various locations and brought back those experiences to benefit their field of profession in Iceland. Only a small minority of the Icelandic youth imagine that their permanent residence will be abroad for the entire future to come.

Sámi Youth Struggling for rights and Recognition

By May-Britt Öhman



Map 5. Case study areas. Map: Linus Rispling, Nordregio

Field work sites Sábmme – Swedish part

This part of the report, about the Sámis in Northern Sweden, is different in approach from the others. The youth were not asked directly for their future vision; instead this is a case study built up on experience and observations. The emphasis is on the history and how it has changed the lives of Sámi's and affected the youth's future possibilities in Sábmme.

The case studies from Northern Sweden encompass the period from 2013-2014 and were conducted in following areas.

2014: Kalix and Torne river valleys; mainly Gällivare, Malmberget, and Kiruna - Jukkasjärvi. Field study (Please see methodology below)

2014: Ume river valley 1) Tärnaby area and 2) Umeå city

2014, 2013: Lule river valley, mainly Jokkmokk and Luleå. Also the Gállok protests summer 2013, followed by protests through online media, presentations, artist work.

2014: Råne river valley, a forest Sámi community, Granträsk.

Furthermore explorations were made digitally on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Youtube.

These studies are combined with experience from continuous exchange with Sámi, and personal experiences and memories from different parts of Sábmme – the major focus is on Lule River Valley, but information was also gathered through online media and personal encounters from other areas. However, main focus is on the Swedish side.

Yoik and indigenous Methodologies

With a disciplinary background in history, more detailed in history of Science and technology as a main field, combined with feminist technoscience, decolonizing perspectives and indigenous methodologies, our approach is colored by various perspectives.

The Sámi tradition of yoiking is both the inspira-

tion and method for this section. This is a method that can be seen as an “Indigenous Methodology” which has many important traits. One of the most important traits of Indigenous Methodologies is the recognition of Indigenous people, along with their territories and animals, being traumatized and disrupted by earlier and ongoing colonization by the modern Nation States. This recognition is followed by the work, by me, the researcher, to contribute to both acting up against this colonial situation and also doing my best to contribute to the healing of traumatized Indigenous people, fellow humans, and nature:

I argue that Aboriginal women need to define what empowerment might mean to themselves and I suggest re-empowerment as an act of Aboriginal women's healing and resistance to the on-going processes and impacts of colonization. (Fredericks 2010:546)

In my work I draw on my personal experience, as Sámi, my memories and my connection to the places in Sábmme, in the Lule River valley and Jokkmokk in particular, in an ego-histoire inspired methodology. This includes drawing on my insights and understandings as a Sámi person and scholar. Not many years of my life have passed without me spending at least a week in Jokkmokk. In 1999, when I started my doctoral thesis, I started coming here more often. Since 2008 I have been spending about two-three months per year in the area distributed over the whole year. My research has become part of my everyday life, a research both on hydropower regulations and on my own family history and Sámi heritage. This in combination with the everyday Facebook interactions have further increased the blurring of boundaries between my life as a researcher and the rest of my life.

The ego-histoire approach, as suggested by Nora (1989) asks the historian to look back at themselves and to write the Self into their work. Nora's (1989) work of “lieux de mémoire” – sites of memory forms part of my approach, as the idea that memories, history, is always connected to places and contexts and fits with the Indigenous connection to land. This methodology pairs well with the Sami tradition of Yoiking.

Yoik is a verbal art, mixing spoken word and songs (Stoor 2007). My yoik is in this case written word. My yoik is born out of my frustrations over the losses of

¹When I started my PhD research in January 1999, I also started looking into the Lule River, studying the hydropower exploitation in this river, my home river. First as a way to understand hydropower plants better and later on I started drawing some parallels to the exploitations in Tanzania. See Öhman and Sandström, 2004, and also in my PhD Thesis, Öhman 2007.

memory, history, language, territories and waters – losses that I and my fellow Sámi face. My frustration is both over these losses and also the continued way Sámi people are made invisible within the current Swedish, Fenno-Scandinavian, European, and also International academic systems. During my 12 years of schooling in the 1970s and 80s, Sami history was never even mentioned. In the 1990s, as an undergraduate university student I was never introduced to any studies, not even one single article, paper or lecture, about Sámi history within any of my university courses. Today, having received my PhD and working within the academic system, when I talk with colleagues, friends and family I realize that almost nothing has changed.

I construct my yoik with other people's narratives, yoiks and stories – consisting of verbal communications as well as documents, books from both inside and outside academia, complimented with my own personal experiences and memories from my time as a student, PhD Student, scholar and as a Sámi activist. I draw in particular on my research since 2008 focusing on the Lule River valley and the inhabitants from different aspects. Some of this work is described in Öhman (2007).

My sources are interviews, participatory observations, personal communications, both in person and in the cyberspace. I have made several interviews and I also keep a log book with entries since June 2008. I have organized three workshops in Jokkmokk, April, May and July 2013, to which local people attend to discuss different aspects on mining. As part of the participatory observations I have been present in social media, to a major part in different Facebook groups as these have become significant means both for mobilizing local resistance against mining in Jokkmokk as well as offering general discussions about mining from late 2011 and onwards.

I communicate via Facebook, both with persons questioning and opposing mining exploitations, as well as persons promoting mining, since summer 2012. This communication has taken place both on the open groups, on an everyday basis, as well as in personal direct exchange when visiting Jokkmokk and during the workshops. In particular I have been involved in the Facebook group “Inga gruvor i Jokkmokk” (No Mines in Jokkmokk) set up November 30, 2011, by Tor Lundberg Tuorda. In July 2013 the group transferred to “Gruvfritt Jokkmokk” (Mine Free Jokkmokk).

I joined the “Inga gruvor” group on July 11, 2012. Another Facebook group that I have been part of in discussions regarding mining in Jokkmokk is “Gruva i Jokkmokk Ja eller Nej” -Mine in Jokkmokk Yes or No – where the majority of the participants writing are

pro-mining. I joined in September 2012, and left in July 2013. Since then, more people who are against mining have started writing there. Both groups are “open”, meaning that their content is open to view even without being a member of the group, although it requires membership of Facebook. When I entered these groups I presented myself and my background, both as a researcher and also my family background/relationship to Jokkmokk.

I explained that I am a researcher and that I would make use of discussions and interactions within my ongoing research work. I made my position regarding mining in Jokkmokk clear, stating that as an expert on dam safety issues – I consider it very risky to place an open-pit mine next to an already regulated river, and that I do not think that whatever can be gained in terms of local employment opportunities during 20 to 40 years can make up for extreme risks for water pollution and dam failures (June 8, 2013).

I also follow updates on Instagram (since mid 2014) and on Twitter since mid-2013. Furthermore, I combine my own political activism with my research. In 2011, I was asked to become deputy member of board of the Swedish Sámi National Association, SSR, and then since 2013 a full member. I am, since 2011, a member of the board of a Sámi cultural association, with focus on a particular place, Rödingsträsk (Lule River valley), Silbonah Samesijdda. In 2013, I was asked to run for the Sámi Parliament on the Swedish side, and I am now deputy member of the Parliament. I tell people I work as a researcher; I use my research funds to bring activists to academic meetings, in Uppsala and also to the Native American and Indigenous Studies annual meeting.

I have aimed to work in a decolonizing manner, working proactively for Indigenous self-determination in my approach, both on Facebook and in personal encounters. Amongst other points, I have highlighted historical facts of colonization and the impacts on the local livelihood, on the interpretation of industrial exploitation and how different understandings of industrialization – and colonization - have resulted in an escalation of conflicts.

In regard to youth in particular, I find it a bit odd to separate the age groups. In the Sámi society it is important to learn from the elders; we live together, and we learn together. However, since this project was initiated I have made more effort to in particular focus on the age group from 15 to 35 years old.

In this report I will focus in particular on my experiences from exchanges with people from this age group, and the major focus is on Sámi youth. That means, Sámi who self identify as Sámi. I have also engaged

with people within the age group who are not Sámi but who have been activists in the challenge of the destruction of Sámi territory, like the Gállok protests in 2013.

Historical background to current mentality

Despite the recognition of us, the Sámi, as an Indigenous People by the Swedish Parliament in 1977 and the establishment of the Swedish Sámi Parliament in 1993 (and similar developments in the neighbouring States of Norway and Finland), Samis are still made invisible – invisibilised. Their history, culture, languages, traditions are to a large extent erased from academia, from the books of the whole school system, within museums, as well as from the society in general. In the few exceptional cases when Sámi history is displayed, Samis are commonly framed as either victims or the Other : as exotic human beings whose traditions are about to disappear. We are described as a vanishing culture, in ways similar to many other Indigenous Peoples in colonized territories around the world.³

Current fights and struggles of the Sámi must be understood, including my own personal struggles from historical perspective. The following incidences have shaped the troubled relations from a Sami point of view:

1) The theft of territories by administrative measures, turning lands owned by Sámi into State property during the late 19th century. (Kvist 1994; Lundmark 2008).

2) Sámi were already being recruited as forced labor for mining projects in the 17th century. In Alkavare, Kedkevare, Nasafjäll Sámi were recruited in large numbers. When disobeying a corporal punishment could be used, such as flogging, beating and also being dragged in water, possibly under the ice of frozen lakes in wintertime as punishment for disobedience (Kvist 1994; Sörlin 2002: 78; Lundmark 2008).

3) Forced dislocations - for example of North Sámi from Karesuando southwards, after the dissolution of the union with Norway in 1905 – disrupting of the ways of life of both the receiving Sámi communities and the displaced Sámi communities, and thereby cre-

ating never-ending conflicts between these two groups of Sámi. (Kvist 1994; Udtja Lasse 2010; Marainen 1996; Lantto 2010; Ekerlid 2013) Moreover, illegal (by International law standards) State-border-based reindeer grazing conventions between Sweden and Norway disrupted traditional reindeer, and thus Sámi, migration routes (Udtja Lasse 2010).

4) Numerous different laws creating sharp categorizations between Swedes and Sámi according to reindeer owning rights, ultimately resulting in conflicts and court processes over land rights and compensations between relatives. A feature of these Reindeer Grazing Acts, as pointed out by ethnology professor Hugh Beach (1997) and Sámi scholar of Ethnology Dr. Christina Åhrén (2008) was the beginning of a series of fractional divisions of the Sámi, leading to a situation of conflicts between different groups – the main dividing line being between those that own reindeer and those that do not own reindeer. The first Reindeer Grazing Act of 1886 focused the right to reindeer grazing, hunting and fishing only for reindeer-herding Sámi. However, all Sámi were still free to do herding as they wished. These rights were restricted under the Reindeer Grazing Acts of 1928 and 1971, and the Sámi rights of herding, fishing and hunting, were thereafter considered privileges granted by a benevolent State (Beach 1997; Borchert 2001; Åhrén 2008; Silversparf 2014).

5) Hydropower exploitations, which have turned most of the major river courses in Sábmme into staircases, with reservoirs and dry beds, also making the now regulated water courses and lakes more dangerous both for humans and animals (Öhman 2007 and 2014). Åsa Össbo in her doctoral dissertation - which is the first major academic work analyzing the history of hydropower exploitations in Sábmme from a postcolonial perspective – summarizes the consequences: “The transformed landscape aggravated reindeer herding as grazing grounds, migration routes, settlements and, areas for collecting berries and shoe-hay were inundated. Fishing became a harsh and unsafe activity, the catch often deteriorated both in quality and quantity. Cultural landscapes disappeared or changed, and new methods for land-use affected reindeer herding and the

³ I use the term “invisibilisation” as a direct translation from the Swedish word “osynliggörande” – which means the act of making someone invisible. In the Scandinavian academic context “osynliggörande” is commonly applied within discussions and analyses of gendered power structures – referring to a phenomenon where social and economic activities performed by women are being neglected or made invisible, declared unimportant or even ridiculed (Ås 1979). Invisibilisation has been used by several other scholars in similar discussions on nation-states vis-a-vi Indigenous Peoples and ethnic minorities. For instance drawing on Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 354) Haig (2003:123) defines the concept as follows: “‘Invisibilisation’ is the deliberate removal, or concealment, of the overt signs of the existence a particular culture, with the aim of rendering that culture invisible. It is part of logic of invisibilisation that the policy and its implementation remain covert, because overt formulation would mean increased visibility”. See also Öhman 2007: 52ff.



Picture 10. *Technology and tradition on the road near Rensjön. Picture: Anna Karlsdottir.*

complementing livelihoods” (Össbo 2014: 261)

6) Destruction of reindeer grazing lands, water quality and landscapes that serve as mental resting places. State-sponsored clear-fell forestry, leave a barren, logged area rather than applying forestry practice which leaves the forest with all its ecological, cultural, emotional and personal significance for the inhabitants, human and non-human to enjoy (see for example Sörlin 2002; Sandström and Widmark 2007; S. Mikaelsson 2012).

7) Recently wind farms have been developed across Sábmme. They constitute yet another major intrusion in reindeer grazing lands, where the quest for renewable resources falsely is considered unproblematic. For further discussion on this topic see for example Sasvari and Beach 2011; Helldin et al. 2012 and Berglund 2013.

8) Testing of capacities for nuclear bombs in the 1950s and 60s, and since then military training fields taking up ground and air space, and the inviting of all interested foreign military to train in Sábmme (See for example Sommarström 1991; Wallerius 2011; Öhman and Mikaelsson 2014; Thunqvist 2014). In 2001 the Vidsel Test Range, controlled by the government Administration for Defense Material (Försvarets Materielverk, FMV) and the Esrange Space Centre (owned by the State owned Swedish Space Corporation, SSC) were combined into the North European Aerospace Test range, NEAT. It is the largest land base test area

in Europe, located on the Swedish side of Sábmme. On their websites the state owned companies invite foreign customers to test their military equipment in “restricted air and ground space” with “no population” (FMV). SSC welcomes both domestic and foreign customers with the following words: “With 24,000 km² restricted airspace and 3,300 km² restricted ground space we provide this unique vast restricted overland airspace to our customers. The terrain is varying and consists of forests, fields, bogs, lakes, hills and low mountains” (SSC). Tests are performed throughout the year, often with short notice for the people living in the area to evacuate (Öhman and Mikaelsson 2014).

9) A State-supported policy for the protection of predators, which thrive in reindeer herding areas, where the hunting of these predators by Sámi reindeer herders leads to prosecution, and whereas compensations for the loss of reindeer due to these predators do not cover the actual losses (Beach 1997; Jonsson et al. 2012).

10) From 1913 to 1962 Sámi children were separated from the families and taken to specific residential/boarding schools, where the use of Sámi language was prohibited by law (See for example Henrysson and Lind 1992; Lundmark 2008).

11) Current mining ventures are disrupting reindeer grazing lands and poisoning water resources and endangering nearby high risk dams and thereby risk-

ing the health and live of thousands of local inhabitants (Lawrence 2009; Lundberg Tuorda 2014; Persson and Öhman 2014; Öhman et al. 2013)

12) From the end of the 1600s until the 1900s representatives of the Swedish State Church – the Church of Sweden – destroyed Sámi traditional cultural and religious practices, by banning the yoik and religious practices and noaidis (shamans) and also devastated Sámi sacred sites and drums (See Rydving 1993; Granqvist 2004; Virdi Kroik 2007). In 2006, the Church of Sweden published an inquiry regarding the historical and current relationship between the Church of Sweden and the Sámi, in which the authors recognized the participation in the colonization of the Sámi and suggested amongst other recommendations, that an apology was made (Ekström and Schött 2006). No apology has so far been issued by the highest representatives of the Church of Sweden. Sámi traditional religious practices are not officially condemned by the church but neither are they accepted by all representatives (Svenska Kyrkan 2012).

13) Since the 1600s Sámi human remains (and also important Sámi cultural and religious artifacts) have been collected by representatives of Swedish institutions and museums. The Swedish Sámi Parliament demanded in 2007 that the Sámi human remains be returned and reburied in their respective areas of origin (Västerbottens Museum). By 2014, despite years of discussions and the identification of more human remains, this request has not been granted (Enoksson 2007; Ojala 2009; Heikki 2011). Furthermore in the late 19th and early 20th century research on Sámi (and also ethnic minority groups such as Jewish people and Roma people) in Sweden was pursued with an in particularly open racist ideology. The Sámi were Othered through skull and body measurements and photographic documentation. For this ‘research’ Sámi human remains, skulls and skeletons, were plundered from graveyards - in the end of the 19th and the early 20th century. In 1922 the Swedish Parliament, Riksdagen, passed a law setting up the National Institute of Racial Biology, the first national institute of its kind in the world, in Uppsala. The aim of this institute was to procure “genuine” skulls of the Sámi race as material for the racial biological research. (Ojala 2009:242). The Institute was not closed until 1958 (Hagerman 2006). This is a painful – and suppressed - part of Sámi history, which only now starts to be discussed from a Sámi perspective by the artist Katarina Pirak Sikku, in her exhibition named “Nammaláphán” (Pirak Sikku 2014). The photographs for the Institute of Racial Biology are still available to the public on request at the Uppsala University library. The photos – although not the nude

photos – are currently being digitalized and also posted online on the Uppsala University library website, and can be delivered upon request to anyone in digital version or as photo within 5-10 working days. (Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek).

Piling up this Sámi history, a history of oppression and abuses is a painful task. It hurts to write about it. Most Sámi already know about these events. Being reminded, and at the same time witnessing how the colonization is currently even reinforced, brings about feelings of hopelessness and devastation. I feel the consequences of these events and aggressions on Sámi livelihood and culture in my own body; it is a cacophony of feelings of anger, shame, sadness, vindictiveness.

The cacophony of feelings is not only mine; members from my Sámi network who know I am working on this chapter ask me to mention the suicides among Sámi people and the reindeer herders in particular. It is an issue which has been given more attention recently through studies and through very recent tragic events as young Sámi reindeer herders give up, not being able to stand the pressures. Lotta Omma, Sámi and PhD of psychology describes it:

“Severe circumstances and experience of ethnicity-related bad treatment seems to contribute to increased levels of suicidal plans and attempts in subgroups of Sami” (Omma 2013).

To me this is not just colonization. I feel that what has happened and continues to happen is genocide. But I need to strengthen myself, to not fall into despair. I listen to Lovisa, a young Sámi artist. So I ask you to listen with me to the song and yoik by Lovisa Negga, in Lule Sámi, Mihá ja Gievrra - Proud and Strong: Gut duoss-tel álggusittjat, Ja bálos gieladimev, Ane dal gielav, divna tjoavdá dân - You feel insignificant but will last forever, The one who dares say something, Will defend the mute, So use your voice, and free us all...(Negga, 2013)

I draw on Sámi traditions, on my akku - my foremothers - to talk back, talking back to the Empire - I am talking back and claiming space, memory, place, sovereignty, waters, land, my body and belonging. I breathe. I collect strength to go on. Proud and Strong!

Challenges in defining a youth group

I find that the main challenge is to define what group to approach, and on what basis. “Youth” is indeed a diverse group, whose only common denominator is their

age. However, I have opted to focus on in particular the Sámi youth, on the Swedish side. The major common denominator is the urgent fight against an even more aggressive colonial nation state, which is threatening their future. Many Sámi youth, and also non-Sámi, have engaged in the struggle to fight against this new colonization.

The colonization is performed through mining exploitations – prospecting – but also other industrial ventures and state driven policies.

I have chosen to approach different groups of Sámi, forest Sámi (which is my own background), mountain Sámi, reindeer herding Sámi and also Sámi who are outside of the reindeer herding due to a segregation policy by the Swedish state. (Amft 2002; Åhrén 2008)

Influence from zeitgeist on ambitions

If discussing the "zeitgeist", what is indeed of importance is the ongoing mining exploitations in the whole of Sábmme (throughout Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia). The Sámi community is actively engaging in the struggle against the destruction of reindeer grazing, calving and migration lands, as well as for other uses of the lands and waters, prominent in a Sámi way of life. There is a strong support also from other, non-Sámi youth, who has come to the support in Gállok during 2013, and since then worked alongside the Sámi. There is a strong connection with the struggle against mining in the Swedish island of Gotland, between Sámi and "Gutar" (people living in Gotland).

The ambition is to preserve the lands and waters, for reindeer herding, for fishing, for being able to drink the water, and to not become dependent on mining companies for salaries, and then abandoned – as with the hydropower era. There are many lessons learned, from the large scale hydropower era and the opposition, (1950s-1990s) which is now passed on to the younger generations.

Many reindeer herding Sámi, both men and women, are actively engaging in these struggles, through different means- both in person and online.

I do need to mention those youth that are promoting mining exploitations. They do indeed exist, and there are also Sámi who are promoting mining exploitations. However, the majority of those are not self-identifying as Sámi, and are not living the traditional lifestyle, and seem to be dependent on salary work for their future.

Since the Gállok protests against a planned iron-ore mine in 2013, however, a lot of things have changed. Along with the apparent failures of tailing dams (in



Picture 11. *How do I fit into those visions? Swedish participant in the Nordic meeting. Picture:Jonas Hrafn Ketter*

Talvivaara for instance) and down streak of mineral values, there is a change in attitudes. Also several earlier pro-miners seem to have changed opinion. It has become okay to question mining as a value, even in already existing mining towns (like Kiruna). This change I have seen over the last year.

Social medias and perceptions

I am quite sure that the sharing of information over social media has contributed extensively to changes of attitudes. There is both a knowledge sharing, and the ongoing protests, along with discussions in different foras. The mining protesters are strengthening and supporting each other.

The pictures drawn by media of the transformation processes in the Arctic are various. Whether they have influenced the perceptions and interest of the youth in the region is, however, uncertain. As a researcher I cannot draw those conclusions because it means that I would need to know what their interests were before the mining exploitations became a big issue. I can only see that when I was analysing and interviewing the hydropower exploitations in the Lule River, that was more or less a "dead issue", or a lost struggle. No one seemed to believe that it is a possibility to change. With the Gállok protests, the change is considered both possible and necessary. Today, in the Swedish national elections, two Sámi persons within the age group (Henrik Blind, 35 years old and Hanna Sofie Utsi, 32, are on the list for "Miljöpartiet" – for the Swedish parliament. I am not sure, but I doubt that they would have been engaging in politics had it not been for the mining protests.

Changes in family structures and impact on settlement intentions

Sámi have always moved around, whether forced by the Swedish state (the forced dislocations in the 20th century, see Marainen, 1996), by poverty – also due to Swedish state policy, or as becoming "Swedish" and forced to live by monetary economy, and thus moving. Returning to the homeland, traditional land is however very strong for most Sámi. Another issue, in particular, is to be "left alone", which is about being able to live the life as the earlier generations.

One thing I have seen is that it is the positive attitudes towards women as reindeer herders have been strengthened over the last decade. Earlier, up to the mid-20th century, Sámi reindeer herding families lived together, moving together – with the reindeer. Due to hydropower exploitations and other intrusions, this has become difficult. The man has become the norm in reindeer herding, and the woman has generally been earning salary elsewhere. Now, at least I estimate a change. Because I am not from a reindeer herding family, it is difficult for me to see if it is an actual change, or if this was the case earlier. Also, there is a difference between the different Sámi communities.

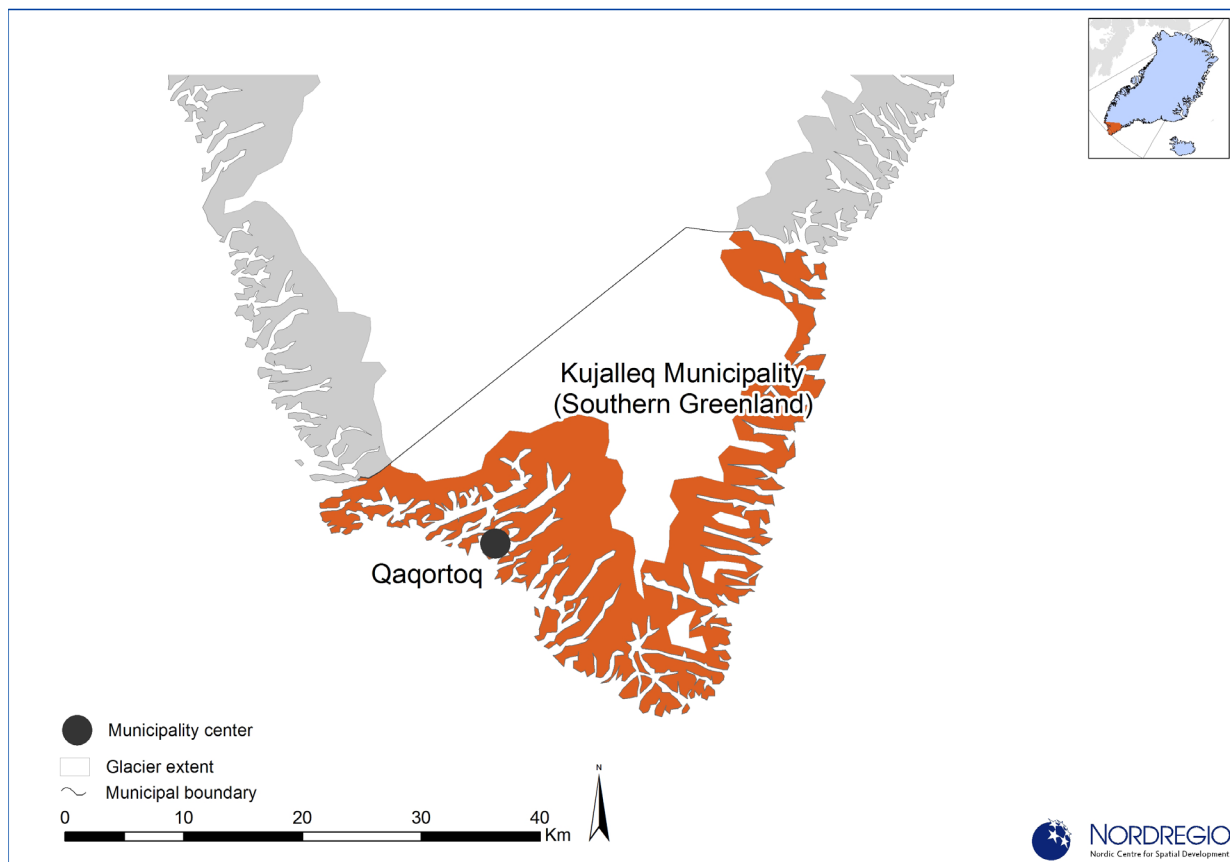
Summary

Sámi youth participating in the study articulate how their historical background with colonization and suppressions still affect them today. Although many changes have taken place, this study reveals how many of the young people from the Sámi group are not being acknowledged. The continuous search for economic prosperity through mining exploitations causes major concern among the Sámi community. They have a strong fear that this industrial development will threaten their livelihood. The ambition of young Sámis is to preserve land and water: for reindeer herding, for fishing, and for being able to drink the water.

The Sámi community illustrate how social media platforms can be used for empowerment purposes in policy issues concerning land use in North Sweden. Social media also provides connection to non-Sámi youth who are supporting the work of ensuring Sámi people acquire rights and recognition. This also indicates how young Sámis today are a mixed group where cooperation is less about ethnicity and instead based on shared values and future visions.

Mobility Trends Among the Youth in South Greenland

By Lisbeth Greve Harbo, Nordregio and Leneisja Jungsberg, Nordregio



Map 6. Case study areas. Map: Linus Rispling, Nordregio

Introduction

This Greenlandic contribution has analysed responses from 32 young people, focusing on their mobility and their reasons for choosing to move residence or (in some cases) refrain from moving. The majority of the respondents originate from Kujalleq Municipality in Southern Greenland but four of the respondents are from settlements in East Greenland.

The survey takes its point of departure from a study on mobility that was conducted in 2008. Back then all

the youth in the final year of school were asked to fill out a survey. In the villages, it was young people from primary school, while in the towns it was secondary school. The age of the respondents six years ago ranged from 12-32 years old.

Each respondent was asked if the researcher would be allowed to contact them again, and 176 accepted this. It was possible to locate phone numbers for about half of these here in 2014, and at this point in time, it was possible to conduct a new survey with a total of 32 respondents. While not a large proportion of the

original 176 respondents, and not a representative subsample of the original survey, it is estimated that the 32 comprise a reasonable diversity which makes it interesting to look into the trends their answers show.

The 32 respondents were interviewed by phone in the language of their choice (Greenlandic or Danish) and all 32 interviews were conducted by the same interviewer. Without pursuing an equal division between male and female respondents it still resulted in 17 male and 15 female answers. Among the 32 respondents, their age spans from 21 to 34 years old.

The data consists of answers from a questionnaire combining structured and open-ended questions. The various answers have been categorized, and afterwards answers by the respondents from the categories have been calculated. The method is inspired by others who have worked with quantifying qualitative answers (Collingridge 2013). The survey participants were asked a number of questions identical to the previous study as well as questions on their mobility pattern since the last survey was conducted. The outcome of this latter part is the main topic of this chapter.

Education in the Greenlandic context

Kujalleq municipality consists of 3 towns and 11 smaller villages of varying sizes. The total population in the municipality is approximately 7000 people. All villages offer schooling until the pupils are approximately 13 years old and to continue in school, the village pupils have to finalise the last years of secondary school in one of the towns. Only one of the villages (Alluitsup Paa) also offers schooling until 8th grade (when the pupils are 14), and hereafter the pupils move to one of the towns to continue 9th grade. In some cases the pupils also move before they are 13 years old if the villages don't have enough pupils for the older classes. When moving to the nearest town to finalise their education, the children are usually boarding in a dormitory or living with (extended) family members.

The first nine years of schooling are obligatory in Greenland, but most continue to year 10 and afterwards begin studying at the vocational school ('Erhvervsskole'), high school ('Gymnasium'), or business high school ('Handelsskolen'). Before continuing after secondary school, many students attend another central educational institution, which in Greenlandic is named Piareersarfik. At Piareersarfik, the students receive guidance on their choice of education; to improve their grades from primary school they can follow 10th

grade supplementary courses, as well as preparatory courses for vocational schools.

In Kujalleq Municipality the students can access Piareersarfik in the three towns Narsaq, Nanortalik and Qaqortoq. If the Students want to attend secondary school such as high school this is possible in Qaqortoq (or in Sisimiut, Aasiat, or Nuuk). At Campus Kujalleq in Qaqortoq, approximately 400 students are enrolled at high school, business school, an arctic guide training programme and many different vocational educations.

Narsaq and Nanortalik also offer some vocational school training, and in Narsaq students can also study at the Food and Technology Industrial School which offer a number of different programs within this field. In Upernaviarsuk, a village near Qaqortoq, the Industrial Sheep Farming School can be found. Most vocational and industrial schools combine core courses with practical training, and very often the practical training takes place in another village or city than where the courses are offered. To become enrolled at a vocational educational school, it requires that students have preliminary approval from a company or public institution where they can do an internship for the modules consisting of practical training.

Whenever the economy is declining, it affects the students' opportunities to get an internship and thereby to become enrolled at a vocational school. To increase chances to get an internship, one opportunity could also include moving to another country while engaging in practical training. The lack of internship opportunities can in some periods reduce the number of students in some branches of studies at the vocational schools. Kujalleq Municipality also facilitate opportunities for student internships by requesting interns to be included in tenders for e.g. construction work.

Education beyond vocational school will generally have to be sought outside of Kujalleq municipality, typically in Nuuk or Denmark. Below is a brief presentation of some of the central higher educational institutions in Greenland:

- Ilisimatusarfik/The University in Nuuk offers a range of academic educations such as social studies, language, culture, history, literature and media as well as a professional bachelor's degree for education, teaching, social work and child and youth worker.

- Perorsaanermik Ilinniarfik /Social Pedagogue Training College in Ilulissat offer professional bachelor degrees for social pedagogue and education. They also have a variety of distance learning courses which make it possible for people living and working in a village to follow the education online.

- Teknikimik Ilinniarfik/Tech College in Nuuk and Sisimiut offer specialised education within construc-

tion, mechanics and engineering work and a bachelor in mining and raw material extraction.

- Peqqissaanermik Ilinniartarfik/School for Health Service in Nuuk offer educations to become a nurse, emergency rescuer for e.g. ambulances, health care assistants and clinic assistants.

- Imarsiornermik Ilinniartarfik/Greenlands Maritime Center has departments in Nuuk, Paamiut, Umanaq and offer a range of education within navigation, naval officer and the fishing industry.

Some young people choose to enrol at a high school abroad, and schools in United States and Canada are in general the most popular options. It is also common to take a year at an independent boarding school for lower secondary students or at a semester at a folk high school in Denmark or Greenland. Generally, the Greenlandic educational system is established in a way which entails that many young students are obliged to move for part of the education system. If the students are from a small village they might need to move when they are 12 or 13 years old to finish the last years of secondary schooling. Continuing to a vocational school, a business school or an industrial school can cause many students to move once again to those cities where these programs are offered. Practical training and intern-

ships are also likely to take place in a different city than where the courses take place. If the students wish to continue at studies beyond secondary school they are likely to move again to pursue an education they find interesting.

Being mobile as a response to pursue an education

This section will present the mobility patterns of 32 young persons from Kujalleq Municipality. The survey illustrates a notably high degree of mobility. In total, 29 of the respondents, which correspond to 91 percent, have moved residence within the last six years. Three respondents currently live the same place as where they lived six years ago but two of these have both moved once or twice and they have, thereby, also been mobile.

On average, the young people have moved three times during the last six years. A few respondents have moved six, seven or eight times, but the large majority has moved between two and five times. Since this statistic is based on interviews with the respondents, the number is likely to be slightly higher since some respondents have answered either “don’t remember” or “don’t know”.

Picture 12. Youthful play in the mountains around Nanortalik. Photo by Leneisja Jungsberg



Example of mobility record for one respondent

Period <u>2007</u>	Place <u>Narsaq</u>	Reason for moving <u>(no answer)</u>
Period <u>2007-2008</u>	Place <u>Qaqortoq</u>	Reason for moving <u>(no answer)</u>
Period <u>2008-2011</u>	Place <u>Frederikshavn, DK</u>	Reason for moving <u>Sports High School</u>
Period <u>2011-2012</u>	Place <u>Somaliland</u>	Reason for moving <u>Work</u>
Period <u>2012 (½ year)</u>	Place <u>Narsaq</u>	Reason for moving <u>Work</u>
Period <u>2012-2014</u>	Place <u>Nuuk and Sisimiut</u>	Reason for moving <u>Courses and Practical Training</u>

Box 1. Mobility record for a respondent from South Greenland

The reason for the young people to move residence quite often, during the last six years, is generally due to education. It is also common to move several times in order to follow the educational system. As presented in the introduction, this is related to the circumstance that young people from small villages are obliged to move when they are approximately 13 years old to continue primary school.

In addition to this, it is quite common to travel to boarding school for lower secondary students or folk high school in either Greenland, Denmark or abroad. The survey also illustrates how some of the young people begin at a higher education program but realise it is not the right one and instead later on choose a different program, at a different location, better suited for their interests.

When looking into the total amount of reasons for moving, only one respondent has not mentioned education as a reason to move during the last six years. Thus, the large majority has chosen or been obliged to move as part of their education.

This trend indicates how societal structures in Greenland entail that people have to move in order to get an education. Furthermore, the young people seem to accept that choosing an education might entail moving residence. Since many opportunities are present in most cities in Greenland the students have the opportunity to stay and simply choose the education offered in the city where they live. Still, answers from the respondents imply that they choose from their interests and accept being mobile as a consequence of their choice.

The example below is displaying reasons for one of the relocations:

- 23 moved due to an educational purpose
- 6 have other reasons such as their partner, work, family or just a desire to move

- 3 didn't give any reason

Besides moving due to an education, a few also have other types of reasons. A trend among those respondents which moved more than five times, is that they have a broader range of reasons to move which include education as well as their partner, family or work.

The example illustrates a respondent who is 23 years old, and since he was 15 years old he has moved seven times. A part of the explanation for having moved this amount of times is that he needs to move from an earlier age than young people who can continue in school where they live.

Although he doesn't give an answer for the reasons that he moved to Narsaq and Qaqortoq, it is around this age that he is in the last years of secondary school. Afterwards he chooses to go to Frederikshavn in Denmark to attend a sports high school for three years. Twice after high school, the respondent moves due to work. The first time is to the Somaliland in Africa, and after ½ a year the respondent moves to Narsaq.

To continue at a professional bachelor's degree as a policeman, the respondent moves between Nuuk and Sisimiut to follow the theoretical courses as well as practical training. By looking at one specific moving pattern it becomes evident how the respondent navigates and chooses to be mobile in the occasion of different milestones in his life.

It can be argued that a part of the Greenlandic societal structures are built with an implicit expectation that the young people are capable of being mobile. All though some professional bachelor's degrees such as pedagogue and teaching offer e-learning modules, it is still a limited option since it is necessary to pass high school, which is only available in four cities in Greenland.

Future visions on mobility

This section presents data about the future visions of the respondents. Generally, the majority of the respondents don't have plans about moving in the near future.

Current plans about moving:

- 21 persons don't have plans about moving within the next 6-12 months
- 10 persons are planning to move within the next 6-12 months
- 1 person is unsure about current moving plans

Of those persons planning to move, 6 are planning to stay in Greenland, 2 are going to Denmark and 2 are going abroad to China or Vancouver.

Reasons (for the 10 respondents) to move:

- 7 persons are planning to move due to an educational purpose
- 1 person are planning to move due to a job
- 1 person is moving due to the partners job
- 1 person is moving because the persons is alone now

Currently, 31 percent of the respondents have plans about moving within the next 6-12 months. When looking at the long term future prospects, 59 percent expect to move within the next 3 years. In a 10 year perspective, 69 percent of the respondents expect to move.

The reasons for the increase among respondents expecting to move could be linked with expectations of also being mobile due to a job after graduation. A report about mobility in Greenland among the entire population concluded that the most common reason to move is due to one's own work or due to a spouse's work. Among other reasons are opportunities for qualifications or to get a higher wage (Rasmussen 2010:13-14).

The most mobile part of the population is young people between 16-25 years. Therefore, the report made in 2010 supports current data about a young generation which are extremely mobile as a result of pursuing an education. As the young people begin to have their own family they become less mobile (ibid:15).

The role of family also appears to influence migration patterns in the current youth survey. 8 of the respondents have children, and the respondents with kids have in general moved less than the respondents without kids. The gender balance among the respondents with kids is equally divided with four males and four females each having one, two or three kids each.

Furthermore, there are no obvious differences between genders in relation to the number of times the young respondents have moved residence. When looking into the choice in education there are some clear

gender preferences. However, just from examining mobility, both genders seem to be equally mobile when pursuing an education.

Summary

The young generation in Southern Greenland appear to be extremely mobile. During the last six years, 91 percent of the respondents from the sample moved residence. Furthermore, the majority of the residents moved two-five times and on average three times since they last participated in a random school survey six years ago.

A main reason for moving residence is the young peoples' choice in pursuing an education. Youngsters from the villages have to move to the largest city nearby to continue for secondary school. Later, it is likely that the young persons will move again to continue at Piareersarfik, a vocational school, business school or high school.

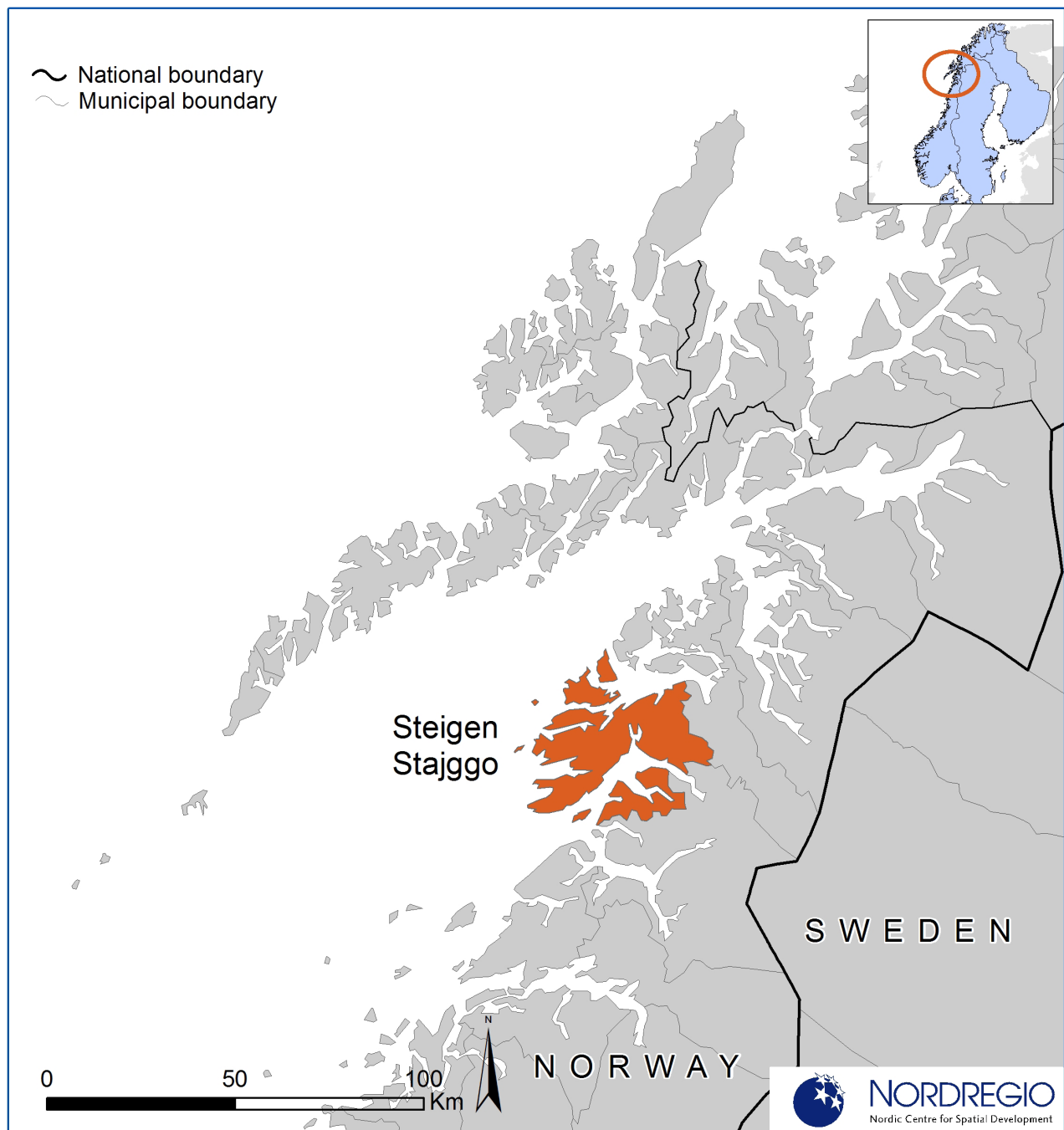
To pursue a higher education the opportunities are limited to a few specific cities which again makes it likely that a student travel to be able to continue at a Bachelor's degree. Although some professional bachelor's degrees such as pedagogue and teaching offer e-learning modules it is necessary to be mobile to pass the three years at high school, which is only possible in four cities in Greenland.

Based on these results, a frequent mobility pattern can be seen as a necessity for the young people living in Greenland. The societal structures with a high number of small settlements are built with an implicit expectation that young people are capable of being mobile. The respondents also seem to choose from their interests when choosing education rather than choosing from those opportunities which are present in the nearest city or village they grew up in.

This also leads to the conclusion that mobility is a gateway to opportunities for education in Greenland. Without being mobile, the young generation would be highly limited. Therefore, this contribution illustrates how societal structures influence the moving pattern among young people in Greenland.

Future Visions from Steigen 2014-2044

By Lindis Sloan, KUN centre for gender equality



Map 7. Case study areas. Map: Linus Rispling, Nordregio

Introduction

This study was done among young people in Steigen municipality, Nordland county in North Norway. The municipality has approximately 2600 inhabitants, and demographics show a steady decline in birth rates and a scarcity of younger people, particularly between the ages of 16 and 35; there are also fewer women than men in all age groups under 70.

Steigen has primary schooling (grades 1-7) in four locations in the municipality; from grades 8-10 the pupils all go to the “central school” in the municipal centre of Leinesfjord. After finishing 10th grade, children in Norway have 3-4 years of comprehensive school ahead of them, typically starting the year they turn 16. This is when they have to make a decision of whether to go for vocational schooling or start preparing for entering university-level studies.

In Steigen, there is an option to do the first year of comprehensive school, either to prepare for further studies or vocational programs. This is a smaller department of the big comprehensive school in the neighbouring municipality of Hamarøy. Going to the main school requires leaving home and living in student housing or other accommodation in Oppeid, about 2 hours’ drive from Leinesfjord. In spring 2014, at the time of this study, the local industries and the local comprehensive school department started working together to recruit local students for the vocational lines in Steigen, focusing on the trades most in need of recruitment (fish farming, electricians and other service trades). This meant that the connection between schooling and local industry, also implying future inhabitants in the community had been discussed a lot locally and in local media.

The young students participating in this study had all chosen to do their first year of comprehensive school in Steigen, either as their first choice or as their “back-

up” option after moving somewhere else for schooling hadn’t worked out. They, rather than the bigger group of 10th graders, were chosen for the study based on the assumption that they would have made a conscious choice about where they see their future, and were more likely to have thoughts of wanting to stay in their local community.

Methodology

The Knut Hamsun secondary school, in Steigen, was contacted, and was very open to participating. Two researchers visited the school, meeting all the students in one group, and we were given a little more than half a day of their school time for the project. The students got an introductory e-mail explaining the project background in their school digital platform, Fronter.

By way of introduction, we explained the project focus and design, and after some discussion of whether they had read our e-mail or not, there was some discussion of the concept of rurality, of rural youth from the Nordic countries being in focus and of this group being chosen to give their perspective. The concept was clearly intriguing to them – did it make them ordinary (as in representing the masses) or special (as in an oddity, to be studied)?

The group was then divided randomly into three sub-groups, and they were asked to describe a future scenario for a given year (10, 20 and 30 years in the future), focusing on their community but with a view to world events and bigger processes. They were then asked to present their year in a plenary session, while the process leader made notes on the blackboard during the presentation and discussion. Giving the presentations chronologically made them comment on previous presentations, so there was a surprising continuity to the presentations. The scenarios have been converted to prose, which can be found below.



Picture 13.
*Young pupils in
Nordland,
Norway*
Picture.
Lindis Sloan

We then asked the students to individually fill in a questionnaire. Not all students responded to all points, but many wrote long comments and had input that showed clearly that they have much firmer thoughts about their own future than that of the community.

We then went back to sitting in a circle and went through a line of questions mainly from the questionnaire process where they were given the option of responding positively, negatively or abstaining. One of the researcher teams led the process and the other did the note-taking.

Future scenarios – the bigger picture:

In ten years, the bigger picture is clearly in focus. The global population has increased to more than 8 billion; there is food scarcity, but mainly because of unequal distribution. There is great awareness that we need new technology and new energy forms if we are to meet world needs in a fair way.

We are beginning to feel the demographic change that will cause an aging population, and there is a great demand for health care professionals. In particular, nurses are in great demand in rural areas, and welfare and health care are the great topics of discussion locally. Most young people feel that the labour market is staid and there is little innovation and room for thinking new thoughts, so young families in particular are leaving, heading for more urban areas. None of the participants think that Steigen will be an administrative unit (municipality) on its own in 2024, but there is no agreement as to whether it is the closer urban centre of Bodø that is the new region centre, or whether Steigen is now part of “Nord-Salten” with Hamarøy and Tysfjord.

In twenty years, the world in general has undergone major change, both demographic and environmental. 2034 is more urban, development in Norway has gone towards very big administrative units, and the group agrees that this is a good thing. You need a bigger perspective to solve bigger challenges, is how one participant puts it.

The group describes extreme weather and pollution, low employment rates and a general focus on problems, but there is a marked techno-optimism in the group. This ranges from colonies on Mars to improved technology for the primary industries- interestingly enough both genders were represented in the technologically focused segment of the group.

Even when challenged, this group had little or no thoughts for their local community’s future in terms

of anything but how to keep the primary industries active and sustainable and to ensure food security in the world. The primary industries are inalienable from the community; in their view, you cannot discuss the future of one without the other – local food and local people go together with the local area.

In thirty years, the 2044 group envision a world where the large problems raised in the two previous presentations have been solved. They believe that the facts presented today mean that the world will have faced reality and taken appropriate measures, reduced the oil dependency and managed to stabilize climate change. This group, too, predicts a world food shortage with resulting population decline, but they connect this to a lessening of the urbanization trend. They predict a more dispersed population pattern. Large tech projects like Mars colonies etc will have been abandoned by then, they believe, instead they think we will focus on solving the large medical issues and taking care of the remaining population.

Summary

The accepted facts and main discourses are familiar from media such as newspapers and television, but often in a “worst case” scenario. In the discussion of future scenarios, the students themselves pick mass media as the bigger influence. The students explain that they watch some TV, but mainly not the news; internet newspapers are their main source of news updates, and they expect a moment-by-moment news stream when something newsworthy happens.

They also seemed to agree to a surprisingly large extent, and I asked whether this was something they had talked about a lot? In an interview one said “well, we try to keep up with what is happening, we discuss current events and so on – we’re not just brainless teenagers.” Several mentioned feeling both responsible for the future and also frustrated at being expected to “do something about it” while not having much power to do so.

Political views were mirrored in what perspectives were brought into the debate, and some individuals seemed to influence the others to a darker, more dystopian view while others represented a more optimistic view. The main divide seemed to be tech optimists versus tech pessimists – whether or not technology can solve future problems. The more optimistic took the view that this was clearly so, tech would provide solutions in a more or less automatic way, while the more pessimistic presented the view that this would require clear and political priorities and massive cuts in individual spending and consumption.

«Framtiden kommer liksom bare – vi kan jo ikke påvirke den, liksom!»
«Future will somehow just come - we can not influence it, sort of!»

Future scenarios – Individual Level

We then asked the students to sit down on their own and fill out a form. Not all filled out all the lines/boxes, but many wrote long comments and made general contributions in the margins or on separate sheets of paper. We then sat down in a circle again and went through their answers. We also collected the papers and used them for the analysis below:

In ten years, the students see themselves all over the world, from Rio to Bodø and a few home in Steigen. More than half say they live in North Norway. 15 of the 21 see themselves in a town or city in ten years, either finishing their education or in their first job. The majority by far see themselves in a relationship: 12 think they live with a partner, 4 expect to be married. About half have a pet, two expect to have livestock (i.e. have a farm) and 6 expect to have children by then. The latter group all say they expect to live close to their family. Housing-wise, 9 see themselves in a house rather than a flat, 3 expect to own rather than rent.

«trenger ikke å bo nær familien om 10 år, men om 20 år!»
“No need to stay close to the family in 10 years, but in 20 years!”

In twenty years, 8 of 21 expect to live in Steigen, “whatever Steigen is then, the geographical location, anyway”. Even more want to live in North Norway, but a few plan to have settled abroad. They all expect to have a job related to the education they are pursuing now, in comprehensive school, or that they are planning to study in university. Many expect to take some supplementary education, but the choice of profession seems to have been made once and for all. 7 expect to be married, 17 to live in a house rather than a flat, and only 12 expect to be living in a town or city. They have started bringing job opportunities and daycare into their decision-making process of where to settle, and 20 plan to have children by then, though only 7 specifically mention that they expect to live close to their family.

In thirty years, about half expect to live in Steigen, coming back from having spent years of education and jobs, then settling down. All expect to be living in a house they own rather than rent, and only 2 expect they will be single (both of whom have no partners in

any future scenarios), the rest show a steady progression to having a partner, being married at least by 2044 (17 of the 21 responses). The vast majority also see themselves having children, and several rather than one or two. There is also a trend that as they get older their family becomes more important (in determining where they will be living) and money less so. Nature, living in the countryside and enjoying the space and natural beauty also scores higher in the 2044 scenario than earlier – only four see themselves living in a town or city.

Summary

Not surprisingly, the participants seemed to hold much clearer views of their personal future than that of society in general, and in interviews they confirmed that this was also to do with how powerful they felt. “I can’t do anything about Steigen, really, but I can get the education I want, take over the farm and make an effort to stay here, you know? Keep the farm running, that’s something. But I guess I’ll need a job, too.”

What is perhaps most surprising is the complete conviction they have that their lives will follow a “script” of what can be described as middle-class, heteronormative values. Money is important while they are young (more so for men than women) but as they grow older they expect to have “enough”. Several of the more radically inclined young women make vehement statements about “not believing in” money or material goods – interestingly enough they seem to be as inclined to stay in Steigen or move abroad, but have very determined views of where they will live.

This latter group is also the most worried about climate change and the impact humans are having on the world. They brought a strong voice to the discussions, and while this was obviously a discussion that the group had had before in some shape or form, they were listened to and their arguments accepted by the group in general. As mentioned above, there were two clear lines in how we are expected to deal with the situation; this group favoured cutting consumption and changing consumer patterns, while the less-worried group assumed technology would come to the rescue. There were clear gender lines in this division, with the young women in the former group and the men in the latter.

Educational choices, while less gendered than might be assumed (there were no significant differences in our rather small sample), also mark differences in plans for the future among the informant set. Those aiming for an education in agriculture, fish farming or vocational trades such as ships’ mechanics, technical engineering all see a future where they end up in Steigen

sooner than later. Those who are now doing the general “studiespesialisering”, University preparation course, see their future farther afield, at least in the first place. Some of them also see themselves returning to life in Steigen, or at least in the countryside, but some seem clearly less inclined to do so.

In the interviews, they all stress the benefits of growing up here. It is great for kids to live in the countryside; they mention nature, activities (such as hiking, fishing, swimming etc) and animals as great pluses. A general focus on an active lifestyle is also seen as connected to nature, though at least half mention using a gym as their main form of exercise.

The negatives start coming when we ask what it is like to be young in the rural areas. No public transport apart from school buses means they depend on their parents or getting a lift from friends’ parents to get to activities. The new sports and activity centre (opened September 2014) is mentioned, but the rather problematic discourse around the construction and investment seems to have made its mark – while looking forward to the possibilities it will offer, they are also critical of a municipality in debt investing in a new and controversial building.

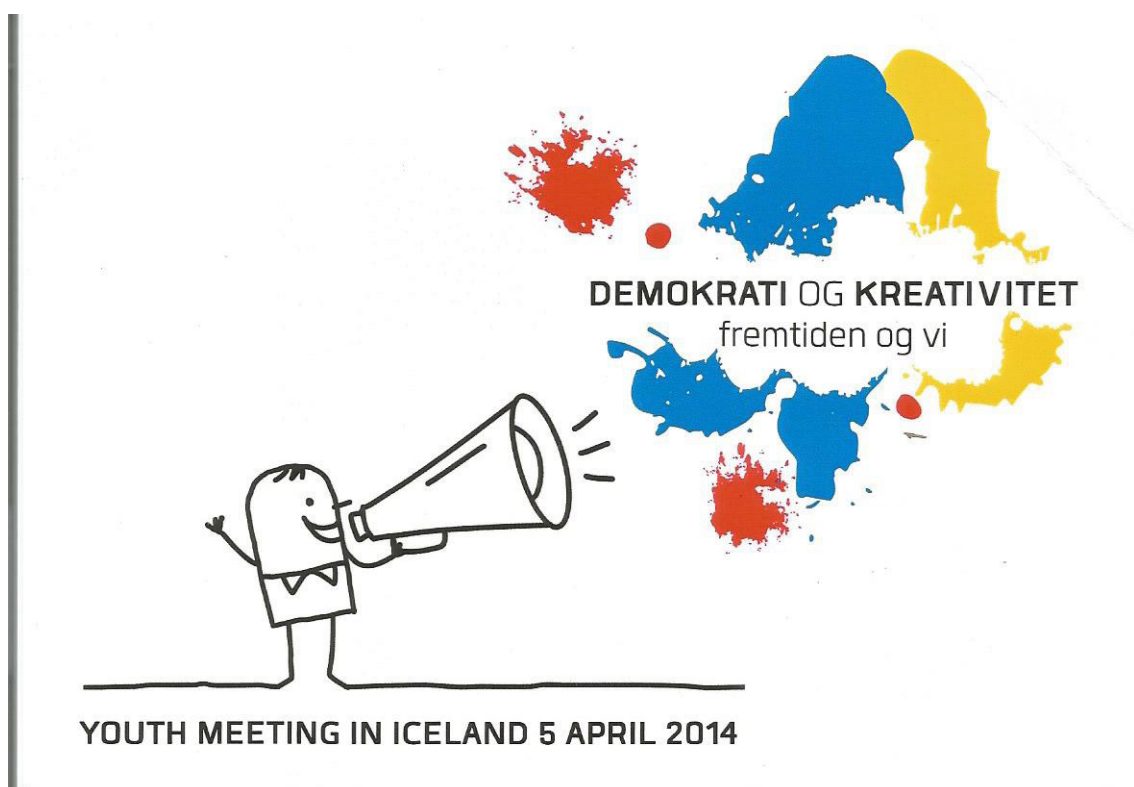
The fact that young people are bound to leave the community when they start secondary education has a snowball effect, the more people who leave, the more the younger kids think that “everybody leaves, I have to leave, too”. When asked whether there are other options, it seemed clear that leaving was part of the “script”, that staying indicated you were out of options, a loser in some way.

And being part of the group, of being included in the community is of great importance. This was not mentioned in the questionnaire, but several wrote in friends and family as a main factor in deciding where they would live. In interviews, this was picked up, related to newer and technology driven forms of social interaction such as social media. However, this generation consider social media a given, something that has “always” been part of their lives and will always remain so. They indicate different levels of use and also distinguish clearly between different forms of use of the different channels, and these are highly meaningful to them. Even so, both men and women make it clear that social media cannot and will never replace facetime, human interaction. They do talk of having friends elsewhere, some of whom they have never met in person, but in those cases the friendship is typically grounded in common and rather specific interests such as a particular online gaming community, manga cartoons or similar. These are not the same kinds of relationships they have with their classmates and people they spend

time with – in those cases the relationships have more dimensions, such as one who said “we’ve known each other for all our lives, our mums are friends, we went to kindergarten together – I think we’re like second cousins or something, too”.

Nordic Youth and Future Visions

By Anna Karlsdóttir



Picture 14. Postcard for the meeting. An interesting retro-object for the young Nordic population. Designer unknown

As part of the research, the project coordinator participated in a Nordic Youth meeting – with the sub-title: “Demokrati og kreativitet”, organised by ministry of education, science and culture and the national youth association (UMFÍ) in Reykjavik, Iceland in April 2014. The project was funded by NORDBUK (Nordic committee for children and youth). According to Illugi Gunnarsson, Minister of Education, the results from the meeting will be an input into the continued work on implementing current policies on youth within the Nordic council of Ministers achieving the ultimate goal: becoming the best place in the world for young people. This spring meeting in 2014 gathered 100 young

people in the age 16-25.

They had come to discuss and grasp future visions and perspectives in terms of societal development for 2035. The representatives at the meeting were composed of a variety of young people. Some of them were active in the scout’s movement, some in Feminist youth associations, and some came from political youth organizations as well as environmental organizations and school boards of various educational institutions in the Nordic countries. Generally, this group is well articulated, compared to average youth, given their devotion to organizational activities of various sorts, and their engagement in societal and professional relations.



Picture 15. Nordic youth votes for values in the people's assembly in Reykjavik spring 2014. Picture: Jónas Hrafn Kettel



Picture 16. Hope for creativity in education and fair paid teachers were among the visions on this table. Picture: Jónas Hrafn Kettel

Different groups discussed this weekend how the future until 2035 should be formed in the Nordic countries.

The meeting took form of a people's assembly – "folkemóde" – where participants decided the specific topics of the meeting from the general theme of "how do we want our future to be". Two moderators led the meeting, as well as facilitators for each discussion table who guided the work with the participants. The meeting began with an open question and evolved into several projects and objectives in the end of the meeting on how we can create a better society, a better life. In the process of coming up with desirable topics to improve Nordic societies according to the youth participants, the topics were ranked from most important to least important.

Values among the Nordic youth

At first, values were identified. The most important values from all of the eleven discussion groups were issues of respect, equality, democracy, rights and freedom along with many other issues. These five main values came through repeatedly in the first round of discussions and therefore emerged strongly, as illustrated in the worldle picture above. Those particular highlights probably reflect the status of this age group in general in society; their voices are rarely heard in democratic questions and in relation to intergenerational equality. Therefore, the respect issue is so eminent. The process had several rounds of discussions groups, with groups

breaking up and reorganizing. In the end, one group is responsible for discussing and coming up with future perspectives, rankings on topics and conclusions on one particular issue.

The next round evolved around what wishes participants wanted personally to come true in the future. Several issues were listed. The table below gives an overview of the most important topics according to the young people.

In general, a large mistrust in democratic processes and the political system can be identified, and therefore the democracy element is strong in different future wishes for improvement. The most highly ranked future perspectives in the group I listened to besides democratic issues, the educational perspectives; education for everyone and future education will be both ambitious and creative. In addition, societal welfare issues and health care were mentioned repeatedly.

Democracy	Environment	Society	Education	Health care	Economy
Increase individuals rights and decrease in government authorities	Better care for the environment – more buses and bikes	Aim at equality	Well paid teachers – more recognition to teachers	Better health care	Abolish war industry and put finance to health care and education
End of corruption	Environmental protection	The strong will take care of the weak	Freedom for students to study in whatever country	Better mental health care	End of corruption
More cooperation towards peace	Recycling	More police – more manpower in law enforcement	Equal access to education for everyone		Stability – stable welfare systems
Gender, race and sexuality equality bound in law	Balance between environment and human communities	Human rights for everyone	Future education will be both ambitious and creative		Less oil and gas, more renewable resources
More political individuals – less party politics	More electrical cars and buses	More equal technology acces for everybody	School systems work more together		More equal development stage levels between countries
Cooperation between countries		More trust and confidence in society between citizens	Better education		
Find a solution oriented government that works with you and for you		Peace and international freedom	Set citizens free by educating people to know their history and culture		

Table 2. Summary of youth future visions in six different topics

Economy matters

I chose to listen to the group that focused more on Economy. They included almost equal numbers of boys (6) and girls (5). Their discussion could be divided into dialogue on values, society, labor market and national economy. Many expressed frustration with the development of the labor market for young people and increased inequality. One of the participants expressed: “General salary ratio should be 5:1 in governmental jobs and there should be a “carrot” for non-governmental organizations and corporations and smaller companies to introduce the same ratio.”

Values	Society	Labor market	National economy
Economic balance	Mass corporation elimination	No unemployment rate	Stronger economy
Growth as a way to finance public expenses	Green growth	Fair pay for everyone, root for salary in government tax regulations	Less inflation
New growth parameters	Corporate social responsibility (CSR)	No gender pay gap	Include day care in taxes
Dividing the cake better	A stronger welfare system		Less political corruption
Eliminate moral conflict of interest (user fees – fees)	Less tax on entrepreneurs		Support to agriculture and local businesses
	Secure the Nordic welfare model		Common tax system for Nordic guestworkers
			Gradual consolidation of Nordic economies
			Nordic Free Trade

Some of the more courageous future perspectives held by the young people included following:

“We are gonna save the world!” (Young woman from Scandinavia).

“Nordic cooperation on measurement to secure and improve the Nordic welfare economy – secure it is socially and economically sustainable” (Young Faroese male).

Everybody emphasized intersectionality and interconnectivity between the goals above.

Table 3. Economic distribution visions

Interconnected Nordic region

From the group involved in focusing on connections and collaborative future of the Nordic region, four themes emerged. Those can be described as Explore, Sustainability, Environmental Care and Communication.

The young participants here seem to embrace the idea of both increased political integration in the Nordic region, as well as putting forward the idea of attempting an environmental and political reform with more diverse input (youth and elders perspectives) of influences into the agenda. Other main conclusions on society involved, as following illustration shows:

The rights issues reflected aspirations of a fair society, and safeguarding already achieved rights that were in common across the Nordic countries.

The health theme included wishes for more avail-

ability of the health system to citizens, independent of location/settlement. This highlighted geographical asymmetries in population distribution between urban and rural population, a discussion well known, as an effect of municipality amalgamation and regional reforms, in all the Nordic countries.

There was a strong wish to keep health care services free (taxed instead of user fees), especially for disabled groups in society. Some young participants mentioned an increased need for scientific information in disease recovery. Many of them wanted to increase understanding of mental illnesses instead of criminalizing drug addicts. In general, what emerged as a main finding included a wish for more quality within the free health care system, along with providing more information on mental health for awareness.

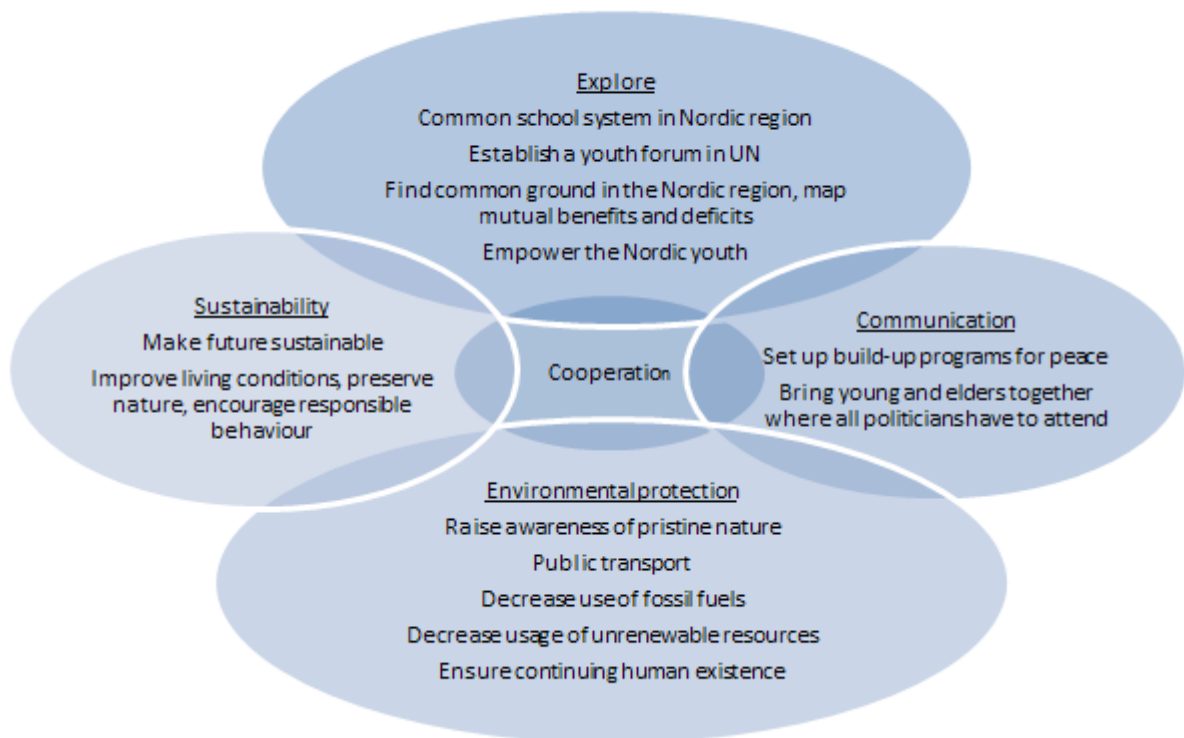
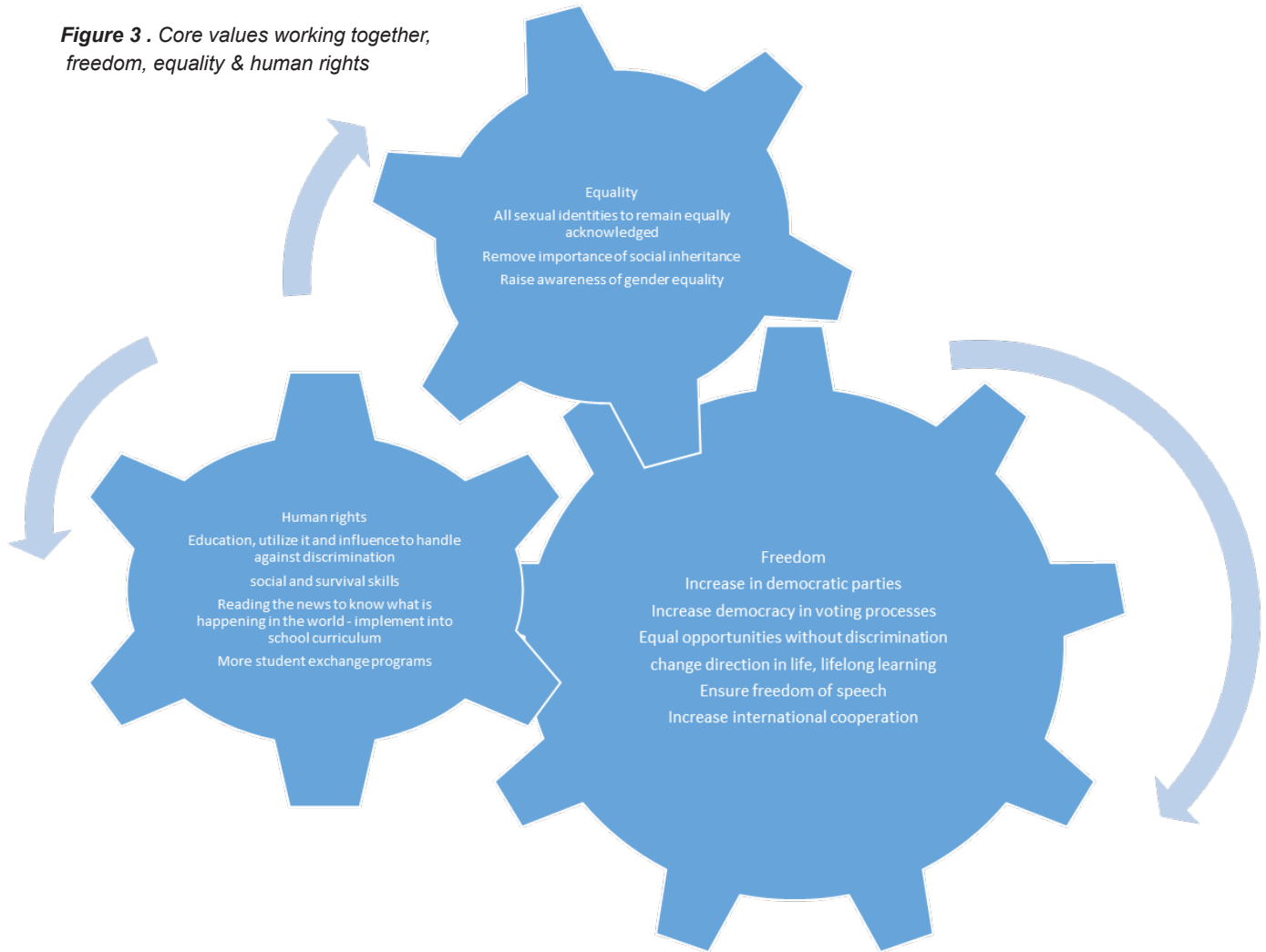


Figure 2. Smart graphic of the collaborative future visions in a Nordic context.

Figure 3 . Core values working together, freedom, equality & human rights



Gender aspects in Nordic youths visions and values

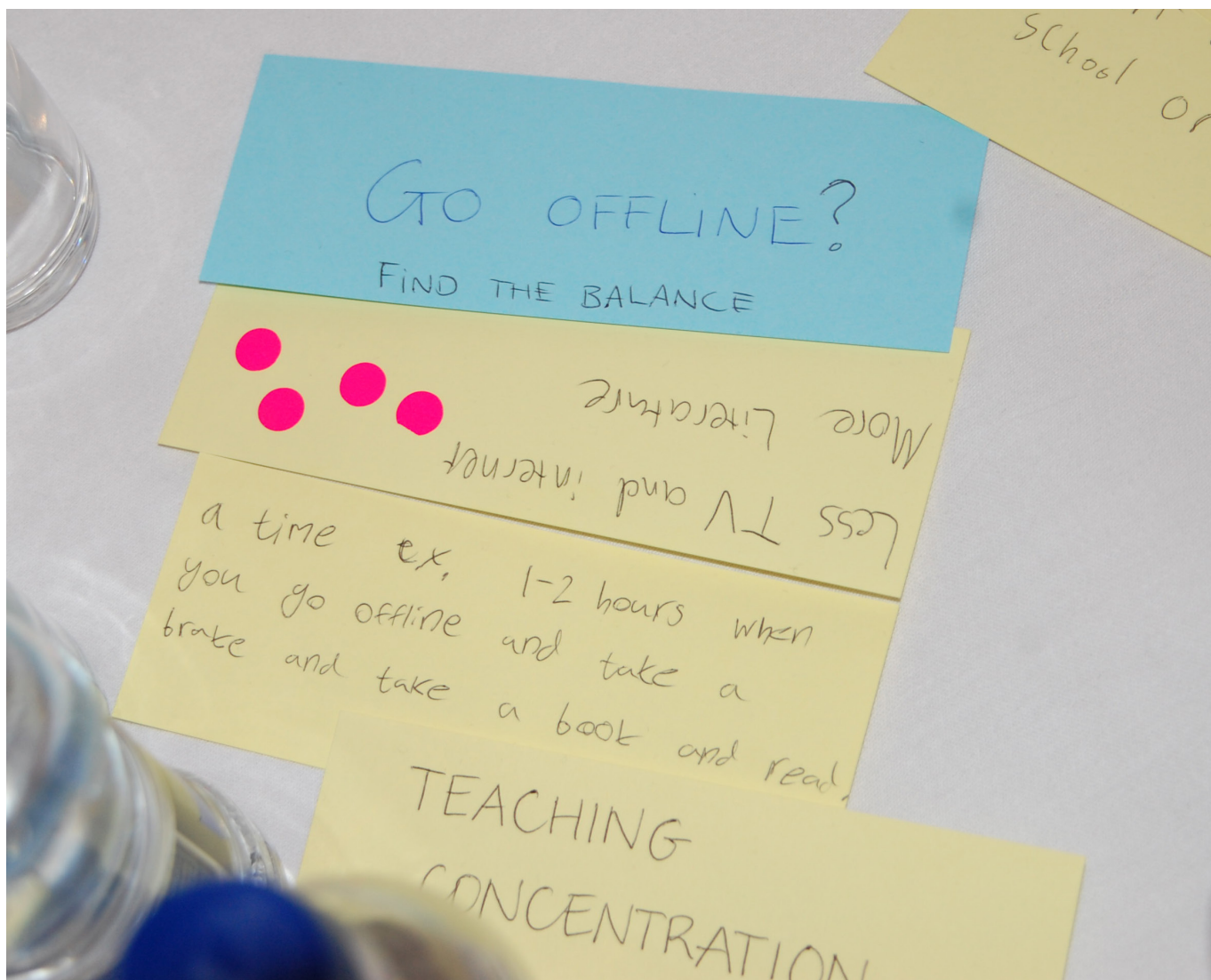
One of the striking differences between young males and young females identified by this projects coordinator, as an observer at the meeting, was the difference in relational perspectives expressed.

While young females emphasized more relational aspects of future lifestyles the young men were often more preoccupied with the individual perspective.

This was most visible in the Economy group, I participated in. While the young females kept mentioning the perspective of securing childcare and health services where the well-off people took care of the vulnerable, indeed relational perspectives, the young males

exhibited different orientation. Both genders emphasized peace as an ultimate goal. While the guys talked about more solution driven politics, and emphasized democratic perspectives for example, international freedom, they also called for electing governments that worked with people instead of for people. The females were more concerned about equality issues and better mental health care and emphasized individuals should have a choice to live a better life.

Some fatigue of the endless media storms of many kinds can be identified, in statements like Go Offline? Find the balance. This attitude was also found in statements like “Less TV and internet – more literature.” (see picture 5).



Picture 17. ICT fatigue? Less TV and internet. More Literature. Picture: JHK

Summary of the Nordic youth meeting on Future visions

The young participants defined some ideas and goals to strive for in a future society. They had ambitions about a society built on the ideals of democracy, environment, education, health care, and economy. Among the goals they mentioned:

- Increase in individual rights and decrease in government authorities
- Better care for the environment – more buses and bikes
- The strong will take care of the weak
- Equal access to education for everyone
- Future education will be both ambitious and creative

- Stability – stable welfare systems

Those participants discussing Nordic collaboration all embraced the idea of increased political integration in the Nordic region. It was agreed that cooperation in the area of sustainability, environmental protection and communication were central. Additionally, the theme ‘explore’ was also mentioned. With this theme the participants discussed opportunities for cooperation regarding a common school system in Nordic region, establishing a youth forum in the UN, finding common ground in the Nordic region, mapping mutual benefits and deficits, and empowering the Nordic youth.

Discussion & Comparison Between Regions

With such a varied take on the young generation across the Nordic Arctic regions, as this report illustrates through the regional cases, we have managed to gain a diverse insight into what their perspective holds in terms of expectations, educational aspirations, hopes, and lifestyle visions.

Because conditions are place-specific and historical trajectories vary in each of the localities, a precautionary principle should be deployed in drawing unified conclusions across cases. The intention has therefore been to shed light on the diversity among different youth groups in the Nordic Arctic.

As highlighted earlier, if there was no difference it would hardly have been worth the effort to talk to children and young people at all. As we see it, young people in this study have a kaleidoscopic view of the future, offering alternative paths leading in different directions rather than a deterministic view of an unavoidable future scenario.

In Steigen, it is not common among the participating youth in this study to vision themselves as farmers. Only two students see themselves with livestock at a farm whereas the rest prefer a future with domesticated animals. This is of relevance since Steigen is a countryside municipality with 30% of the current population employed in primary industries (including agriculture). Also, in the North Icelandic case, not many envision themselves taking on traditional primary occupations (fishing, farming, forestry, and mining). Only one young boy strongly emphasised that he would want to join the crew on a larger fishing vessel compared to what he so far had experienced. While the Faroese youth have an optimistic spirit around opportunities in fisheries and aqua farming in the future to come, the sceptical mind-set of the Icelanders is dominating – they are more prone to disbelief changes for the better in their local area, at least, until it is proved by action.

The Sami youth are not widely eager about the mining activities and prospects in their region. The likelihood of them aspiring to occupations in that sector is rather small. Will this mean that primary occupations like fishing and farming will not present the backbone

of the Nordic arctic regions' economy in the future? Will the mining activities in the North in years to come have to base their recruitment on imported labour rather than existing human capital in the regions? These are important questions to reflect upon.

Educational offers in the Northern villages of Iceland have increased when it comes to distance education and the first years of gymnasium. However, in Iceland, the educational choices in vocational fields have become less various and less decentralized. This addresses a contradiction, because, independent of settlement size, many of the vocational occupations are needed, while more academic job functions and very sophisticated divisions of labour and expertise are not. The youth's visions in many cases are directed towards academic education, at least in the Icelandic case. A variety of educational offers as an effect of political implementation is therefore influential in terms of how young people orient themselves in terms of educational choices.

In one of the case regions in Iceland, the rate of formal educational background among the local population (across age groups) is the lowest in all of Iceland. Locally, this is considered a serious deficiency in spurring innovative activities. The brain power of young people with education, who potentially might uplift the region in educational statistics and spur increased diversification, has already left to make an effort elsewhere. For such an area it would be a great asset to have vocational training opportunities in place in order to serve in uplifting the educational level among inhabitants, as well as potentially supporting entrepreneurialism and innovations in fields within the reach of the available capabilities of human capital in the region. No matter what size a community is, someone will need the efforts of a plumber or an electrician.

Living in the countryside is a choice – and for a growing number of people, a wider lifestyle choice. The constant striving for material gain has been questioned. The significance of leisure time, human relationships and physical exercise in contributing to people's happiness addresses questions of what extent the



Picture 18. *Skateboarder in Greenland.*

countryside has a kind of “well-being surplus” in the minds of the young. The findings are blended. They are at a stage in their life where they want to travel, and many of them will not settle as established grown-ups until after ten to fifteen years. In many ways, the youth period in life has become extended with increased formal requirements on training and education until you enter life as a fully acknowledged grown up citizen. This state of transience is in many ways liberating but it can also feel troubling.

Looking at the youth from the arctic regions, they are in the short term perspective attracted of more urban settlements, whereas in the long perspective of 20-25 years, it could be interesting to live in the area of their upbringing. A dominating trend is how the youth lifestyle is to a larger extent connected to an urban settlement. Therefore, it is in the short term perspective difficult for the youth group to “realise” themselves as young people staying in a rural area. This is also reflected in their ambitions of being mobile to pursue education and work.

Discussions about change in the Arctic in terms of a rise of jobs within various natural resource exploitation and cooperation activities across the Nordic North are not prominent issues among the youth. However, natural resources include people. They include women,

men, kids and the elderly, indigenous, and non-indigenous – those who build up and maintain a community.

The zeitgeist influencing the youth group in this study seemed to induce ambitions of going to urban areas to live a youth life rather than staying in the community and e.g. taking over their parent’s farm. For many young people social media continues to push tendencies of realisations for each person. According to the youth it is possible to realise yourself through new experiences which exclude the option of realisation as an individual person staying in the community you grow up.

In combination, to the ideals of a youth life taking place in urban settings, the societal structures also play an important role. In the majority of cases, it is necessary for young people to move to larger urban entities to continue education. The youth group from Greenland is highly mobile, and many of them have moved 3-5 times during the last six years. Growing up in remote locations in small settlements, it is necessary for these young people to move when they are the age of 13 just to continue secondary school. Young people from other rural arctic communities in the Nordic countries experience similar conditions. In other areas, such as Steigen, you can do preparatory courses for secondary school and vocational training which mean that fewer

people are obliged to move due to educational reasons.

The youth groups' vision of future society is in some cases, such as the Faroese Islands, characterised by imagination and creative ideas, whereas it in other places is a more blurry picture where negative aspects get more room. Most of the young people don't have a clear picture of future societal development. This is understandable since even experts researching development trends have a hard time predicting what is to come.

Therefore, what is more interesting are the elements which the youth choose to focus on. When the youth long for a multi-locational settlement, travels and new experiences, well-paid jobs, a happy family life, a sportive free time etc. this is how they will impact future development in society. As a young individual you are likely to pursue those longings coming from within, and when the majority follow common trends this is what will impact society.

The longings of Icelandic youth exhibit doubts and scepticisms. What they long for is not always what they expect to be realisable. Many see themselves permanently living in an urban setting while occasionally shifting their stay to a second home, often residing in their region of origin.

Another important aspect of this is the mental health of young people. The high expectations for their future and the pressure to become something can, in combination with the lack of social support and loneliness, cause mental health issues among young people. Although it is not a specific Nordic or Arctic phenomenon, it is of course a future challenge to tackle and capture the vulnerable part of the youth which in shorter or longer periods suffer from stress, depression, or anxiety. This was also stated among the participants of the Nordic Youth seminar.

The group that was part of the "Nordic Youth and Future Visions" seminar were young people with visions embracing societal development. They wish to work for better education opportunities, a safe environment, democratic inclusion and economic redistribution. As explained in the last chapter "Nordic Youth and Future Visions", this group of young people are already engaged in organisational activities, which in most cases contribute to societal development.

One important point is that young people are happier about living in remote areas if they experience involvement with the community (Sørensen et al 2014:24). Being part of councils for youth activities and generally helping out with improving and developing the area could contribute to young people's satisfaction with living in arctic rural areas.

In spite of the romantic imagery which is sometimes presented in the media to attract settlement and tourism to the arctic, as Lindis Sloan marks, that if one asks "Who is the Arctic?" the imagery is often one-dimensional and stereotypical. Very rarely is it woman. Very often this imagery doesn't do justice to the variety of perspectives among the population, including the young generation.

Moreover, when referring to the 'rural', we have evidence that we need to take a precautionary approach towards drawing conclusions on what is considered rural or urban, because it differs in the mind of people residing in these areas. According to other scholars, the lay discourses of the rural, such as they are, can be expected to be both spatially and conceptually complex and incoherent. There can be no certainty that "country" is an exact synonym of "rural" or that the meaning of the 'country' is any more consistent among differing people than is the meaning of 'rural' (Jones, 1995). For example, the 'closeness to nature' as part of northern life is often seen as of particular importance to those of indigenous heritage, but the population of the North is much more multidimensional in origins, lifestyles, occupations and interests. Immigrants/newcomers are for many of those areas essential, both as new inhabitants and workers. That said, given the case study from Sámis, recognition of indigenous rights and their empowerment is an important task.

People will move to the countryside if they can find jobs there. The countryside should therefore not be marketed only as one kind of place to live, and the opportunities it holds as a place to work or start a business should be reassessed – particularly from the viewpoint of young urban residents. Young people should not be made to adopt traditional ways of living and working if they do not wish to and vice versa. There is no need for young people to follow in the footsteps of their ancestors. Individualism is the trend, both for better and for worse. Future prospects can be locked in bitterness regarding past injustices, like we see examples of in the narratives of some of the young Sami people in Sweden.

In most cases, the youth are caught in between past and future, and the challenging times of transition and global influence are present. One example is how the Faroese worry about the vanishing of their own cultural language and distinctive cultural traditions, like the ring dance. At the same time, they believe that the Faroe Islands will raise more numerous international rock- and sport stars in future to come. This reflects some of the varied views on how the young generation perceive the future for Northern sparsely populated areas.

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