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Abstract

This dissertation contributes to recent research on Sámi education from two different angles. First of all, the dissertation pioneers as a cross-national study of the education of a cross-national population previously mainly studied within different nation states. With its theoretical framework of institutional and sociopolitical functions of languages of instruction, the dissertation also places a strong focus on why different Sámi varieties were or were not prioritized as languages of instruction in elementary schools with Sámi pupils in early twentieth century Sweden, Finland and Norway. Studying what functions of languages of instruction regional educational authorities, Sámi teachers and a number of other Sámi actors prioritized in the institutional and sociopolitical contexts sheds new light on the language policies within the elementary education systems of Sweden, Finland and Norway. Also, the focus on cross-nationalism points out tendencies that earlier research on the educational history of the Sámi has missed when the focus has been within, rather than across, national borders. These findings include examples of cross-national recontextualizations that lay bare a conditioned awareness of the policies in the neighboring countries among the regional educational authorities. This awareness was conditioned since language policies in neighboring countries were viewed through the lens of the home country of the authorities. What also emerges in a cross-national analysis is a certain active rather than re-active Sáminess, unbound by the national borders of Sweden, Finland and Norway. These findings should not be taken as attempts to construct essentialising notions of pan-Sáminess in the early twentieth century. Rather, they are calls for opening up research frameworks to include other frames than the nation states of today.

Tools of teaching and means of managing

Otso Kortekangas

Tools of teaching and means of managing

Educational and sociopolitical functions of languages of instruction in elementary schools with Sámi pupils in Sweden, Finland and Norway 1900–1940 in a cross-national perspective

Otso Kortekangas

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in History
at Stockholm University,
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To my family and friends.

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probably have finished in no time, or burned out, or most probably, both. In either case, life outside my academic endeavors would have been very different, and empty. You are strong and you are the best. I love you.

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I have omitted, either due to spatial reasons or through simply forgetting in the stress that turning in a dissertation implies, a large number of people who are important to me and who were important for the production of this dissertation. Forgive me. I love you anyway.

Finally, to whomever picks up this dissertation: I hope you enjoy it; I had an excellent time writing it.

Gotlandsgatan, Stockholm, on a grey afternoon in November 2017,

OK

Abbreviations

Archives

The Swedish National Archives (SNA)
Ecklesiastikdepartementet[1] (ED)

The Regional State Archives in Härnösand, Sweden (RSAH)
Rikets nomadskolors arkiv[2] (RNS)

The Nordic Museum archives, Sweden (NMA)
Ernst Mankers arkiv[3] (EMA)

The National Archives of Finland (NAF)
Kouluhallituksen kansanopetusosaston I arkisto (KKA I)[4]
Kouluhallituksen kansanopetusosaston II arkisto (KKA II)[5]

The National Archives of Finland in Oulu (NAFO)
Oulun hiippakunnan tuomiokapitulin arkisto (OTA)[6]
Pohjois-Lapin piirin kansakouluntarkastajan arkisto (PLPKKA)[7]

The National Library of Finland (NLF)
J.R. Koskimiehen arkisto (JRKA)[8]

The Sámi Archives of Finland (SAF)
Karl Nickulin arkisto I (KNA I)[9]
Lapin Sivistysseuran arkisto (LSSA)[10]

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1 The archives of the Department of Church and Education.
2 The archives of the nomad schools.
3 Ernst Manker's archives.
4 The archives of the elementary school section of the National Board of Schools of Finland I.
5 The archives of the elementary school section of the National Board of Schools of Finland II.
6 The archives of the Chapter of the Diocese of Oulu.
7 The archives of the elementary school inspector of the district of Northern Lapland.
8 J.R. Koskimies' archives.
9 Karl Nickul's archives.
10 The archives of *Lapin Sivistysseura*.

The Regional State Archives in Tromsø (RSAT)
Biskopen i Tromsø stift/Hålogaland/Nord-Hålogaland bispedømme (BTS)[11]
Skoledirektøren i Finnmark (SF)[12]
Skoledirektøren i Troms (ST)[13]

Others

The National Board of Education of Sweden (NBES) (*Skolöverstyrelsen*)

The National Board of Schools of Finland (NBSF) (pre-1918 *Koulutoimen ylihallitus*, post-1918 *Kouluhallitus*

Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

The discourse-historical approach (DHA)

Cross-national history (CNH)

Figures and tables

11 The archives of the bishop of the Diocese of Tromsø/Hålogaland/Nord-Hålogaland.
12 The archives of the Director of schools of Finnmark County.
13 The archives of the Director of schools of Troms County.

Map 1. Map of Northern Scandinavia and Finland.

Places mentioned in the dissertation are marked on the map.

Lapp villages (*lappbyar*): originally geographical areas and organizations based on families, modified to correspond to the Swedish government's definition of efficient reindeer herding in the late 19th century.

1. Introduction

Josef Guttorm, the Sámi-speaking teacher working at the Outakoski elementary school in Utsjoki, northern Finland, commented in 1908 on an ongoing discussion on whether Sámi should be used as a language of instruction in elementary schools with Sámi pupils. In his letter to J.R. Koskimies, the bishop of Finland's northernmost diocese, Guttorm wondered why this question was "a topic of disagreement or a stumbling-block in Lapland"[14]. To Guttorm, such a debate felt "strangely sad"[15]. According to Guttorm, "the Sámi people"[16] were "nothing else than Lapps"[17] as long as the status of Sámi language was questioned and debated. In this juxtaposition, Guttorm contrasted the autonym Sámi with the nowadays-pejorative exonym Lapp to demonstrate a clash in perspectives. In Guttorm's view, Sámi language had an important function as a conveyor of Sámi culture. For this reason, it needed to be used as a language of instruction in elementary schools. Without their own language, the Sámi were not a real people, but were confined to being a population that outsiders viewed as "nothing else than Lapps".

Gustav Park, a student of theology with a Sámi background, held a speech at the first countrywide meeting of the Swedish Sámi in Östersund in 1918. Park criticized Sámi schooling from several angles. Park viewed the educational authorities as incapable of viewing the situation of the Sámi from the inside. In contrast to teacher Guttorm in Finland, Park considered it as a healthy development that Swedish, instead of Sámi, was the language of instruction in elementary schools with Sámi pupils. Sámi, announced Park in the meeting, the children knew already. However, they needed to learn Swedish in order to become full-scale citizens in the Swedish state. For Park, the function of Swedish as the language of instruction was clear: paired with good quality education, it was the way to a full-scale, equal citizenship with other Swedes.[18]

14 "Lapissa [...] riidan aiheena eli loukkauskivenä": Letter from Josef Guttorm to J.R. Koskimies, January 18, 1908, Coll. 108.4, J.R. Koskimiehen arkisto (JRKA), The National Library of Finland (NLF).

15 "kummallisen surulliselta": Guttorm to Koskimies, January 18, 1908, Coll. 108.4, (JRKA), (NLF).

16 "Sämilaiskansa": Guttorm to Koskimies, January 18, 1908, Coll. 108.4, (JRKA), (NLF).

17 "mitään muuta kuin lappalaisia": Guttorm to Koskimies, January 18, 1908, Coll. 108.4, (JRKA), (NLF).

18 *Svenska lapparnas landsmöte i Östersund den 5–9 februari 1918* (Uppsala and Stockholm: Almqvist&Wiksell, 1918), 130.

In northern Norway, Sámi teacher Anders Larsen criticized the harsh language assimilation policies taking place among many Sámi children in the schools of Finnmark County. In a book published in 1917 that criticized the language assimilation, Larsen wrote that the Sámi children wanted to and would learn Norwegian. However, this knowledge of Norwegian was not to be gained at the cost of the Sámi language. Norwegian was beneficial in many aspects of life, including access to the economic and civic life of Norway. However, Sámi was good for the heart and the inner development of the children.[19] Larsen's critique of the assimilation policies included a double articulation on the functions of language of instruction. Similarly to Park in Sweden, Larsen viewed the function of the majority language of the country as the way to an equal standing with other inhabitants of the country. Moreover, similarly to Guttorm in Finland, he thought that only Sámi language could carry further the culture of the Sámi and make them whole as human beings.

Taken together, Guttorm's, Park's and Larsen's articulations are indicative of two things: first, that the language of instruction in schools with Sámi pupils was a contested issue in the early twentieth century Nordic countries, as well as within the Sámi communities in each country. Secondly, they point to obvious differences, but also similarities between the three countries with regard to the functions the languages of instruction were envisioned to have in education and in society at large. This dissertation combines these kinds of articulations by Sámi teachers and activists with those of regional educational authorities[20] in the Sámi areas of each country.

The prioritized functions are studied on two different but partly overlapping levels of contexts. These are the institutional level (in the case of this dissertation schools and educational policies) and the sociopolitical level (the ideological, economical, social and political context). The operationalization of these context levels is based on the four-level context definition by Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak.[21]

The aim of this dissertation is to map out what functions of languages of instruction were prioritized in all three countries, and to study them in their institutional and sociopolitical contexts. This is done in order to get a closer look at the reasons behind different prioritizations in the three countries regarding

19 Anders Larsen, "Fornorskningen i de nuværende skoler i Finmarken," in *Fornorskningen i Finnmarken,* ed. Johannes Hidle and Jens Otterbech (Kristiania: Lutherstiftelsens boghandel, 1917), 37.

20 Regional elementary school inspectors and directors, see see pages 25–29 for a more thorough introduction of the actors.

21 See also pages 38–39; Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak, "The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)," in *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (Los Angeles: Sage, 2016), 30–32.

language of instruction in elementary schools with Sámi pupils. As will become clear from the following discussion, a comparative take and a concentrated focus on arguments for language of instruction are two previously understudied perspectives that can enrich the research field of Sámi education. The functions are a way of connecting language and context. As I will elaborate in the theory section of this introduction, *functions* are excellent objects for a comparative and cross-national study. Differently from *discourses* that obscure agency, for example, functions are easily distinguishable units that can be connected not only to the individual articulations of individual actors, but also to the institutional and sociopolitical contexts. This is feasible for the very reason that the proposed operationalization of function includes the two context levels (institutional and sociopolitical contexts). Hence, functions are to their very core embedded in the contexts that are paramount for understanding why certain functions of languages were prioritized in the different countries and between different groups of sources (e.g. educational authorities vs. Sámi teachers). Prioritized functions, for the reasons outlined above, are also excellent units to be compared between and across the three states, as they shed light on the institutional and sociopolitical contexts of Sámi education in the three countries and render these contexts objects of a comparative and cross-national analysis.

The functions the actors envisioned the language of instruction to have within education and in society elucidate the differences and similarities between the countries. Through connecting the functions to the sociopolitical context of early twentieth century Sweden, Finland and Norway, it is possible to explore the reasons behind these differences and similarities. In many cases, the regional educational authorities and Sámi teachers were not simply for or against the use of Sámi or the majority language in instruction. Rather, it was the *function* these languages were thought to have, whether in education or society, which generated articulations for or against the use of a certain language. On a general level, this study of functions points to the languages of instructions in their institutional and societal contexts as tools of teaching (the institutional, or educational, context) and means of managing (the sociopolitical context). Managing is a useful term, since it has two meanings, which fit well the analysis of this dissertation: it is a top-down process of implementing and controlling policies, but also a bottom-up process of coping with and re-negotiating these policies.

The questions guiding the analysis of this dissertation are as follows: What institutional (educational) and sociopolitical functions (functions in the Nordic early twentieth century societies) did regional educational authorities and Sámi teachers[22] envisage the languages of instruction to have? Why were certain

22 And, in some cases, Sámi political leaders and Sámi members of school boards.

functions prioritized and how did the actors argue for these functions? In what ways can the prioritized functions contribute to our prior knowledge of the reasons why certain languages were prioritized in elementary education before others? The last question can also be reframed thus: why was Sámi language, or why was it not, prioritized in elementary education? On top of these general questions, each of the the main empirical chapters has a more specific inquiry related to earlier research in each country (See pages 82, 126, 165).

The remainder of this introduction chapter will discuss in depth and detail the theoretical, methodological and empirical premises of this dissertation. After a positioning of this project in relation to earlier research, comes a discussion on the choice of source material and the positions and representativity of the actors studied. Thereafter, the focus turns to periodization and other limitations, and issues of terminology. The final major part of the introduction is dedicated to the combination of cross-national history, and language and context analysis that is the theoretical and methodological core of the dissertation. The theoretical and methodological discussion culminates in the most important analytical concepts of this dissertation: the sociopolitical and institutional functions of languages of instruction. The introduction closes with a note on research ethics.

National educational histories of a cross-national population

The population area of the indigenous Sámi is cross-national. However, the research on the Sámi in general, and on Sámi school history in particular, has been conducted almost exclusively within Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia, that is, the four states currently extending their powers to Sápmi, the Sámi home region. A lack of language skills is an often referred to reason behind this instance of methodological nationalism. This dissertation suggests that the persistence of the national frameworks as self-evident research frames is as much a result of the fact that history, in general, continues to be an auxiliary science of the nation state. It is for this reason that the theory of this dissertation is centered on the notion of cross-nationalism, which it champions as a way to avoid a double impasse: methodological nationalism on the one hand, and something that will be called "methodological globalism", but that could also be called "methodological transnationalism", on the other. As the subchapter on theory and methodology develops in detail, what this means is that while historians should not apply nation state as an axiomatic frame of research, its significance as an important context should not be underestimated at the cost of abstract theories on global and transnational flows of information and commodities.

To get beyond the national historiographies, we need to start by referring to them. The discussion here serves as a positioning of my research aims and questions. For readers more profoundly interested in what earlier research has to say about the elementary education of the Sámi, I refer to later chapters in this dissertation.[23]

Earlier research on languages of instruction

Language of instruction has often been one question among many in wider studies, such as in Knut Einar Eriksen and Einar Niemi's and Veli-Pekka Lehtola's works.[24] Lehtola's book treats Sámi education as a part of the Sámi-Finnish relations during the first half of the twentieth century. Eriksen and Niemi discuss Sámi education from a minority politics perspective, where the motives of the Norwegian authorities are explained mostly by national security considerations: The Kven- (Finnish) and Sámi-speaking minorities were a threat in the north of Norway bordering Finland and Russia. Only a few titles such as Lars Elenius' *Minoritetsspråken i nationalistisk växelverkan* in *Nationsöverskridande kyrkohistoria*[25], and Maria Wingstedt's dissertation *Language Ideologies and Minority Language Policies in Sweden*[26], have turned their main focus to the language of instruction in elementary schools with Sámi pupils. Both Elenius' and Wingstedt's works are interesting in relation to the theoretical framework of this dissertation.

In his text discussing Sámi and Finnish as languages of instruction, Elenius writes about teachers who used or did not use Finnish in tuition in the Finnish-speaking areas of northern Sweden. He distinguishes between and contextualizes four different arguments for using or not using Finnish: the pedagogical, functional, cultural and nationalistic arguments. The difference between Elenius' *arguments* and my *functions* is not enormous. However, as detailed below, I study arguments as ideologized utterances about what functions were prioritized. Elenius in fact dicsusses the *functions* of the languages of instruction without stating so. Examples of his arguments include that Swedish language was a tool used to carry out assimilation in the Finnish-speaking areas and that Finnish as an auxiliary language added to the intelligibility of the teaching

23 See Part I: Contexts.

24 Knut Einar Eriksen and Einar Niemi, *Den finske fare: Sikkerhetsproblemer og minoritetspolitikk i Nord 1860–1940* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1981); Veli-Pekka Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset: Kohtaamisia 1896–1953* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2012).

25 Lars Elenius, "Minoritetsspråken i nationalistisk växelverkan. Samiska och finska som kyrkospråk och medborgarspråk," in *Nationsöverskridande kyrkohistoria. De språkliga minoriteterna på Nordkalotten*, ed. Daniel Lindmark (Umeå: Umeå University, 2016).

26 Maria Wingstedt, *Language Ideologies and Minority Language Policies in Sweden. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 1998).

situation.[27] In this dissertation, it adds clarity and precision to the analysis to talk about functions, rather than about the more obscure arguments. What is intended by this added precision is that, differently from *argument*, the denotation of the word *function* is more limited and it inlcudes an intermediary position that connects the texts and contexts of this dissertation. An argument can be an argument about anything. Function is a certain (text level) function of something (context level) and it is thus more firmly connected to both text and context than argument. However, as the theoretical discussion will detail[28], I also use argument as a methodological concept. The actors uttered arguments about the functions, thus revealing why certain functions were more preferable than others.[29]

Wingstedt, for her part, studies in her dissertation (among other topics) the use of Sámi from the perspective of language ideologies. My approach is different from Wingstedt's in that I study more precisely the actors and the functions they prioritized. Wingstedt's study applies a more abstract notion of language ideology driven by a number of societal factors, and that affects actor positions in relation to a certain minority language, in this case Sámi.[30]

Due to the scarceness of research focusing on languages of instruction, there have been few concentrated efforts to explore and single out the reasons why the Sámi language was not given a prominent role as a language of instruction in elementary schools with Sámi pupils in early twentieth century Norway, Finland and Sweden. My approach and the concept of function will contribute to a deeper understanding of this question in all of the three countries studied.

The elementary education of Sámi children has generated a rather large corpus of studies in the Nordic countries, especially since the 1980's and generally within the framework of the nation-state. In Norway and Sweden, researchers such as Knut Einar Eriksen, Einar Niemi[31], Lars Elenius[32] and David Sjögren[33] have situated the education of Sámi children in national contexts of minority policies. Eriksen, Niemi and Elenius compare the education of the Sámi to that of the Finnish-speaking minorities of northern Scandinavia, whereas Sjögren has compared the education of nomadic fell Sámi and Romani children. In Finland, Veli-Pekka Lehtola published the first comprehensive work

27 Elenius, "Minoritetsspråken i nationalistisk växelverkan," 34–35.

28 See pages 40–41.

29 See the theory discussion on pages 40–42.

30 Wingstedt, *Language Ideologies and Minority Language Policies in Sweden*, 19–23.

31 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare.*

32 Lars Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik: Samer och finskspråkiga minoriteter i ett jämförande nordiskt perspektiv* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2006).

33 David Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen: Motiv, åtgärdsförslag och verksamhet i den särskiljande utbildningspolitiken för inhemska minoriteter 1913-1962* (Umeå: Umeå University, 2010).

on early twentieth-century Sámi history in Finland, including many chapters on education, in 2012.[34] Esko I. Kähkönen has investigated Sámi education in Finland in a *longue durée* perspective in his thorough study of the ecclesial ambulating catechist schools that had the main responsibility for the education of Sámi children in Finland from the seventeenth century until the 1920s.[35]

This dissertation builds on earlier research that treats the research period (the early twentieth century) and focus (elementary education of the Sámi, and language of instruction in particular). For the part of Sweden, the analysis hinges especially on David Sjögren and Julia Nordblad's dissertations, and Lars Elenius' book on the history of the Sámi and Finnish-speaking minorities in northern Sweden.[36] Sten Henrysson and Johnny Flodin's overview of the Swedish educational policies targeting the Sámi has also been useful as a background for this study.[37] For the part of Finland, as well as Lehtola and Kähkönen (already mentioned), the anthology *Saamelaisten kansanopetuksen ja koulunkäynnin historia Suomessa*[38] is an informative package on the history of Sámi education in Finland from a number of different perspectives. In Norway, the overview by Eivind Bråstad Jensen[39], together with Eriksen and Niemi's book *Den finske fare*, is a good route into more specific studies on Sámi education. Henry Minde[40] has treated the language assimilation in the schools with Sámi pupils mainly from the perspective of the Norwegian state. For a more diversified portrait of the Norwegian school policies, I refer to articles from the work *Sámi skuvlahistorjá/ Samisk skolhistorie 1–6* [41].

Comparative and cross-national initiatives in earlier research

There exist a number of texts on Sámi school history that apply a comparative framework. The article *Sami Ædnan. Four states – one nation? Nordic minority policy and the history of the Sami* by Helge Salvesen compares the policies targeting

34 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*.

35 Esko I. Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta* (Rovaniemi: Lapin korkeakoulu, 1989).

36 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*; Julia Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor: Demos, imperium och pedagogik i Bretagne, Tunisien, Tornedalen och Lappmarken 1880–1925* (Göteborg: University of Gothenburg, 2013); Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*.

37 Sten Henrysson and Johnny Flodin. *Samernas skolgång till 1956* (Umeå: Umeå University, 1992).

38 Pigga Keskitalo, Veli-Pekka Lehtola and Merja Paksuniemi, eds., *Saamelaisten kansanopetuksen ja koulunkäynnin historia Suomessa* (Turku: Institute of Migration, 2014).

39 Eivind Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte* (Tromsø: Eureka forlag, 2005).

40 Henry Minde, "Assimilation of the Sami: Implementation and Consequences," *Acta Borealia: A Nordic Journal of Circumpolar Societies* 20, no. 2 (2003): 121–146.

41 Svein Lund, Elfrid Boine, Siri Broch Johansen and Siv Rasmussen, eds., *Samisk skolehistorie*, 6 vols. (Kárášjohka: Davvi Girji, 2005–2013).

Sámi populations in the Nordic countries.[42] Salvesen's article is essentially based on earlier research. Jukka Nyyssönen and Ritva Kylli's works comparing Finnish educational policies targeting Sámi populations with the policies in Norway and Sweden are also mainly based on earlier research.[43] Another welcome, and more empirical, exception to studies focused on policies within a specific nation-state is the dissertation of Julia Nordblad, which engages in an in-depth comparison of the Sámi and Finnish-speaking minorities in Sweden, and the Breton-speakers of France and the Arab-speakers of the French protectorate of Tunisia.[44] Also, Maria Lähteenmäki has studied the northernmost regions of Scandinavia, Finland and Russia from a border-crossing perspective, although mainly with a focus on the nineteenth century.[45] Recently, professors Lars Elenius and Daniel Lindmark at Umeå University have each edited cross-border volumes that touch upon issues of Sámi education: the anthology *The Barents Region: A Transnational History of Subarctic Northern Europe* with Elenius as chief editor[46], and the anthology *Nationsöverskridande kyrkohistoria*, on the church history in the northernmost parts of Sweden, Finland and Norway, edited by Daniel Lindmark[47]. *The Barents Region* treats Sámi history as a part of the general history of the Barents region. *Nationsöverskridande kyrkohistoria* is an anthology with articles treating the ecclesial history of the northernmost Nordic areas from a border-crossing perspective. In the field of educational science, border-crossing background chapters based on earlier research for contemporary studies are included, for example, in the dissertation of Ulla Aikio-Puoskari on the situation of Sámi languages in Nordic schools.[48]

The main contributions of this dissertation to the research field are as follows: First, a concentrated focus on languages of instruction and the reasons why

42 Helge Salvesen, "Sami Ædnan. Four states - one nation? Nordic minority policy and the history of the Sami," in *Ethnicity and Nation Building in the Nordic World*, ed. Sven Tägil (London: Hurst, 1995), 106–144.

43 Jukka Nyyssönen, "Principles and Practice in Finnish National Policies towards the Sámi People," in *First World, First Nations: Internal Colonialism and Indigenous Self-Determination in Northern Europe and Australia*, ed. Günter Minnerup and Pia Solberg (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press 2011), 80–96; Ritva Kylli, "Misjon og utdanning blant samer i 1800-tallets Finland," *Norsk tidsskrift for misjonsvitenskap* 71, no. 2 (2017).

44 Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor*.

45 Maria Lähteenmäki, *Kalotin kansaa. Rajankäynnit ja vuorovaikutus Pohjoiskalotilla 1808–1889* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2004).

46 Lars Elenius, chief editor, *The Barents Region: A Transnational History of Subarctic Northern Europe* (Oslo: Pax forlag, 2015).

47 Daniel Lindmark, ed., *Nationsöverskridande kyrkohistoria: De språkliga minoriteterna på Nordkalotten* (Umeå: Umeå University, 2016).

48 Ulla Aikio-Puoskari, *Saamen kielen ja saamenkielinen opetus Pohjoismaissa: Tutkimus saamelaisten kielellisistä ihmisoikeuksista Pohjoismaiden kouluissa* (Rovaniemi: University of Lapland, 2001)

certain languages were prioritized and others were not in elementary schools with Sámi pupils in the three countries. Secondly, a cross-national take on a history normally studied within different nation states.

Actors and sources

In the Nordic countries, as in many other parts of Europe, the early twentieth century was a time of strong governmental interest and investment in mass education.[49] The thrust for mass education led to a number of different applications in a number of different settings, whether these settings were regions within nation states or overseas colonies. The history of Sámi education is an illustrative instance of this history, since it enables a comparison of authorities responsible for the schooling of a population, or a group of populations, inhabiting an area stretching over several national boundaries.

The analysis of this book is mainly centered on two groups of actors, regional educational authorities, and teachers with Sámi background. This implies that the level of study lands on government officials. All of these actors, the regional school inspectors (Finland and Sweden), the regional directors of schools (Norway), teachers, bishops and local clergymen were ultimately working for the governments of Norway, Finland and Sweden. The sources are written in Swedish, Finnish, Norwegian and North Sámi. All translations are by the author of this dissertation. The original versions are cited in the footnotes.

An important part of the source material of the book consists of documents written by Sámi teachers, and in some cases, teachers with other backgrounds that worked with Sámi pupils. This part of the source material is discussed at the end of this sub-chapter. The core of the source material, however, is produced by the regional educational authorities in each country responsible for elementary schools with Sámi pupils.

In Norway this means the Director of Schools of the Finnmark County and, to a lesser extent, the director of schools of the neighboring Troms County. Finnmark County was the first Norwegian county to receive its own director of school, in 1902. Before that date, directors of schools had been tied to the diocese cities, which in the case of Troms and Finnmark was the city of Tromsø. The material at the Regional State Archives of Tromsø (RSAT) includes reports written by the directors as well as correspondence with the

49 This interest was triggered by governmental interest in educating a qualified labor force for industrialized societies, and an interest in educating an educated electorate in democratic countries. See for instance Mette Buchardt, Pirjo Markkola and Heli Valtonen, "Introduction: Education in the Making of the Nordic Welfare States," in *Education, State and Citizenship*, ed. Mette Buchardt, Pirjo Markkola and Heli Valtonen (Helsinki: Nordic Centre of Excellence NordWel, 2013), 19.

Department of Church and Education in Oslo (called Kristiania until 1925) and correspondence with other regional authorities and teachers. The directors of schools participated in the preparation of legislation and had executive powers as well as the responsibility for inspecting the local elementary schools on a regular basis.[50] Parts of the material from RSAT are published in print and online by the Sámi school history project led by Svein Lund.[51]

For the part of Sweden, the office of the nomad school inspector (established in 1917) stands in focus. The archives of the nomad school inspectors are at the Regional State Archives in Härnösand, Sweden (RSAH). The nomad school inspectors had professional roles that separated them from other regional elementary school inspectors in Sweden. The inspector had planning, controlling and executive powers over the nomad schools. The nomad school inspectors acted directly under the National Board of Education of Sweden (NBES) (*Skolöverstyrelsen*), and had to consult the Chapters of the Diocese of Luleå and the Diocese of Härnösand when introducing changes to the curriculum.[52] The nomad school inspector also assumed the tasks and role of the school boards that, consisting of local clergymen and laypersons, had certain local powers in elementary schools in Norway and Finland, as well as in the regular elementary schools of Sweden. Since 1925, the nomad school had a system of nomad school boards (*nomadskolnämnder*), but these meetings between parents of pupils and the nomad school inspectors did not have the same functions as the regular school boards. The nomad school boards were mainly channels for the parents to complain or praise the activities of the school to the inspector.[53] The material at the RSAH includes yearly reports of the nomad school inspectors as well as correspondence with bishops, other regional authorities, the National Board of Education of Sweden (NBES), and nomad school teachers. The material also includes meeting minutes of the nomad school board meetings.

For the part of Finland, the standard elementary schools outnumbered the ambulating church schools in northern Finland in the 1920's. The regional educational authority was divided between the bishop of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu[54] (ambulating church schools) and the elementary school inspector of

50 *Arkivkatalog, Skoledirektøren i Finnmark 1897–2002* (Tromsø: The Regional State Archives in Tromsø, 2008).

51 "Sámi school history." *Sami school history*, accessed October 10, 2017, http://www.skuvla.info.

52 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 68–70.

53 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 70–72.

54 This diocese, the northernmost among the Finnish dioceses, was called the Diocese of Kuopio until 1923, even if the administrative capital was moved to Oulu from Kuopio in 1900. In 1923, the Diocese was renamed the Diocese of Oulu. In 1939, a separate diocese called the Diocese of Kuopio was established to administer the ecclesial affairs of Eastern Finland, with the diocese capital in Kuopio. The northernmost diocese will, for reasons of

the District of Lapland (elementary schools), and for a shorter period of time the inspector of the District of Petsamo[55]. In 1925, the district of Lapland was divided when the district of Länsipohja was established. The new district covered the southwestern parts of the earlier district of Lapland. A number of Sámi lived in the district of Länsipohja.

The source material used reflects the duality of authority in Finland. The archives of the Chapter of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu include yearly reports of the church schools. The archives of the elementary school inspector of the District of Lapland include yearly overall reports, minutes of district meetings of teachers, and correspondence between the inspector and the National Board of Schools of Finland (NBSF) (*Kouluhallitus/Skolstyrelsen*). The main task of the elementary school inspectors was the inspection and supervision of the elementary schools, but they also participated in the planning and execution of educational policies.[56]

Why study the archives of the regional educational authorities?

The documents written by the regional educational authorities lend themselves well to an analysis of functions. The correspondence between the regional educational authorities and the higher instances of educational administration or regional authorities in other societal sectors include mostly such things as everyday reports about the school buildings, use of government funding, and the hiring of teachers. However, whenever the issue of language of instruction was addressed, it was often connected to the general role of education in society, and the relationship between elementary schools and other sectors of society. For this reason, it is a source material well suited for an analysis of functions of language of instruction in elementary schools with Sámi pupils.

The Finnish elementary school inspectors and Norwegian directors of schools did not have the same kind of powers as the nomad school inspectors of Sweden. However, the Finnish and Norwegian regional authorities also had substantial powers to influence the direction that educational policies were going to take, in being the eyes and ears, and sometimes the hands of the government in the northern regions. For this reason, source material produced by the regional educational authorities is widely representative of the governmental perspective in the northern regions of the three countries studied.[57] Studying the functions

clarity, be henceforth referred to as the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu, even if the diocese was never officially called thus.

55 The Petsamo area was a part of Finland between 1920–1947.

56 M.O. Karttunen, *Kansakoulutarkastajat ja heidän seuraajansa. Suomen koulutoimen piirihallinnon tarkastajamatrikkeli 1861–1980* (Helsinki: VKV ry, 1983), 12–14.

57 Especially in the case of Finland, including the perspective of the ecclesial administration.

of the languages of instruction through the correspondence and reports of these regional authorities is an investment with good returns. The inspectors and directors often pointed out what was lacking in the school systems. Language of instruction was referred to, for example, as a reason for poor learning results or it was connected to a larger societal context as a reason for low moral or cultural standpoint among the Sámi.

In some instances, newspaper articles are analyzed to expand the analysis. Newspapers are useful sources for studying the functions in their sociopolitical context, as the articles were aimed at a wider audience than reports and correspondence between the regional authorities and the higher administrative levels of education. In the case of newspaper articles, I have used those which earlier research has shown to be particularly relevant for an analysis of educational policies in general, and language of instruction in particular.

Source material produced by Sámi teachers

Besides the regional educational authorities, this dissertation studies utterances of Sámi teachers, political leaders such as Gustav Park in Sweden, and in the case of the nomad schools, of Sámi parents of pupils. What this means for the extent of archival work is that whereas the analysis of the school inspectors and directors is rather strictly limited to the archival collections of each inspector, in the case of Sámi teachers, the trawl has been wider. In Norway, the articulations of early twentieth century Sámi teachers are considerable in number and easily accessible through printed, online and archival sources. In Sweden, these articulations are slightly fewer and not as accessible. In Finland, it is difficult to locate material produced by Sámi teachers. The texts written by the Sámi actors described above are often reactions to the language policies in schools. In other cases, they are more active utterances of the function and importance of Sámi language for Sámi culture. In some cases, these sources are in Sámi, but in most cases they are written in the majority language of each country.

This dissertation includes source material written by Sámi teachers, and in some cases Sámi political activists and Sámi parents, in order to include a Sámi view on the functions of education. I use these sources to complement the picture painted by the sources produced by the regional educational authorities. However, limiting the study mainly to Sámi teachers positions the study on an analytical level of government officials and school policies, rather than pupil reactions or discussions in classrooms. It is a study on the functions that educational authorities, whether Sámi teachers or non-Sámi regional inspectors or directors, envisioned language of instruction to have in education and society.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has pointed out that writing the history of populations subaltern to other, more politically dominant, populations is a

challenging task. She argues that the problem of representation, namely that subaltern voices are not able to speak for themselves, is omnipresent. If not present in the source material, the researcher herself, with her Eurocentric education, will in any case cause the problem of representation.[58] The Sámi voices in this dissertation are in most cases the voices of Sámi teachers, educated in teachers' seminars, and consequently, in many cases, in an intermediary position between the national governments and the local Sámi populations. It is of relevance to point out that no a priori assumptions should be made about the identity of the Sámi teachers introduced in this book. Educated as they were in teachers' seminars, and being citizens of their respective countries, inhabitants of certain regions, and members of certain families, it is in no way self-evident that their only, or even primary, identity always was that of a Sámi person. While the selection of the teachers in this study is a result of them being Sámi, this selection should not lock them into a certain *a priori* subject position. The following analysis will try to avoid any such cementing of identities.

For reasons outlined above, source material produced by Sámi teachers is not as representative as the material produced by the regional educational authorities. However, it is important to note that I am not contrasting two perspectives: a governmental and a Sámi perspective. Rather, I am investigating prioritized functions of languages of instruction according to two groups of governmental officials, regional educational authorities, and teachers in elementary schools with Sámi pupils. In the latter group, I am particularily interested in teachers with Sámi backgrounds because of the above-described intermediary position they held between the majority society and the Sámi minorities in Sweden, Finland and Norway.

Whenever possible, I try to effectuate my ambition to interpret the sources horizontally, in a cross-national setting, rather than vertically within the three rectangular nation states with their administrative centers far south from the areas inhabited by the Sámi.

Other archival sources and biographies

Although I have tried to construct an analysis, which is as structured and streamlined as possible, I have included a small number of source corpuses that are not directly related to the regional school authorities or Sámi teachers. I have chosen to use meeting minutes of the nomad school boards (*nomadskolnämnder*), which document contact points between the nomad school inspector and local parents established in 1925. These meeting minutes are unique in a Nordic Sámi

58 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271–308.

context, since they give access to the voices of the parents of Sámi pupils, and I have included analyses of these minutes in the empirical chapter on Sweden.

Other exceptions include the archives of the ethnographer and leader of the "Lappish department" of the Nordic Museum (*Nordiska museet*) in Stockholm, Ernst Manker. This material at the Nordic Museum Archives in Stockholm includes letters from nomad school teachers that reveal important differences between the attitudes towards Sámi as language of instruction among the teachers.

A further exception is the correspondence of Karl Nickul, the secretary of *Lapin Sivistysseura* ("The Society for the Culture of the Lapps"[59], a society of Finnish intellectuals established in 1932 in Helsinki with the goal of supporting Sámi culture). Nickul's correspondence on the theme of Sámi education in the Petsamo area include a rich international group of receivers and senders that I have judged too important to be ignored with regards to the cross-national ambitions of this dissertation. Nickul's letters and writings are housed at the archive of *Lapin Sivistysseura* at The Sámi Archives in Inari, Finland.

A part of the source material used for this dissertation is of biographical character. Teachers, school inspectors, clergymen and bishops wrote about their years in office, in many cases for years or even decades in retrospect. These sources are treated with an awareness of the distracting effects time can have on the precision and objectivity of the author.

Periodization and outline

The periodization of the book is 1900–1940. Sámi schooling started as a Lutheran mission project in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the northern parts of Denmark-Norway and Sweden, which modern-day Finland was a part of. The mission schools educated young Sámi to work among their own people as missionaries and catechists, that is, as ambulating teachers. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, standard elementary school systems replaced the school systems administered by the church, earliest in Norway, then in Sweden, and latest in Finland.[60]

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59 Translation by member, since 1940 secretary of Lapin Sivistysseura Karl Nickul. Letter from Karl Nickul to Major Collins, July 5, 1937, Ba 1, Karl Nickulin arkisto I (KNA I), The Sámi Archives of Finland (SAF).

60 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 52–53, 161; Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 327–330, 337; Anton Hoëm, *Fra noaidiens verden til forskerens. Misjon, kunnskap og modernisering i sameland 1715–2007* (Oslo: Novus forlag, 2007), 30–31; Hans Lindkjølen, "Kirkens rolle i samisk opplæring," in *Samisk skolehistorie 1*, ed. Svein Lund (Karasjok: Davvi Girji, 2005), accessed October 10, 2017, http://www.skuvla.info/skolehist/lind-n.htm.

In all three countries, the early twentieth century was a period of consolidation, standardization and expansion of the national elementary school systems (*folkskola*). In the case of Sweden, early twentieth century also marked the emergence of the nomad school, a specific school system for nomadic reindeer herding Sámi.[61] To limit the research to the outset of the Second World War is logical in that even if the school policies implemented in the early twentieth century continued in all countries after the war, the most significant changes in the school systems had been carried out before the war. In Sweden, some de jure loosening of the strictest segregation policies was already underway in the 1920s and 1930s, even if the policies would de facto continue to the post-war period.[62] In Norway, a shift in the school policies in direction of a more positive attitude towards Sámi language began to be debated in the 1930s, and more widely in the late 1940s.[63] In Finland, the ambulating catechist school system administered by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland was slowly overtaken by the standard elementary schools during the years just before the Second World War, even if single church schools continued to provide elementary instruction until the early 1950s. This shift implied, in parallel with stricter legislation, a tightening of language policies in Finnish schools with Sámi pupils.[64] The periodization renders the dissertation a study on the establishment, implementation and consolidation phase of the school systems of the early twentieth century. This phase is fruitful for a study on functions of the languages of instruction as the function of the school system as a whole was debated in the documents framing the establishing, implementing and consolidation of the systems.

The outline of the dissertation is rather conventional. The presentation of the historiographical, methodological and theoretical frameworks (Chapter 1) is followed by two analytical parts. The first analytical part (Part I: Chapters 2 and 3) is a presentation and operationalization of contexts, based on earlier research. The second analytical part is the main empirical study of this dissertation. This second part is divided into three country-specific chapters and a general conclusion (Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7). Chapters 4 to 6 discuss the theme of this

61 Aikio-Puoskari, *Saamen kielen ja saamenkielinen opetus*, 136; Minde, "Assimilation of the Sami: Implementation and Consequences," 127; Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 120–121, 137; Sven Tägil, "Introduction," in *Ethnicity and Nation Building in the Nordic World*, ed. Sven Tägil (London 1995), 4–6.; Salvesen "Sámi Ædnan," 126.

62 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 44–45.

63 Astri Andresen, "Vitenskapene og den nye samepolitikken (1945–1963)," *Historisk tidsskrift* 3 (2016): 406; Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte*, 187

64 Veli-Pekka Lehtola, "Katekeettakouluista kansakouluihin. Saamelaisten kouluhistoria 1900-luvun alkupuoliskolla," in *Saamelaisten kansansivistyksen ja koulunkäynnin historia Suomessa*, ed. Pigga Keskitalo, Veli-Pekka Lehtola and Merja Paksuniemi (Turku: Institute of Migration, 2014), 44, 52, 60.

dissertation in each country in a chronological structure, beginning roughly in 1900 and ending just before the WWII. Chapter 7 is a comparative, contrasting and cross-national conclusion of the dissertation. Chapters 4 to 6 are organized according to headings roughly corresponding with the office periods of the regional educational authorities. I have chosen this model of organization for reasons of chronological and analytical clarity. The voices of Sámi teachers are treated in an active manner and not as mere reactions to the policies stipulated from above, even if they are in many cases presented as subheadings to subchapters on regional educational authorities.

A thematic disposition could have served better the goals of a cross-national analysis. However, having tested that structure, it became apparent that it was impossible to integrate the contexts of three countries in a thematic structure without an unnerving amount of repetition. The cross-national tendencies are instead discussed in the country-specific chapters, and in a more coherent manner in the conclusion of the dissertation (Chapter 7). On top of the cross-national part, the conclusion serves as a general reconsideration of the contexts introduced in chapters 2 and 3, with the nuancing powers of the empirical results at hand.

Limitations and terminology

The Russian/Soviet part of the elementary education of the Sámi is excluded from this study. There are a number of structural arguments that make a Nordic comparison feasible. The early twentieth century political and geographical contexts of Russia were rather different from the Nordic countries. After the revolution, the Soviet state implemented school policies that were positive towards the Sámi, including the publishing of teaching material in Sámi languages. In the 1930's, Stalinist terror radically replaced earlier policies with methods of "mass murder, deportations and removal to the reservation"[65], as Andrej Kotljarchuck has shown.

In Sweden, the general national elementary education system developed in parallel with a particular educational system for the children of the nomadic reindeer herding fell Sámi, the nomad school system implemented in 1913. In Finland, the ambulating catechist school administered by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland shared the responsibility for the elementary education of the children in the sparsely populated northernmost areas of Finland, where a vast majority of the Sámi lived. It was only in Norway then, where Sámi children, as a rule, went to regular standard elementary schools like other children.

65 Andrej Kotljarchuk, "Kola Sami in the Stalinist Terror: A Quantitative Analysis," *Journal of Northern Studies* 6, no. 2 (2012): 62, 76.

For the part of Norway, this dissertation studies mainly Finnmark County, where a majority of the Sámi in Norway lived and where the educational policies targeting the Sámi were strongest and most clearly defined. The neighboring county of Troms will be discussed to a lesser degree, whereas the areas south of Finnmark and Troms, which had smaller Sámi populations, are excluded from this study.

For the part of Finland, the dissertation studies both the standard elementary schools and the ecclesial ambulating catechist schools in Lapland, an area that in the early twentieth century corresponded to the northern part of the Province of Oulu.[66] Lapland was the home region for all but the totality of the Sámi in early twentieth century Finland. For the period 1920–1940, the study also includes the Petsamo area that pertained to Finland between the years 1920 and 1947.

In Sweden, the focus of the study lands on the nomad schools. The children of the sedentary Sámi that went to general Swedish elementary schools are excluded from the study. Excluding the sedentary Sámi is a systematic shortcoming in research on Sámi school history in Sweden, and hopefully a subject for future studies.

On past and contemporary ethnonyms

Sámi, *Sámi language* and *Sámi people* are umbrella terms for a number of populations with their own specific cultures, history, and language varieties pertaining to the Fenno-Ugric group of languages. In total, seven different Sámi language varieties exist within the borders of modern-day Norway, Finland and Sweden.[67] The old, nowadays pejorative term for the Sámi in Sweden and Finland, and sometimes even in Norway, was *Lapp,* and *Lapp language* was the common term for the Sámi language varieties. Somewhat confusingly, the older Norwegian word for the Sámi was *finner*, whereas the Finnish-speakers of Norway were and still are called Kvens (*kvener*).

The source material used for this dissertation distinguishes in some specific instances the Sámi group or variety that is referred to in the source. In general, however, the majority of the sources simply refer to *Sámi* or *Lapps* when talking about one or several of the Sámi groups, regardless of the cultural background of the source authors. In this regard, the dissertation follows the logic of the sources. Where pertinent, the Sámi group or variety referred to in a source is explicated. In general, the term Sámi is used for the people and the language varieties alike. The historical and contemporary terms Kven/Kven language are used for the Finnish-speakers of Northern Norway. The Finnish-speakers in northern Sweden are simply referred to as Finnish-speakers.

66 Between 1938 and 2009, Lapland formed a province of its own.

67 These varieties are, from south to north and from east to west: Southern Sámi, Ume Sámi, Pite Sámi, Lule Sámi, North Sámi, Inari Sámi and Skolt Sámi.

Terminology: countries, churches and schools

Norway became independent in 1905, after having formed a union with Sweden before that. Finland gained independence from Russia in 1917. Before these years, both Norway and Finland had a certain degree of autonomy that included autonomous educational policies. The fact that Finland was a part of Russia, however, postponed the implementation of compulsory education until after independence.[68] For reasons of clarity, both countries are referred to as Finland and Norway also in the earlier years of the twentieth century. Also for reasons of clarity, the Lutheran churches of Norway, Sweden and Finland are referred to with their contemporary names The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, The Church of Sweden and The Church of Norway.

Throughout the dissertation, the catechist schools of Finland administered by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland will be referred to as catechist schools. The elementary schools pertaining to the standard elementary school system administered by the NBSF will be called standard elementary schools. Also for the part of Sweden I use the term "standard elementary school" when referring to elementary schools within the national network of elementary schools, to mark a difference to the nomad schools, which were a specific solution for the Swedish Sámi areas.

For the localities, I use the majority language versions of their names, even if this in most cases means using the Swedified, Finnified and Norwegianized versions of Sámi localities (e.g. Inari [Finnish] instead of Aanaar [Inari Sámi], Anár [North Sámi], Aanar [Skolt Sámi] or Enare [Swedish]; or Karasjok [Norwegian] instead of Kárášjohka [North Sámi] or Kaarasjoki [Kven/Finnish]). As these examples illustrate, some of the localities have official names in several Sámi varieties, and in addition to that, in Kven, Meänkieli[69], or Finnish, or in Swedish in Finland. Also in the case of this decision, clarity has been the guiding principle.

Theory and method

The methodology of this dissertation builds on ideas from two theoretical traditions: the discourse-historical approach (DHA) related to the critical discourse analysis (CDA) tradition, and cross-national history (CNH). As Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer have argued, the various text-analytical methods branded as CDA and DHA can be enhanced through

68 Aimo Halila, *Suomen koululaitoksen historia I* (Turku: Uuden Auran Osakeyhtiön Kirjapaino, 1949), 32.

69 The current term for the Finnish dialects spoken in northern Sweden.

transdisciplinarity. According to these three scholars, transdisciplinarity means combining text-analysis methods with other methodologies, such as methods of social sciences.[70] This dissertation combines DHA with cross-national history.

The discourse-historical approach and cross-national history make a good match since both of them are re- and deconstructing to their core. This means that they are not to be considered as ready-made, clear-cut methodologies, but rather as arrays of different methodological tools and perspectives. The specific application of these methodologies emerges simultaneously with the empirical study. Cross-national history is open to various frameworks of interpretation, such as regional, national and cross-national frameworks. In the case of DHA, it is only after a meticulous primary analysis that the researcher can decide which specific methods are to be used in a specific study. As will be detailed later, I have decided to exclude the concept of discourse itself, while including other analytical concepts from the CDA/DHA tradition. Applied, as will be discussed in the following, the combined methodology of CNH and DHA enables studying functions in the three countries in focus for this study not only from a perspective within the national borders, but also from the outside, in, say, contrasting the way Swedish school authorities talked about Sámi education in Norway with the articulations of Norwegian authorities on the same subject. This kind of study sheds light on the sociopolitical contexts in both of the countries mentioned above. In addition to this, it helps to indicate and analyse cross-national movements and phenomena.

Cross-national history, balancing between methodological nationalism and methodological globalism

Cross-national history seeks to avoid two pitfalls at once. First, it turns a critical eye on the axiomatic and a priori use of nation state as frame of research. As suggested by George M. Fredrickson, cross-national history is "an antidote to the parochialism that may accompany a fixation on the history of one nation."[71] To clarify the relationship between the concepts *national* and *cross-national*, it is helpful to cite the following notion provided by Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor: For historians engaged in cross-national history writing, "the subjects of their studies can be as influenced by events abroad as they are by

70 Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, "Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology," in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009), 7; Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 5–6.

71 George M. Fredrickson, *The comparative imagination. On the history of racism, nationalism, and social movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 7.

those at home"[72]. This is not to say they necessarily are, but we should not close the door on more cross-national models of explanation. This notion is especially useful in the case of a cross-national population such as the Sámi.

Cross-national is an analytical concept that includes both the national and the cross-border. It complements rather than challenges or disregards earlier studies conducted within a national framework, such as studies on the national policies towards the Sámi. This is the advantage of using the concept *cross-national* instead of *transnational*. As Cohen and O'Connor have argued, transnationalism bears a certain determinism of the extra-nationality of the subject studied, and might overlook national explanation models in its search for global connections.[73] Exaggerated focus on transnational and global research frameworks has come under the critique of Bruno Latour and Urs Stäheli, among others. They have argued that as knowledge is always situated, there can never be an outside view of the global.[74] When we write about transnational or global phenomena, we are still sitting somewhere in the world, at a certain point in time, writing. This being-somewhere makes a global view impossible. To be sure, these ideas can be viewed as basic epistemological premises for historians; there is no objective view of anything, since we are influenced in countless ways by the knowledge contexts we are parts of.

What cross-nationalism brings, then, is a balance between methodological nationalism and methodological globalism. It considers both intra-national and extra-national explanation models for a certain subject or phenomenon. Instead of comparing already existing research from different countries, the methods of cross-national history approach the source material as open questions about not only findings, but also research categories and frameworks. This kind of post-structural methodology can be criticized for not establishing the premises for research soundly enough, and thus not leading to clear and thoroughly researched results. However, I would argue that the theoretical premises of this dissertation are in fact very well established, but *a posteriori*, after a primary analysis of the source material.

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72 Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, "Introduction: Comparative History, Cross-National History, Transnational History: Definitions," in *Comparison and history: Europe in cross-national perspective*, ed. Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor (New York: Routledge, 2004), xii.

73 Cohen and O'Connor, "Introduction," xii.

74 Urs Stäheli, "The Outside of the Global," *CR. The New Centennial Review*, Volume 3, no. 2 (2003): 19; Bruno Latour, ed., *Reset Modernity!* (Karlsruhe: ZKM Center for Art and Media, 2016), 51–54.

DHA without the D

Using methods from the discourse historical approach without referring to the concept of discourse is a conscious move on my part. A few decades after it was first introduced, the concept *discourse* currently has so many different operationalizations that its analytical potential risks drowning in this myriad of definitions. During the process of writing this dissertation, I have tested different operationalizations of discourse. Norman Fairclough's definition of discourse as the intermediary level between text and ideology is useful when analyzing one ideology and the way it is manifested in texts.[75] I am, however, interested in a more diverse sociopolitical context than one ideology. After testing Fairclough's definition on my source material, I felt that the concept of discourse this way defined was too rigid for my analysis. The text became peppered with different ideologies and discourses to the point where it was hard even for myself to distinguish ideology (say, nationalist ideology) from discourse (say, a nationalist discourse). Indeed, it became unclear in what ways these concepts helped my analysis. After abandoning Fairclough's definition of discourse, I worked for a long time with Ruth Wodak's topic-based[76] operationalization of discourse. This, I still think, would have been the most pertinent discourse definition for the dissertation. In the case of my study, the topic-based discourse would be the discourse on language of instruction in schools with Sámi pupils. But the problem of marrying cross-nationalism with the concept of discourse remained. Methods of discourse analysis can bring scholars applying comparative frameworks far in well-defined settings with a rather limited source material. Examples of such studies are comparisons of certain key words between different languages[77], or studying the linguistic aspects of the implementation of international policies on a national level[78]. Such methods are, on the other hand, not very well-suited for historical comparative and cross-national studies applying a wider perspective, studying contexts broader than a couple of key words or the implementation of a certain policy. The scope of this dissertation would need to be smaller and narrower in order to be a good match for comparative discourse analysis.

When working with the concept of discourse, one of the main problems I continually encountered was whether I should discuss one, cross-national

75 Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 24.

76 Instead of ideology-based. See Reisigl and Wodak, "The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)," 25.

77 See Melani Schröter and Mari Veniard, "Contrastive Analysis of keywords in discourses: Intégration and integration in French and German discourses about migration," *International Journal of Language and Culture* 3, no. 1 (2016): 1–33.

78 See Ruth Wodak and Norman Fairclough, "Recontextualizing European higher education policies: the cases of Austria and Romania," *Critical Discourse Studies* 7, no. 1 (2010): 19–40.

discourse on language of instruction. This definition would be a rather abstract operationalization of discourse and would, in my opinion, render unclear the fact that as much as I try to find cross-national articulations in my material, the nation states still played a paramount role as the primary contexts of the articulations, and the authors of the source material formed networks mainly within, rather than across national boundaries. This abstract notion of discourse that exists somewhere seemingly unrelated to an actual historical and geographical setting obscures the role of actors. The other option would have been to use an actor-based operationalization of discourse, and operationalize three different sub-discourses, one in each country, as manifestations of a wider cross-national discourse on language of instruction in schools with Sámi pupils. However, such definition of a main discourse and a number of sub-discourses, as well as the pondering upon which context these sub-discourses primarily relate to results in a fragmentary and confusing analysis. As an informed observation after trying my utmost to enhance my analysis with the concept of discourse, I feel that its use in this specific dissertation would have created more distraction than clarity. For this reason, I will leave *discourse* aside and use other, for this dissertation more pertinent, methods of the discourse historical approach: its tools for textual analysis, such as studying arguments and their assumptions, in order to get to the mechanisms of prioritizing functions, and most importantly, the four-level operationalization of context.

A four-level analysis of language in context

Linguists Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl, both working with DHA methods, have developed a useful model for studying language in context. In Wodak and Reisigl's model, language is studied in its context on four levels. The first two contextual levels are immediately related to the text studied. These are the (1) immediate, text-internal context (investigating linguistic relationships in the texts, such as syntaxes and grammatical devices) and the (2) intertextual context (investigating links to other texts). Context levels 1 and 2 are part of the fundamental empirical work of this dissertation. Level 1 is concerned with, for example, the ways in which arguments are articulated, at what readership they are aimed (including in what language texts are written, that is, in the majority language or Sámi), and with whose voice and what authority the source author claims to speak. Level 2 is more concerned with, for example, what other contemporary or historical texts an articulation refers to, and what the purpose of the reference is. The study on these context levels also includes the analytical devices of *argumentations* and *recontextualizations* that will be presented further down.

The two latter levels are focused on wider contexts. The (3) third level is the institutional context, in my case the schools and regional educational policies and administrative structures related to Sámi schooling. The (4) fourth context level is the sociopolitical context. In my case, this context is the general sociopolitical context of early twentieth century Nordic countries. The sociopolitical context is a conglomerate of social, economic, ideological and political conjunctures at any given time. I study each country as its own level-four context. Nevertheless, whenever possible, I include articulations that cross these contexts using the analytical device of recontextualization, which is discussed in detail on pages 40–42. The sociopolitical context is also diametrical in the sense that social, economic, ideological and political processes initiated and started long before the 1900s affected many conjunctures in the early twentieth century sociopolitical context.[79] Similarly, processes initiated in the early twentieth century obviously outlived my periodization and continued to influence Sámi schooling in ways already researched or yet to be discovered.

Institutional (educational) and sociopolitical functions of the languages of instruction - connecting text and context

This dissertation accepts a moderate version of the linguistic turn, namely the claim that the social world is textually construed, but that this construing is limited by contextual factors.[80] Language is in a constant dialectical interaction with other social elements. According to Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, language needs to be studied as a *result of and an influence on* the surrounding society.[81]

I apply the concept of *function* to link the texts (or the articulations, that is, what is written in the texts) and the institutional (level 3) and sociopolitical contexts (level 4). These functions are not to be interpreted as parts of a functionalist system in a sociological sense, in Durkheim's or Parson's definition as elements of society co-functioning (or not co-functioning) to make society work.[82] Nor should they be interpreted as functions of language in a sociolinguistical sense, that is, as links between linguistic elements and society.[83] The Merriam-Webster online dictionary defines function as "the action for

79 Reisigl and Wodak, "The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)," 30–32.

80 Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 8–9.

81 Norman Fairclough, *Media Discourse* (London: Edward Arnold, 1995), 75–76; Wodak and Meyer, "Critical Discourse Analysis," 5–6.

82 See Anthony Giddens and Philip W. Sutton, *Sociology* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2017), 20.

83 Janet S. Shibamoto-Smith and Vineeta Chand, "Linguistic Anthropology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, ed. Robert Bayley, Richard Cameron and Ceil Lucas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 35.

which a […] thing is specially fitted or used or for which a thing exists"[84]. The "thing", in this dissertation, is the language of instruction in elementary schools with Sámi pupils, as I study the articulations in the sources with focus on *what functions these authors envisioned the language(s) of instruction to have in the institutional and sociopolitical contexts.* These functions could hence be directly related to school or education (the institutional context, context level 3) or to a wider economic, social, political and ideological context (the sociopolitical context: context level 4). The functions on the institutional, educational level are related to pedagogy, but they are not necessarily functions of pedagogy. Rather, pedagogy, or pedagogies, is only a part of the contexts that these functions were envisioned to be active in.

The functions are accounted for below, but an example here serves to clarify the operationalization of the concept. Let us take the *progressive function* as an example. Many regional educational authorities considered that only the majority language of each country could convey material and cultural progress in the long run. For this reason, they wanted to see the majority language as the language of instruction in the schools with Sámi pupils.

I study articulations about the functions with a set of methodological concepts of textual analysis introduced by the discourse-historical approach. I am especially interested in *argumentation* and *recontextualization*.

Prioritizing functions: arguments and ideology

I use *articulation* as the general term for the utterances in the sources. Articulation is a neutral[85] analytical term, more or less synonymous with "utterance" or "text". The concept of *argument*, however, carries much more analytical weight. Studying arguments means studying the ways authors of texts prioritize the functions and justify their position (e.g. why they want to see the majority language as the language of instruction). These justifications can be explicit (leads to progress in material and cultural terms) or latent (the majority language considered to be the self-evident language of instruction). The latent arguments should also be studied, since they have a certain hegemonic content. They serve as indicators of hegemonic ideologies.[86] Ideology, in the definition of Reisigl and Wodak, is a worldview, a system of representation, attitudes and values that a certain social group shares. Reisigl and Wodak consider ideologies to include three imaginaries: (1) a representation of what a society looks like, (2) a visionary model of what a society *should* look like and (3) a programmatic

84 Merriam-Webster.com, s.v. "Function," accessed July 24, 2017, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/function.

85 Insofar neutral analytical terms exist. What I mean is that in this dissertation, the term *articulation* is not connected to any theoretical or methodological framework.

86 Reisigl and Wodak, "The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)," 33, 40.

model of how to reach that envisioned society in the future. My notion of function rests firmly within the third imaginary.

When ideologies are hegemonic, the statements based on these ideologies appear as neutral, or as common sense, in the words of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann.[87] Also, Jürgen Habermas has argued that when legitimations of power relations are not articulated, they are ideological.[88] When most people accept a certain ideology as true and even forget that there are alternative ways of viewing the reality, the ideology is hegemonic, that is, dominant in the context. The concept of hegemony in this sense is borrowed from Antonio Gramsci.[89] Seemingly neutral arguments can in many cases be the most revealing about what ideologies had hegemonic positions within the sociopolitical contexts.

Recontextualizations and cross-nationalism

Recontextualizations are intertextual elements that are decontextualized from a certain context and introduced and hence recontextualized in a new context. For example, an author can take an element from the institutional context of Sámi education in Norway and reintroduce, or recontextualize, it in the institutional context of Sámi education in Sweden. What is included and omitted in the recontextualization can shed light on both the original and the destination context.[90] In this dissertation, the concept of recontextualization is especially useful when studying cross-national recontextualizations, that is, when applied in a cross-national setting such as the one described above. These cross-national recontextualizations reveal contextual factors that would be hard to discover in a study concentrating only on one nation state. For instance, examining why a Norwegian director of schools on the one hand, and a Swedish nomad school inspector on the other, prioritized different functions of Sámi as the language of instruction in a specific boarding school in Norway is an effective way to study the similarities and differences between the countries and their language policies in schools.[91]

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87 Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (London: Penguin Books, 1966), 37.

88 Wodak and Meyer, "Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology," 10; Jürgen Habermas, *Erkenntniss und Interesse* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1968), 259.

89 Wodak and Meyer, "Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology," 8–9; Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, trans. and ed. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 145.

90 Reisigl and Wodak, "The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)," 28; Wodak and Fairclough, "Recontextualizing European higher education policies," 22.

91 For this specific case, see pages 103–104.

As my very operationalization of function includes the notion of the institutional and the sociopolitical contexts, the functions link the articulations on language of instruction firmly to the wider contexts (level 3 and 4) where the actors envisioned these languages of instruction as fulfilling their role. The geographical limits of the contexts most often run parallel to the state borders. Whenever possible, I include examples of cross-national recontextualizations.

The institutional and sociopolitical functions of languages of instruction

As stated on the opening pages of this dissertation, the guiding enquiry for my study is why the policies on language of instruction were so different in the three countries studied. Furthermore, I am interested in why certain languages were prioritized as langauges of instruction while others were not. I believe that function, in the way it has been operationalized above, is a useful analytical concept to study these questions. Studying the functions that the actors envisioned the languages of instruction to have sheds light on both the common denominators and the differences between the countries, and the different prioritizations of languages of instruction.

As analytical categories, the functions introduced in the following are not perfect, exclusive categories. Some articulations fit in with several functions, and the functions could have been operationalized otherwise. I have, in my operationalization, focused on the *generalizability*, *contextuality* and *comparability* of the functions. *Generalizability* means that I have constructed categories that encompass enough articulations to generate interesting research results. *Contextuality* means that in operationalizing the functions, I have had in mind the sociopolitical context of the time period, based on earlier research. With *comparability,* my goal has been to name and construct the functions thus that they are comparable between the three countries. This does not imply that I have oversimplified the categories, or highlighted similarities and downplayed differences. Rather, it means that I have identified and articulated the common denominators that enable comparison and contrast in the first place. In the following, I introduce the institutional and sociopolitical functions that form the methodological core of the analysis of this dissertation.

Functions on the institutional level (educational policies and education: Context level 3)

The intelligibility function

The intelligibility function is a pragmatic function in that it enables the mutual intelligibility between the teacher and the pupils in a teaching situation.

However, it of course carries a normative content in that the purpose of mutual intelligibility, whether reached in Sámi or in the majority languages, is the efficient conveying of the curriculum, with its substance but also its norms. This function is also shortly referred to in Wingstedt's dissertation, in a footnote as a presumed reason for why the use of Sámi was tolerated within the nomad school system.[92]

The quality of education function

This function is closely related to the intelligibility function, but with added focus not only on the intelligibility of the teaching situation, but also on the quality of education. The function that the languages of instruction had was to ensure that the teaching situation was as understandable as possible for all parts. At the same time, the language of instruction needed to convey the curriculum as qualitatively as possible. This function was often related to claims that the quality of Sámi education should meet to the standards of the general quality of education in the three countries.

Functions on the sociopolitical level (Context level 4)

The assimilative function

The function of language of instruction is, according to the assimilative function, to facilitate and speed up language assimilation, that is, to change the first language of the pupils from Sámi to the majority language. Assimilation, in this case, is defined as "make similar to", where the first language of the minority populations was to be made similar to, or the same as, the first language of the children of the majority populations.

The state language function

This function highlights the need of a common state language. It points not necessarily to nationalist ideology but rather to the need of a government to dispose of a common language to govern all of its citizens. This could be called the governability function, but it would be misleading since governability is related to issues of legitimacy of power whereas the state language function is a pragmatic precondition of efficient administration. On a national level, Finland and Norway had two state languages. Finland had Finnish and Swedish, but in the northern areas the majority language, and thus the state language, was Finnish. Norway had two versions of Norwegian, the *riksmål* and the *landsmål*, but in the Sámi areas the prioirty of the educational authorities was to "Norwegianize" the Sámi. The language debates on riksmål and landsmål

92 Wingstedt, *Language Ideologies and Minority Language Policies in Sweden,* 51.

(Norway), and Finnish and Swedish (Finland) were not topical in the northern regions of early twentieth century Norway and Finland.

The added resource function

This refers to a function of the majority language as the language of instruction. The learning of the majority language is considered not as an alternative to learning Sámi, but as an added resource. The assumption in this function is that Sámi language will survive alongside the majority languages.

The ubi bene, ibi patria function/soft power function

Sámi as language of instruction has the ubi bene, ibi patria function when it keeps the Sámi happy and thus loyal to the state administration.

The culture-bearing function

Language as the bearer of a culture and/or a nationality, whether Sámi or Swedish/Finnish/Norwegian.

The progressive function

This function is related to the culture-bearing function, but with the added notion that Sámi or the majority language as the language of instruction is not only a bearer of culture, but also a reformer, or developer in cultural and/or material terms.

The citizenship function

A language of instruction has this function when it educates children into an equal citizenship. The contents and definition of this equal citizenship varies in the source material, as does the language (majority language/Sámi) through which this equal citizenship is to be reached.

Research Ethics

Ethics in Sámi research is a subject that continues to generate debate in the Nordic countries. Anna-Lill Drugge and Bjørg Evjen have recently contributed to the discussion on research ethics and studies on Sámi culture and history. What both scholars highlight is the need to critically examine the questions, aims and ambitions of a researcher on Sámi history. With regard to research results, researchers should reflect upon how these should be disseminated, and whom they should benefit, i.e. what relevance they have for the community

studied. These notions are based on international literature on ethics and indigenous studies, probably most famously promoted by Linda Tuhiwai Smith in her book *Decolonizing methodologies*.[93] Evjen, in an article co-written with David R.M Beck, emphasizes the benefits of the indigenous studies paradigm, even if she points out that the goal is not to replace an earlier paradigm with a new indigenous studies monopoly, but rather to explore the possibilities of ethical research. Drugge, in the introduction to an anthology she has edited, discusses the ways in which the relevance of indigenous studies methods have been tested and tried in the case of Sámi historiography.[94]

A lack of comparative perspectives risks cementing Sámi history within the framework of each nation state and thus impeding a more border-crossing historical understanding of the Sámi, both today and in the future. The historian Henry Minde pointed out this methodological impasse in 2008, arguing that Sámi history continues to be "a case in point" of methodological nationalism.[95] The situation has not ameriolated since 2008, as I have claimed in a recent historiographical study.[96] In discussing Sámi research and ethics, Sámi scholar Rauna Kuokkanen has discussed the issue of "outsiders" in Sámi research, that is, who should be allowed to conduct research on Sámi issues. She states that the problem is not outsiderness as such. Rather, the problem is repetitive research: that research on the Sámi continues to repeat old notions and conceptions produced by "outsider" researchers in the first place.[97] Here, widening the scope of Sámi educational history from the nation state framework to a cross-national framework is of great importance. The greatest ambition of this dissertation is to

93 Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed, 2006).

94 Bjørg Evjen and David R.M. Beck, "Growing Indigenous Influence on Research, Extended Perspectives, and a New Methodology. A Historical Approach," in *Mapping Indigenous Presence: North Scandinavian and North American Perspectives*, ed. Kathryn W. Shanley and Bjørg Evjen (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015), 48–52; Anna-Lill Drugge, "Introduction," in *Ethics in Indigenous Research Past Experiences. Future Challenges*, ed. Anna-Lill Drugge (Umeå: Umeå University, 2016), 11.

95 See Henry Minde et al., "Introduction," in *Indigenous Peoples. Self-determination, Knowledge, Indigeneity*, ed. Henry Minde et al. (Delft: Eburon Publishers, 2008), 2.

96 Otso Kortekangas, "Whose history is Sámi history? Utility, nation state and the indigenous studies paradigm. A historiographical comment," in *The Barents and the Baltic Sea region: Contacts, influences and social change*, ed. Kari Alenius and Matti Enbuske (Rovaniemi: Pohjois-Suomen historiallinen yhdistys, 2017), 101–108.

97 Rauna Kuokkanen, "From research as colonialism to reclaiming autonomy: Toward a research ethics framework in Sápmi," in *Ethics in Sámi and Indigenous research. Report from a seminar in Kárášjohka, Norway. November 23–24, 2006* (Kautokeino: Nordic Sámi Institute, 2008), 58.

contribute with a more cross-national perspective on a cross-national population that is most often talked about, and therefore cemented, as a national minority within nation states. Widening the scope of Sámi history into cross-national history is my ambition and my contribution, emanating from and firmly founded on basic principles of history as a scholary practice.

To facilitate the dissemination of the results of this dissertation, I have made the summary and conclusions available online in North Sámi. It is the largest Sámi variety, and the only one spoken in all the three countries studied in this dissertation.

Part I: Contexts

Introduction. Sámi education: general and specific

This chapter on contexts, based on earlier research, sets the stage for the empirical analysis in chapters 4 to 6. It serves as an introduction of the contexts that frame the analysis. At the end of each sub-chapter is a short text that connects the discussed contextual factors to the related functions of language of instruction. For instance, the sub-chapter on state building and nationalism closes with the notion that state building and nationalism are mainly related, and studied through the state language, the culture-bearing, and the progressive functions.

In focus stand the third and fourth levels of context explicated in the theory and method section of this dissertation. The first part of this context chapter treats the general sociopolitical context of Sámi elementary education (context level 4). After that, the chapter zooms in to the institutional context of schools and education (context level 3). This context level concerns the institutional and pedagogical development of elementary education, with a special focus on Sámi elementary education. The structure of this chapter implies a certain element of repetition. I judge repetition to be the lesser evil in this case, however, and thoroughness and the connection to the methodological model of contexts a priority.

The context of a historical study is not only synchronic, but necessarily also diachronic. Obviously, it is impossible to account for every historical factor within the contexts influencing the articulations. The following discussion is a synthesis based on earlier research. It focuses on the most important political, social, economic and ideological developments leading to the context of Sámi education in the early twentieth century Nordic countries. As the focus of this dissertation is languages of education, the following chapter on the sociopolitical and institutional contexts of Sámi elementary education is centered on language policies.

In all three countries, the elementary education of the Sámi was both a part of a general governmental investment in education systems, and a special case. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, governments in Europe, influenced by new pedagogical ideas developed to address societal challenges such as industrialization, urbanization and proletarization, considered elementary edcuation a tool by which to solve several types of social problems, such as poverty or exclusion.[98] Educational policies towards the Sámi cannot be separated from this general pattern. Rather, they need to be studied as a part of the intensified focus and belief in education as a formative and controlling

98 See e.g. Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 16; Tomas Englund, *Samhällsorientering och medborgarfostran i svensk skola under 1900-talet* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1986), 14, 20; Håkan Forsell, *Urbana Infantil. Stadsmiljö, pedagogik och kunskapssamhälle i metropolernas tidevarv, ca 1900–1930* (Lund: Sekel, 2012), 25–31.

mechanism around the turn of the twentieth century. On the other hand, the fact that the children to be educated were of Sámi origin was of importance in different ways. In Norway, this led to a specific assimilation policy aimed at the Sámi, especially in the northernmost parts of the country.[99] In Sweden, from 1913 onwards, the specific Sámi educational policies took the form of segregation that divided the Sámi into nomadic reindeer herding Sámi that attended nomad schools, and sedentary Sámi, that attended standard Swedish elementary schools.[100] In Finland, in the case of the standard governmental elementary school system, no special policy with regard to the Sámi was instituted, but de facto assimilation took place in many cases as Finnish language and culture were normative in the elementary school system expanding to the Sámi areas. However, a significant part of northern Finland was outside of this elementary school system during the first half of the twentieth century. Ambulating catechist schools administered by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland had the responsibility for elementary education in the areas where no governmental elementary schools existed. The administration and teachers (called catechists) of this parallel school system were much more positive towards the use of Sámi, and many catechists either learned one or several of the Sámi languages spoken in Finland, or were Sámi themselves. Knowing one of the Sámi varieties also implied a higher salary.[101]

Sámi education was a part of the general educational policies in the Nordic countries, but it included elements of special, targeted education. Centered on this notion of Sámi education as general and specicifc at the same time, the following discussion of contexts sets out to prepare the ground for the empirical analysis on the envisioned functions of languages of instruction.

99 Minde, "Assimilation of the Sami: Implementation and Consequences," 126–129.

100 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 16–20.

101 Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 465-466; Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 82.

2. Sociopolitical contexts

State building and nationalism: consolidation of state power through infrastructure and ideology

In all three countries, the turn of the twentieth century was a time of intensifying relations and encounters between the Sámi and the majority societies. The different Sámi populations in the north of Sweden, Finland and Norway came into closer contact with the governments of these countries, through their regional and local political, legal and economic extensions, including the systems of elementary education.

To understand the context of the elementary education of Sámi children and the language policies in the schools in the early twentieth century, a good place to start is the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe. In Northern European geopolitics, the period 1809-1814 marked a time of great shifts that would have forceful repercussions for the way the Nordic governments viewed their sparsely populated northern areas. Until this time, the northern areas, where most of the Sámi lived, had only occasionally caught the interest of the Crowns of Denmark-Norway and Sweden (with Finland). Missionaries had been active in the areas since the Middle Ages, and more regularly following the Lutheran reformations of Denmark and Sweden in the sixteenth century. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries wintessed the commencement of Sámi education, as missionaries in both Norway and Sweden established schools to educate Sámi youngsters to preach the Gospel among other Sámi. Trade with and taxing of the Sámi, as well as certain mining activities, were other reasons to venture northwards. The borders of the different kingdoms were, until the eighteenth century, unclear and informal to such a degree that certain Sámi groups were taxed by the Crowns of more than one country.[102]

Much of this changed around the turn of the nineteenth century. In 1808–1809, Sweden waged a war against Russia as a part of the Napoleonic Wars. As a consequence of the war, Sweden had to cede its eastern half to Russia. This former eastern half of the Swedish kingdom then became the autonomous

102 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 52–53, 75–76; Lindkjølen, "Kirkens rolle i samisk opplæring." For more on the consequences of the Napoleonic Wars, see the anthology Lars Elenius, Patrik Lantto and Matti Enbuske (eds.) *Fredens konsekvenser. Samhällsförändringar i norr efter 1809* (Luleå: Luleå University of Technology, 2009).

Grand Duchy of Finland. Finland became a sovereign state in 1917 as it gained full independence from Russia after the October Revolution. In the Treaty of Kiel of 1814, as a further consequence of the Napoleonic Wars, Denmark was forced to cede Norway to Sweden. After a short war with a Norway aspiring to independence, Sweden persuaded Norway into a personal union with its king that lasted until 1905. Even if Norway and Finland gained independence in 1905 and 1917, respectively, both were granted a substantial degree of autonomy already in the early nineteenth century. Both Norway and Finland kept their earlier constitutions.[103]

These changes at the beginning of the nineteenth century had the consequence that age-old cultural and political patterns and links in an east-western orientation were severed as the three new political entities of Norway, Sweden and Finland reinvented themselves as rectangular states stretching from the political and population centers of the south to the vast arctic expanses in the north.[104] This development intensified during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The consequences of these nineteenth and early-twentieth-century developments for politics affecting the Sámi are well documented in earlier research. As noted by Lars Elenius and Veli-Pekka Lehtola, for instance, the northern Nordic areas inhabited by Sámi and Finnish-speaking minorities became squeezed in between three different state-building projects, with consequences for the minorities inhabiting these areas, including school and language policies.[105] Interestingly, as shall be discussed further down, the political developments of nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led to three different solutions with regard to Sámi schooling in the three different countries. These three different solutions also had rather different approaches towards the languages of instruction, as this dissertation lays bare.

The strengthening of nation states eventually led to strengthening control of the territory of the state. This implied increased and intensified contacts between governmental officials and the population even in the remote areas of each country. This intensification of contacts included the expansion of the school systems, but also construction of infrastructure and communications. The Iron Ore Line (*Malmbanan*) railway connected the economic centers of Sweden to the iron ore deposits in the north. In Finland, roads were built southwards from the Sámi areas traditionally oriented northwards to the Norwegian

103 Finland kept the constitution of Sweden. Norway kept the constitution that had been written in 1814 in the short time period between the Treaty of Kiel and the war against Sweden.

104 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 75–79.

105 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 173–174; Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 87–89.

coastline of the Arctic Ocean. In Norway, the Sámi and Kven-speaking areas were connected with roads to larger coastal towns. The cultural, political, social and economic realities of northern Fennoscandia[106] changed as the northern areas were connected ever more tightly to the political and economic centers in the south through communications, infrastructure, and governmental institutions.[107] Sámi areas with their traditional orientations and seasonal migratory patterns ignoring national borders were connected to a network of roads and communications radiating from the three capitals around the sixtieth latitude: Stockholm, Helsinki and Oslo (Kristiania). The new communications also brought settlers and other migrants from the south. As pointed out by Veli-Pekka Lehtola, the importance of this kind of unintended language assimilation should not be overlooked when studying the language use among the Sámi. At the same time, it was this very contact with the majority culture that triggered worries, especially among Swedish educational authorities who wanted to protect the Sámi from the assimilative forces of the majority culture. The nomad school system was branded as one solution to this problem.[108]

As Lars Elenius, Knut Einar Eriksen and Einar Niemi, and Veli-Pekka Lehtola have discussed, the new geopolitical reality coexisted with strengthening nationalist ideology. Nationalism, as pointed out by Umut Özkrimli and Sverker Sörlin, among many others, is a concept that encompasses a wide field of different meanings. While many researchers propagate the view that nationalism is essentially a modern ideology, others, such as Aviel Roshwald claim that nationalism was an ideology that was around much earlier than the nation states of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[109] As applied by Lars Elenius, Eriksen and Niemi, and Veli-Pekka Lehtola in the context of Sámi school history, nationalism was the ideology behind the building of modern nation states. Defined in this sense, nationalism was a thrust towards modernity, an ideology seeking to transform the large and mainly agrarian countries into modern nation states with strong national economies. In an anthology chapter on minorities in Norwegian media in the early twentieth century, Lars Lien and Madeleine Zetterlund Stenhammer define nationalism as comparable to "reactionary modernism", a concept borrowed from Jeffrey

106 The Scandinavian peninsula, Finland, and a part of Northwestern Russia.

107 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 58; Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 70–73.

108 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 120, 202; Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 158–161; Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 45.

109 Sverker Sörlin, *Nationalism* (Stockholm: SNS förlag, 2006); Umut Özkrimli, *Theories of nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 9–14; Aviel Roshwald, *The Endurance of Nationalism. Ancient Roots, Modern Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Herf.[110] By reactionary modernism, in a Norwegian context, the authors mean that progressive and modernist ideas were mixed with essentialist cultural nationalist notions of different nations and their hierarchical positions in the world. With regard to minorities, such as the Sámi, this nationalism-as-reactionary-modernism implied exclusion - the Sámi were considered a people of the past that did not fit within the Norwegian nationalist narrative of a progressive nation.[111] This notion of Lien and Zetterlund Stenhammer's, although developed within the Norwegian context, is a useful one to keep in mind for all three countries in the analysis of this dissertation.

Nationalism and language policies

Nationalism was an ideology used by various countries in competition with each other.[112] Norwegian nationalism, according to Øystein Sørensen, had a twofold mission. Politically, Norwegian nationalist intellectuals and politicians wanted to steer Norway away from the political union with Sweden. In cultural terms, the goal was to distance the country from Denmark and Danish culture, which had been dominant in Norway during the centuries-long union with Denmark.[113] Also Finnish nationalism, at least the Fennoman movement pushing for a higher status for Finnish language and culture, had a double agenda similar to Norwegian nationalism. Politically, the goal was to maintain Finnish autonomy, or in more radical circles, to leave the Russian Empire altogether. Culturally, the goal was to elevate the status of the majority language of the country, Finnish, to match, or even take over, the status of Swedish as the language of Finnish culture, politics and high society. Swedish nationalism had strong Scandinavist undertones. As noted by Elenius, Scandinavism aimed at a unified Scandinavian hegemony, and stemmed from a realization among the intelligentsia of Sweden and Denmark that none of the two old kingdoms could reach their ancient power positions alone. However, as Scandinavism came to be applied mostly within each Scandinavian state rather than across borders, it contributed to a disintegration rather than unification of the Scandinavian

110 Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

111 Lars Lien and Madeleine Zetterlund Stenhammer, "'De fremmede' i pressen. Omtale av nasjonale minoriteter og urfolk i media fra 1900 til andre verdenskrig," in *Nasjonale minoriteter og urfolk i norsk politikk fra 1900 til 2016*, ed. Nik. Brandal, Cora Alexa Døving and Ingvill Thorson Plesner (Oslo: Cappelen Damm, 2017), 46–48.

112 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 103, 108; Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 269. Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 58, 188–191, 422.

113 Øystein Sørensen, *Norsk Idéhistorie III: Kampen om Norges sjel 1770-1905* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2001), 344.

countries. The Scandinavistic currents were always weaker in Norway, since the country wanted to distance itself from both Sweden and Denmark.[114]

The nationalisms of Norway, Finland and Sweden differed from each other in many ways. However, as pointed out by Sirkka Ahonen and Jukka Rantala, especially in the case of educational policies, all three countries were substantially influenced by both the *Blut und Boden* ethnic and romanticist nationalism of the German speaking Europe, and the civic society nationalism, conventionally associated with the tradition of the French revolution. This twofold nationalist influence implied that notions of nation and national languages were important in Nordic elementary education. At the same time, the education projects of the Nordic states aimed at a socio-economic and civic uplifting of the masses, even if also more classicist approaches promoting more advanced education only for the elites were strong in all countries.[115]

As Sten Högnäs has discussed, Norway and Finland experienced a strong national thrust in the nineteenth and early twentieth century as they strived towards independence and aimed at developing a national culture in their new national languages, Finnish and New Norwegian (*landsmål/nynorsk*).[116] Up until the nineteenth century, the language of culture and higher society in Norway had been Danish, and in Finland, Swedish. The liberal Norwegian intelligentsia started developing a new Norwegian language, the *landsmål*, that would steer away from the written language of Norway (*riksmål*), which was close to Danish.[117] In Finland, Finnish was elevated to a national language, whereas Swedish maintained its strong position and was codified into a parallel national language together with Finnish. In both Norway and Finland, debates arose as to which languages should play a greater role in nation building. In this context, the numerically small Sámi population, inhabiting areas geographically distant from the capitals, had a hard time pushing for their rights and role as a language community within the countries.[118] However, as Ritva Kylli has shown, the fact that Finnish was, until Finland's independence in 1917, a small and at times

114 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 79–84; Matti Virtanen, *Fennomanian perilliset. Poliittiset traditiot ja sukupolvien dynamiikka* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2001), 106.

115 Sirkka Ahonen and Jukka Rantala, "Introduction: Norden's Present to the World," in *Nordic Lights. Education for Nation and Civic Society in the Nordic Countries, 1850–2000*, ed. Sirkka Ahonen and Jukka Rantala (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2001), 14.

116 Sten Högnäs, "The Concept of *Bildung* and the Education of the Citizen," in *Nordic Lights. Education for Nation and Civic Society in the Nordic Countries, 1850–2000*, ed. Sirkka Ahonen and Jukka Rantala (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2001), 37.

117 Sørensen, *Norsk Idéhistorie*, 344.

118 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 82–84, 101–112.

oppressed language within the Russian Empire contributed to certain sympathy towards Sámi language in Finland, especially among the clergy.[119]

In Finland, a double elementary school system emerged with elementary schools and teachers' seminars that provided tuition in Finnish and Swedish, respectively.[120] Put in a somewhat simplified manner, the Swedish-speakers went to Swedish elementary schools, and the Finnish-speakers to Finnish elementary schools. In the Sámi regions, no Swedish schools were active, since the Swedish-speaking population of Finland was and is mainly concentrated to the southern and western coastal areas of the country. In Norway, since the school legislation of 1889, the school districts could choose between *riksmål* and *landsmål* as the main language of tuition.[121] Sámi, together with the Kven language spoken by the Kven[122] population of Northern Norway, was confined to the role of an auxiliary language that was to be used only if absolutely necessary.[123]

Sweden was different in that, as an older country, the nation building process never gained the same intensity around the turn of the twentieth century as it did in Norway and Finland. However, as Lars Elenius has shown, after the loss of Finland in 1809 and the loss of Norway in 1905, the Swedish intelligentsia had to relate to the new reality of the country in a new, smaller geographical form. A cultural standardization and homogenization followed.[124] The northern areas gained more attention than before and entered the sphere of governmental educational policies. The inhabitants of these northern areas were not only Swedish-speaking; in many parts of northern Sweden, Finnish- or Sámi-speakers were the majority populations. As discussed by Elenius and Julia Nordblad, Swedish educational authorities considered Finnish-speakers in Sweden as Swedes who had switched their mother tongue from Swedish to Finnish due to the cultural influence of Finnish language in the area. They needed to be assimilated linguistically and culturally into full-scale Swedes. The Sámi, however, were considered a different population altogether. In the case of the nomadic reindeer herding part of the Sámi population, the ideal outcome of education was preserving the livelihood of reindeer herding as much as possible.[125] The part of the Sámi population that were already sedentary, and

119 Kylli, "Misjon og utdanning blant samer i 1800-tallets Finland," 54.

120 Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen and Anja Heikkinen, "Yhteiskunta ja koulutus," in *Valistus ja koulunpenkki. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1860-luvulta 1960-luvulle*, ed. Anja Heikkinen and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2011), 26.

121 Reidar Myhre, Den norske skoles utvikling: Idé og virkelighet (Oslo:Gyldendal, 1992), 53.

122 Kven is, in linguistic terms, a Finnish dialect, see page 33 Introduction.

123 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare,* 58.

124 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik,* 149.

125 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 119; Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor*, 332–333.

thus according to the authorities partly assimilated, was to be assimilated in standard Swedish elementary schools.

As the discussion above shows, language was an issue widely and actively debated in Finland and Norway in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. On a national level, the debate was about Finnish and Swedish in Finland, and *riksmål* and *landsmål* in Norway. Discussing Sámi language was never a high national priority, probably due to the geographically and culturally peripheral location of the areas inhabited by Sámi-speakers. However, as discussed further down in the case of security politics, in Norway, the Sámi and the Kvens caught the attention of authorities at a high level due to the fact that these minorities inhabited Norwegian areas bordering with Finland and Russia.

Sámi teachers and the cultural and national Sámi movements of the early twentieth century

Nationalism influenced not only the majority societies, but also the Sámi in the Nordic countries. Patrik Lantto, Ketil Zachariassen, Regnor Jernsletten, Eivind Bråstad Jensen, Veli-Pekka Lehtola and Erkki Pääkkönen have discussed the general lines of the cultural and political organization of the Sámi in the twentieth century. [126] As pointed out by all of these authors, the early twentieth century witnessed a certain national awakening among the Sámi. As Lehtola maintains, the Sámi movement in early twentieth century Finland was more concerned with religious awakening than nationalist ideas, but Sámi intellectuals, such as teacher Josef Guttorm, were well aware of the nationalist undertones of the Sámi movements of Norway and Sweden. These movements, especially the one in Norway, succeeded in creating a functioning Sámi public sphere in the early years of the twentieth century, with the publication of such periodicals as *Sagai Muittalægje* in Norway, and *Lapparnas egen tidning/Samefolkets egen tidning* (the publication language was Swedish) in Sweden. For the part of Finland, such a public sphere had to wait until the 1930s and the *journal Sabmelaš*, published by *Lapin Sivistysseura* ("The Society for the Culture of the Lapps"), a society established in 1932 by a number of Finnish intellectuals interested in Sámi culture.[127] Also in Norway and Sweden, as observed by Patrik Lantto

126 Ketil Zachariassen, *Samiske nasjonale strategar: Samepolitikk og nasjonsbyggning 1900–1940: Isak Saba, Anders Larsen og Per Fokstad* (Karasjok: Čálliid Lágádusa 2012), 23; Patrik Lantto, *Tiden börjar på nytt. En analys av samernas etnopolitiska mobilisering i Sverige 1900–1950* (Umeå: Umeå University, 2000), 296; Regnor Jernsletten, *Samebevegelsen i Norge. Idé og strategi 1900–1940* (Tromsø: Univeristy of Tromsø, 1986); Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte*; Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*; Erkki Pääkkönen, *Saamelainen etnisyys ja pohjoinen paikallisuus. Saamelaisten etninen mobilisaatio ja paikallisperustainen vastaliike* (Rovaniemi: University of Lapland, 2008).

127 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 133–134, 306–308.

and Regnor Jernsletten, the Sámi public spheres and national movements were active only for a few years at a time and struggled to maintain consistency and continuity during the first half of the twentieth century.[128] Ketil Zachariassen has described the north-Norwegian Sámi opposition to assimilation policies as a "nation-building project that did not reach it goals."[129]

The national awakening among the Sámi had a strong connection to language policies. Ideas of Sámi nationality flourished, especially among teachers and at the teachers' seminars. Whereas the seminars disseminated Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish nationalism, they were a place for ambitious Sámi youngsters to come together and be inspired by the ideas of such Nordic nation-builders as N.F.S. Grundtvig[130], about the intrinsic value in each nationality and its language.[131] As pointed out by Regnor Jernsletten and Ivar Bjørklund, the Sámi movement in northern Norway had these kinds of cultural and nationalist attributes, whereas the southern Sámi movement in Norway was more occupied with questions of reindeer herding. This difference stemmed from the fact that the northern Sámi were under greater pressure of assimilative language policies, and the southern Sámi under forceful pressure concerning the livelihood of reindeer herding.[132] As pointed out by Einar Eyþórsson, a majority of the Sámi in the northern coastal regions of Norway were Sea Sámi. The Sámi culture under greatest assimilative pressures was, therefore, not reindeer herding, but a mixed livelihood of, inter alia, fishing and small-scale agriculture.[133] Patrik Lantto has argued, for the part of Sweden that the Swedish Sámi movement was more concerned with the livelihood of reindeer herding than national values.[134]

The Sámi teachers of early twentieth century Norway, Sweden and Finland were a heterogeneous group just as the different Sámi populations were in general. They had different mother tongues (different Sámi varieties) and different social and cultural backgrounds (sedentary, nomadic, reindeer-herding,

128 Lantto, *Tiden börjar på nytt,* 4–6; Jernsletten, *Samebevegelsen i Norge*, 152.

129 "eit nasjonsbyggningsprosjekt som ikkje vann fram" Zachariassen, *Samiske nasjonale strategar,* 329.

130 A Danish philosopher and educator whose ideas on nations and nationalism were influential in the turn-of-the-ecntury 1900 Nordic region. See for instance John A. Hall, Ove Korsgaard and Ove K. Pedersen, *Building the Nation: N.F.S. Grundtvig and Danish National Identity* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

131 Jernsletten, *Samebevegelsen i Norge*; Eivind Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte,* 131–133; Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 133–134; Lantto, *Tiden börjar på nytt,* 4–6, 289, 291.

132 Jernsletten, *Samebevegelsen i Norge*, 64, 84; Ivar Bjørklund, "Landsmøtet i 1917 og samebevegelsen i nord," *Heimen* 02 (2017): 121–129.

133 Einar Eyþórsson, *Sjøsamene og kampen om fjordresurserne* (Karasjok: Čálliid Lágádus, 2008), 11–15.

134 Lantto, *Tiden börjar på nytt,* 4–6.

fishing etc.). The grade and quality of education among them also varied, as did their position in the labor market. Sámi youngsters in Finland and Sweden were encouraged to become teachers, and extra salary was paid for skills in Sámi in the catechist schools of Finland. In Norway, however, from the early twentieth century onwards, Sámi teachers were discouraged from taking jobs in the regions with large Sámi populations. A number of Sámi teachers in Norway stood up against the policies and stayed in employment as teachers even if their professional activities were supervised and controlled.

Becoming a teacher was more or less the only way to gain any kind of post-elementary education for the Sámi during the first part of the twentieth century. The Sámi teachers thus formed a certain kind of educated elite among the Sámi communities. Ketil Zachariassen has studied the Sámi teachers Isak Saba, Anders Larsen and Per Fokstad in the Norwegian county of Finnmark during the early twentieth century. Zachariassen views these teachers as Gramscian organic intellectuals, who took the Sámi culture as the core of their quest for cultural and political rights, and who engaged in a dialogue with Sámi culture.[135] He asserts that the movement for Sámi rights between 1900 and 1940 was not a mere reaction to the governmental assimilation policies, as earlier research pioneered by Knut Einar Eriksen and Einar Niemi in 1981 has upheld, but an independent struggle for cultural and language rights.[136] This is particularly relevant to the Sámi movement in Northern Norway.[137] In the northern Sámi regions of Norway, the mobilization was mainly in the hands of the Sea Sámi, who inhabited the Artic Ocean coastline. Reindeer herding was a peripheral issue in the program of the northern Sámi leaders.[138]

According to Zachariassen, the cooperation between the north-Norwegian Sámi movement and the Norwegian socialist (later social democratic) party *Arbeiderpartiet* from the 1920s onwards implied a strong emphasis on social and regional (Northern Norwegian) issues, and a weakening of Sámi claims for cultural and language rights.[139] This had a significant effect on the Sámi movement since the movement had been very much dependent on individuals. Per Fokstad, the powerhouse of the Sámi movement of the 1920s, became involved in the politics of *Arbeiderpartiet* and, according to Zachariassen, embraced its ideology, which gave little or no consideration to questions of language, culture

135 Zachariassen, *Samiske nasjonale strategar*, 19, 325–326.

136 Zachariassen, *Samiske nasjonale strategar*, 14–15.

137 Zachariassen, *Samiske nasjonale strategar*, 25; Henry Minde, "Den samepolitiske mobiliseringens vekst og fall ca. 1900–1940," in *Föredrag vid Nordiska Samehistoriska symposiet i Lövånger 13.–14. februari 1995*, ed. Roger Kvist (Umeå: Umeå University, 1995), 138.

138 Minde, "Den samepolitiske mobiliseringens vekst og fall," 139–140.

139 Zachariassen, *Samiske nasjonale strategar*, 334–335.

or ethnicity.[140] Henry Minde has claimed that the Sámi movement practically disappeared in the late 1920s and re-emerged only after the Second World War (the country organization of the reindeer herding Norwegian Sámi, NRL, *Norske Reindriftsamers Landsforbund/Norgga Boazosápmelaččaid Riikkasearvi* was founded in 1947).[141] Teemu Ryymin and Jukka Nyyssönen have criticized this view for being too deterministic, whereas Ivar Bjørklund has noted that Anders Larsen, the editor of the Sámi newspaper *Sagai Muittalægje* (The News Reporter, 1904–1911), for instance, turned away from the party political sphere, but continued to be active in the sphere of cultural politics until his death in 1949, publishing literature and articles about the Sámi language and culture.[142]

Also, in Sweden, the political movement of the Sámi included teachers such as Torkel Tomasson and Karin Stenberg. Contrary to Norway, this movement never allied with political parties but was active on an ethno-political basis.[143] Patrik Lantto views the early twentieth century as a period when the most successful strategy of the Sámi leaders was coming up with ad hoc solutions to various issues, instead of establishing a regular organizational structure. At the same time, the Sámi maintained a functioning contact with the state, even if they lived under discriminatory policies (this communication was exemplified by two Sámi deputations promoting Sámi rights to the government in Stockholm, one in 1933 and another in 1945).[144] In 1918, Swedish Sámi, mainly from the southern Sámi areas, gathered for a national meeting in Östersund. Theology student Gustav Park rose to be a leading figure during the meeting. One of the main points of the meeting, and Sámi opposition in general, was the critique against the Swedish governmental policies that stipulated that only nomadic reindeer-herding Sámi were de jure counted as Sámi. Teacher Thomasson and Sámi activist Elsa Laula had already pointed out, at the very beginning of the twentieth century, that this segregation within the Sámi community was very harmful for the survival of the traditionally sedentary (but still, in many cases, reindeer-owning) Sámi and the Sámi population in general. Laula and Thomasson propagated the option to combine livelihoods (reindeer-herding, hunting, fishing and agriculture), like many Sámi had done traditionally. The governmental politics, however, created a synthetic division into nomadic and

140 Zachariassen, *Samiske nasjonale strategar*, 335.

141 Lantto, *Tiden börjar på nytt*, 267; Minde, "Den samepolitiske mobiliseringens vekst og fall," 144–145.

142 Ivar Bjørklund, "Anders Larsen og hans samtid," in *Anders Larsen "Mearrasámiid birra" – ja eara čállosat. "Om sjøsamene" – og andre skrifter*, ed. Ivar Bjørklund and Harald Gaski (Karasjok: Cálliid Lágádus, 2014), 27–30.

143 Lantto, *Tiden börjar på nytt*, 294–298; Minde, "Den samepolitiske mobiliseringens vekst og fall," 146.

144 Lantto, *Tiden börjar på nytt*, abstract, 1.

sedentary Sámi, where the former were regarded as "true Sámi", and the latter as an already partly assimilated population that had to be fully assimilated.[145] Lantto's conclusion is that even if there was considerable Sámi activism both in the northern and southern Sámi regions, only the founding of the national Sámi organization *Svenska Samernas Riksförbund* in 1950 finally marked the birth of a unified Swedish Sámi movement that could have impact on national policies.[146] Even if the Swedish Sámi movement worked outside of the party political sphere, it came to be organized inside the borders of the Swedish nation state, much like the Norwegian movement. Lantto shows that the mobilization of the Sámi activists was predominantly a south Sámi issue, and the Sámi in northern Sweden really only engaged in a common cause with the south Sámi in the 1940s. Lantto seeks explanations for this division in the less problematic situation of the reindeer herding Sámi in the north (experiencing less competition from agriculture than Sámi in the regions down south), the big influence of the Laestadian religious revival movement in the north, which assembled many of the Sámi and Finnish-speakers of northern Sweden and provided a channel through which to voice discontent, and the lack of education and strong Sámi leaders among the Sámi in the north.[147]

The Finnish Sámi only became politically organized after WWII when the Sámi organization *Samii Litto* was founded in 1945. Before the founding of *Samii Litto*, since 1932, a Helsinki-based club of Finnish intellectuals, called *Lapin Sivistysseura* ("The Society for the Culture of the Lapps"), promoted Sámi rights. From the point of view of the Sámi, there was an obvious problem of representation with this society, but its activities still engaged some Sámi youngsters in assisting the editing of the periodical *Sabmelaš* published by the society. Of the three Sámi assistants in the 1930s, two were, or would later become, teachers. These persons, Pekka Lukkari and Hans Aslak Guttorm would also become leading figures within the Sámi organizations when these were formed in the years following the Second World War.[148] Even before the founding of *Lapin Sivistysseura*, however, Sámi teachers and catechists stood up for Sámi language and culture, often through keeping the language alive through tuition, and sometimes through assisting and actively propelling the production of literature in the various Sámi language varieties.[149]

As this dissertation later discusses, not all Sámi teachers or leaders were unconditionally in favor of using Sámi in instruction. The attitudes depended

145 Lantto, *Tiden börjar på nytt*, 46, 58–59, 61–62.

146 Lantto, *Tiden börjar på nytt*, 296–298, abstract.

147 Lantto, *Tiden börjar på nytt*, 291.

148 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 306, 415, 423, 441.

149 Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 274–284; Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 82, 88.

on the function and the context, and the degree to which Sámi language and culture was considered to be threatened by the language policies in schools.

In conclusion, nationalism is connected to the question of language of instruction in elementary schools with Sámi pupils mainly in two ways: First, as an official policy downplaying the role of Sámi-language education, and secondly, in the arguments of the opposition for more Sámi language in schools. In none of the countries' legislation was the use of Sámi in instruction altogether forbidden, although it was officially limited in Norway and Sweden. In Norway, as Eriksen and Niemi, and Henry Minde have accounted for, a strong assimilation policy dubbed Norwegianization was implemented around the turn of the twentieth century.[150] As demonstrated by Eriksen and Niemi, this assimilation policy targeted the Kvens and the Sámi alike; however, emphasis was on the former group, as Kven-speakers in Norway were considered a national threat due to Finnish nationalism including an element of expansion among some of its proponents. Until 1936, the legislation allowed both Sámi and Kven to be used as auxiliary languages. After 1936, only Sámi was allowed as an auxiliary language.[151]

In Finland, school laws allowed Sámi to exist as the main language of tuition if at least 20 pupils had it as their mother tongue in a specific school district. However, apart from the elementary schools in Utsjoki, tuition was provided in Finnish in all schools. According to Jukka Nyyssönen, this was due to strong patriotic ideals underpinning the elementary school system that held the peasant as the ideal citizen to be educated, and the unconditionally egalitarian and legalist character of Finnish nationalism, which has traditionally been strongly conservative towards positive discrimination. Sámi children attending standard Finnish elementary schools faced a reality where they had to learn Finnish in order to understand the instruction.[152]

In Sweden, where the question of national language was never as topical as in Norway and Finland, the laws on the nomad schools left it up to the Diocese to decide whether Sámi could and should be used in tuition.[153]

This dissertation will study natonalism as a contextual factor mainly through the state language function, the culture-bearing function and the progressive

150 Minde, "Assimilation of the Sami: Implementation and Consequences," 127–130; Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare,* 26, 299.

151 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare,* 26, 299.

152 Jukka Nyyssönen, "Suomalainen koululaitos ja saamelaiskysymys," in *Saamelaisten kansanopetuksen ja koulunkäynnin historia Suomessa*, ed. Pigga Keskitalo, Veli-Pekka Lehtola and Merja Paksuniemi (Turku: Institute of Migration, 2014), 156–157; Nyyssönen, "Principles and Practice in Finnish National Policies towards the Sámi People," 83.

153 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik,* 157–159; Olof Bergqvist, *Förslag till omorganisation af lappskoleväsendet* (Luleå: Ruuth, 1909).

function. The analysis on these functions accentuates cultural nationalism (the culture-bearing function), the expansion of state administration (the state language function) and nationalism as modernism (the progessive function).

National economy, citizenship and education

In all three countries, earlier research has noted a connection between national economy and the type of elementary education provided for Sámi children. In Finland and Norway, as discussed by Jukka Nyyssönen and Eriksen and Niemi, the general national economical ideal was farming, and the ideal citizen to be educated in elementary schools was the Finnish-, or Norwegian-speaking peasant, respectively.[154] In Sweden, the ideal citizen was also generally the peasant, but as shown by Ulf Mörkenstam, and Björn Norlin and David Sjögren, in the case of the nomad schools, the ideal citizen was the nomadic reindeer herder, not least from a national economic perspective.[155] Why the role and importance of Sámi language was downplayed in a school system that highlighted the national economic value of educating the Sámi into becoming skillful reindeer herders is a question raised by Lennart Lundmark[156], Lars Elenius[157] and Simone Pusch[158]. Since it has not been the main focus of earlier studies, the question has not been treated extensively. The conclusion of Pusch's analysis is that, at least in the reasoning of the first nomad school inspector Vitalis Karnell, the preservation of Sámi culture was not in focus. Rather, the livelihood of reindeer herding was. This line of demarcation between livelihood and culture is something that this dissertation will discuss in detail.

The educational authorities often viewed education from an instrumental governmental perspective, as the discussion above on state-building and national economy shows. However, as Helge Dahl has noted, from the outset of the

154 Nyyssönen, "Suomalainen koululaitos ja saamelaiskysymys," 156; Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare,* 81.

155 Ulf Mörkenstam, *Om "Lapparnas privilegier". Föreställningar om samiskhet i svensk samepolitik 1883–1997* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 1999), 99; Norlin and Sjögren, "Kyrkan, utbildningspolitiken och den samiska skolundervisningen vid sekelskiftet 1900," 421.

156 Lennart Lundmark, *"Lappen är ombytlig, ostadig och obekväm". Svenska statens samepolitik i rasismens tidevarv* (Umeå: Norrlands universitetsförlag, 2002), 80.

157 Lars Elenius, "Stiftsledningen och minoritetspolitiken," in *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna. En vetenskaplig antologi*, ed. Daniel Lindmark and Olle Sundström, vol. 2. (Skellefteå: Artos 2016), 508.

158 Simone Pusch, "Nationalismen och kåtaskolan. Remissvaren till O. Bergqvists Förslag till kåtaskolereform 1909–1912," in *Kulturkonfrontation i Lappmarken: Sex essäer om mötet mellan samer och svenskar*, ed. Peter Sköld and Kristina Kram (Umeå: Umeå University, 1998), 120.

twentieth century, Norwegian educational authorities aspired to educate Sámi pupils into an equal citizenship with the other inhabitants of Norway. Dahl has pointed out that according to the authorities, this project could only be carried through in Norwegian language.[159] Lars Elenius and Julia Nordblad have noted these same kinds of ideas in Sweden. However, in Sweden it was the Finnish-speakers and the sedentary Sámi that were to be educated into becoming equals, whereas the nomadic Sámi were offered a different kind of citizenship through the nomad schools, a citizenship based to a high degree on the livelihood of reindeer herding.[160] As I have discussed in an earlier text, the Sámi contested the kind of citizenship that educational authorities had designed for them in all three countries. In Sweden, leading Sámi personalities, such as Gustav Park, criticized the strict connection between reindeer herding and elementary education as it led to a kind of second-class citizenship. In Finland and Norway, the fact that the Finnish and Norwegian notions of citizenship tended to exclude Sámi language was in the focus of Sámi criticism.[161] The influence of national economic and citizenship ideals to be reproduced in the elementary schools will be discussed through the culture-bearing, the state language and the citizenship functions of language of instruction.

Border closures: the Sámi and national security considerations

The intensifying governmental control over territory led to increased attention being given to the borders of the states. Eriksen and Niemi have claimed that national security considerations, in the case of Norway and Sweden mainly generated by the proximity of Russia and Finland in the northern areas, behooved the governments to strengthen the borders. The border between Norway and Finland was closed in 1852, and the border between Sweden and Finland in 1889. Movement of reindeer herds across the border between Sweden and Norway was regulated, although never prohibited, in 1883.[162] These border closures and regulations had important consequences for the livelihood of reindeer herding in the border areas. Traditionally, reindeer herds had crossed national borders as the winter and summer grazing lands of the reindeer were

159 Helge Dahl, *Språkpolitik og skolestell i Finnmark 1814 til 1905* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1957), 330.

160 Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor*, 332–333; Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 130–134, 177.

161 Otso Kortekangas, "Useful Citizens, Useful Citizenship: Cultural Contexts of Sámi Education in Early 20th Century Norway, Sweden and Finland," *Paedagogica Historica* 53, no. 1&2 (2017).

162 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 87–90.

in many cases situated in different countries. After the border closures between Finland and its Scandinavian neighbors, the pasture lands of the reindeer herds had to respect the borders, which led to increased pressure and overproduction of reindeer within the reindeer herding areas in Finland and Sweden. In Sweden, this condition led to a policy where the government initially sought to protect reindeer herding from the expanding small-scale agriculture. A boundary was drawn within Sweden, beyond which farmers were not allowed to acquire and farm land. The reindeer herding laws passed in 1886 and 1898 reserved reindeer herding as a livelihood exclusively for the Sámi. These laws also established the regional authority of *Lappväsendet* to control and regulate reindeer herding and to mediate in conflicts between farmers and reindeer herders, often to the advantage of the former group.[163] At the same time, the Sámi who also had livelihoods other than large-scale reindeer herding were now *de jure* defined outside of Sáminess. In Sweden, *Sámi* (or in terms of early twentieth century, *Lapp*) came to be almost synonymous with *reindeer herder*.[164] When the problems caused by the border closures and expanding agriculture continued, the Swedish government passed a law in 1925 that allowed authorities to order not only the slaughtering of reindeer, but also the relocation of a number of Sámi from the northern areas bordering Finland and Norway to more southern Sámi areas. The relocations created skirmishes between the different Sámi groups, and problems for reindeer herding.[165]

In Finland, following the problems that border closures had created, the government planned and implemented a new structure for reindeer herding based on the *paliskunta* system, which is a kind of cooperative for reindeer-herders from a certain area. One of the most important tasks of each *paliskunta* was to organize the payment of compensation to farmers for the damage done to agricultural land by reindeer herds. Also, in Finland, the government discussed whether a border should be set for agriculture, as had been done in Sweden, but the discussions had no practical consequences. As pointed out by Lehtola, the legislation on reindeer herding in Finland had agriculture as the norm, whereas reindeer herding was considered a secondary livelihood.[166] Reindeer herding was never reserved exclusively for the Sámi in Finland. In Norway, rather than protecting Sámi livelihoods, the government instead sought to expand agriculture even to the northernmost Sámi areas.[167] In this regard, Norway and

163 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 97–98; Patrik Lantto, *Lappväsendet: tillämpningen av svensk samepolitik 1885-1971* (Umeå: Umeå University, 2012).

164 Mörkenstam, *Om "Lapparnes privilegier,"* 107, 260; Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 94–100.

165 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 230–234.

166 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 137–139, 244–251.

167 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 77–80.

Finland resemble each other, whereas Sweden stands out with its protective politics on reindeer herding. However, also in Sweden the great number of Sámi that did not have reindeer herding as their main livelihood were engaged in or adapted to agriculture and, in many cases, assimilated quickly to the surrounding Swedish society.

The contextual factors stemming from border closures and security politics, and the livelihood of preference that the educational authorities envisioned for the Sámi in each country are discussed in connection to the state language, assimilative, soft power, progressive and citizenship functions.

The production of difference: cultural and biological hierarchies between the majority populations and the Sámi

In the following, I will discuss the influence of racial biology and social Darwinism on educational policies targeting Sámi chidlren. It is important to note that social Darwinism (or in a larger sense social evolutionism) and racial biology are two different, yet related ideologies. Whereas the latter highlights race and biology as the decisive demarcation between different populations, the former rather emphasizes a natural hierarchy between different societal degrees of development. Lennart Lundmark has claimed that the concept of race replaced an earlier hierarchy based on cultural and religious differences between the Swedes and the Sámi around the turn of the twentieth century. The difference that set the Sámi apart from the Swedes was no longer the condition of them being an "inferior" culture or being pagan or recent converts to Christianity.[168] Rather, it was something essentially biological, or racial, which made the Sámi suitable objects for different institutional projects of the Nordic governments, rather than protagonists of their own faith. The fact that the Sámi groups living in Sweden were one of the groups studied by The State Institute for Racial Biology (*Statens institut för rasbiologi*) in early twentieth century Sweden has recently translated into a substantial level of scholarly and forensic awareness around racial biology as the explaining factor of early twentieth century Swedish policies towards the Sámi.[169] Sten Henrysson and Simone Pusch have studied the articulations of the nomad school inspectors and other school authorities from a

168 Lennart Lundmark, *"Lappen är ombytlig, ostadig och obekväm,"* 63.

169 Race biology is a concept that was debated in Swedish media for example in the context of the publication of a white paper on the historical relations between the Church of Sweden and Sámi, in 2016. Daniel Lindmark and Olle Sundström, eds., *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna. En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå: Artos, 2016).

perspective of racial and Darwinist hierarchies. Both authors conclude that it is highly probable that such hierarchies influenced the educational authorities and informed the policies. However, both also conclude that direct links to such ideas are scarce in the articulations of the inspectors.[170] In Finland, Pekka Isaksson has studied early twentieth century Sámi history from the perspective of racism and race theories. He concludes that, in general, the Sámi were differentiated from the Finnish and Swedish-speakers of Finland mainly by culturally, and not racially, hierarchical arguments.[171] Veli-Pekka Lehtola maintains that the elementary school inspectors of the District of Lapland refuted claims for instruction in Sámi with paternalistic, pragmatic and nationalist arguments.[172]

In Norway, Eriksen and Niemi have highlighted the social evolutionist element in the articulations of the directors of schools of Finnmark, and notably Bernt Thomassen (the first director of schools in Finnmark county), when discussing, among other topics, language of instruction.[173] Also, Regnor Jernsletten and Eivind Bråstad Jensen have suggested that social evolutionism was one of the background ideologies of a strengthening assimilation around the turn of the twentieth century.[174]

The turn-of-the-twentieth-century shift from a religiously or culturally legitimated hierarchy to a racially legitimated hierarchy, identified by Lennart Lundmark, in Sweden also applies to Norway and Finland. However, the strength, intensity and timing of such a shift can be called into question in all countries. Also, as I will discuss in the empirical part of this dissertation, and as pointed out by Sevasti Trubeta in the case of Balkan Roma policies, racial arguments for the production of difference between population groups were often mixed with other, mainly social and cultural arguments in the first half of the twentieth century.[175] Also in the case of the Sámi, many intellectuals such as the ethnographer Ernst Manker in Sweden, the secretary of *Lapin Sivistysseura* Karl Nickul in Finland, and bishop Eivind Berggrav in Norway, argued in a patronizing style for the preservation of Sámi *culture*, as it was worth preserving

170 Sten Henrysson, *Darwin, ras och nomadskola: motiv till kåtaskolreformen 1913* (Umeå: Umeå University, 1993); Simone Pusch, *Nomadskoleinspektörerna och socialdarwinismen 1917–1945* (Umeå: Umeå University, 1998).

171 Pekka Isaksson, *Kumma kuvajainen. Rasismi rotututkimuksessa, rotuteorioiden saamelaiset ja suomalainen fyysinen antropologia* (Inari: Kustannus-Puntsi, 2001), 200–203, 214, 230, 325–326.

172 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 454.

173 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare,* 113–115.

174 Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte* 45–49; Jernsletten, *Samebevegelsen i Norge*, 20.

175 Sevasti Trubeta, "'Gypsiness", Racial Discourse and Persecution: Balkan Roma during the Second World War," *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 31, no. 4 (2003): 502.

due to its scientific and also scientific value as an instance of a culture living close to nature.[176] As pointed out by Mattias Tydén, regardless of what vocabulary was used for the production of difference, essentialization and categorization were key mechanisms in this process in the early twentieth century, as they continue to be today.[177]

The discussion on what background ideologies legitimized hierarchies between populations is of interest especially in the case of the culture-bearing and progressive functions of languages of instruction.

Sámi education and Lutheranism

Sámi schooling emerged essentially as a co-product of Lutheran mission. One of Martin Luther's reformation principles was that since it was the Bible alone that should form the base of the doctrine of all Christians (*sola scriptura*), all Christians should be able to understand at least parts of the bible themselves. To meet this goal, evangelization and preaching was to be conducted in the mother tongue of each people. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, missionary initiatives in Sámi took place in Denmark-Norway and Sweden (including Finland).[178] Bill Widén considers the Nordic seventeenth and eighteenth century mission among the Sámi as a part of a wider European Lutheran pietist missionary context.[179]

The attitude that Lutheran mission had towards Sámi language varied, but the use of Sámi was often encouraged within the mission.[180] Already in 1632, clergyman Olaus Niurenius and member of the Council of the Realm and chancellor of Uppsala University Johan Skytte founded a school for Sámi youngsters in Lycksele (*Skytteanska skolan*). The aim of the school was to bring up Sámi missionaries that could inject Lutheran faith deeper into the Sámi culture. Besides the founding of the *Skytteanska skolan*, many churches were built around the northern regions of Sweden. Lapp schools (*Lappskolor*) were built in connection to six of these churches (Jokkmokk, Åsele, Föllinge, Arjeplog, Utsjoki and Gällivare). The aim of these schools was to bring up Christian Sámi

176 See section on Nickul, Berggrav and Manker pages 153–154.

177 Ingvar Svanberg and Mattias Tydén, *I nationalismens bakvatten. Om minoritet, etnicitet och rasism* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2011), 37.

178 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik,* 52-54.

179 Bill Widén, *Kristendomsundervisning och nomadliv* (Turku: Åbo Akademi University, 1964), 26–31.

180 See Lindkjølen, "Kirkens rolle i samisk opplæring."; Norlin and Sjögren, "Kyrkan, utbildningspolitiken och den samiska skolundervisningen vid sekelskiftet 1900.".

to disseminate the faith. The most talented Sámi pupils were further educated by the clergymen to become catechists.[181]

Also, northern Norway has a long tradition of Sámi education. In the Lutheran educational tradition of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, minority languages such as Sámi and Kven were often, although not always, tolerated and their use was encouraged at times. In 1714, when Norway was still in union with Denmark, the state established a mission school, the *Seminarium scolasticum* in Trondheim.[182] This institution was closed in 1727 but reopened as *Seminarium Lapponicum* ("The Lapp Seminar") in 1752. As the latter name suggests, the aim was to educate clergymen, including Sámi clergymen, to further the distribution of the Gospel among the Sámi. The leader of the seminar, Knud Leem, translated and published an alphabet book as well as Luther's Small Catechism in North Sámi.[183]

In the establishment of nineteenth- and twentieth-century elementary school systems, the Lutheran churches in each of the three countries studied ceded a certain degree of control over education to the governments. Nevertheless, the church continued to play a considerable role in the formation of educational policies. The standard elementary school systems implied a certain secularization of the educational systems. However, Christianity continued to be one of the main subjects in elementary schools. Also, as Mette Buchardt has shown, many leading turn-of-the-century theologians such as Nathan Söderblom in Sweden advocated a formal secularization of the educational systems. Söderblom and other clergymen within the liberal theology tradition argued that Christian ethics, rather than dogma, should be at the center of education. Mette Buchardt has pointed out that Lutheran values were integrated into the school systems at the very time that is often argued to be a period of intense secularization. Buchardt writes about these theologians: "their involvement contributed to secularization in the meaning of a growing division between the state and church matters, e.g. in the case of schooling. However, their involvement also contributed to a renewed and transformed sacralization of the state, through new understandings of the cultural relationship between the state and Christianity."[184] In the case of

181 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 3; Lars Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 52; Daniel Lindmark, "Svenska undervisningsinsatser och samiska reaktioner på 1600–1700-talen," in *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna. En vetenskaplig antologi*, ed. Daniel Lindmark and Olle Sundström, volume I (Skellefteå: Artos 2016), 354–356.

182 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 52.

183 Lindkjølen, "Kirkens rolle i samisk opplæring," 2–3.

184 Mette Buchardt, "Religion, Education and Social Cohesion. Transformed and traveling Lutheranism in the emerging Nordic welfare states during the 1890's–1930's," in *Education, State and Citizenship*, ed. Mette Buchardt, Pirjo Markkola and Heli Valtonen (Helsinki: Nordic Centre of Excellence NordWel, 2013), 83.

Sámi education, Buchardt's notion that Lutheran values and the aims of the governmental educational systems were often compatible is pertinent.[185]

The reform that led to the nomad school system in Sweden reorganized an earlier plurality of mainly ecclesial school forms into the nomad schools. Björn Norlin and David Sjögren have shown that the role of the Church of Sweden was substantial in the planning of the nomad school system. The nomad school was responsible to the National Board of Edcuation (NBES), but had to consult the Chapters of the Dioceses of Luleå and Härnösand in questions relating to the curriculum. Of the three nomad school inspectors studied in this dissertation, two were clergymen.[186]

In Finland, the role of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland was obvious in administering the ambulating catechist schools. Both ecclesial and governmental authorities viewed the catechist schools as the most functional school form in the sparsely populated northern areas well into the twentieth century. Also, in Norway, the connection between the Church and the school was close. Ecclesial and educational policies were administered under the same state department, and Bishop Eivind Berggrav, for instance, was deeply involved in the discussions around school policies in northern Norway. [187]

Lutheranism played a certain role in the arguments for a softer language assimilation and more use of Sámi in instruction among the leading church authorities of the northernmost Nordic region, as the scholarship of Hannu Mustakallio in Finland, Eriksen and Niemi, Eivin Bråstad Jensen in Norway, and Lars Elenius and Sölve Anderzén in Sweden exemplify.[188] As pointed out by Elenius and Anderzén, many of the Sámi in Sweden received, and in fact asked for, instruction in Finnish rather than in Sámi. This was due to two factors: first, the Sámi church language of Sweden was based on the southern Sámi varieties. The Sámi in northern Sweden were more used to hearing Finnish than southern Sámi. Secondly, Finnish had been the traditional church language of many regions of northern Sweden. Finnish was also the main language within laestadianism, a lay religious movement started by clergyman Lars Levi Laestadius that became popular among the Sámi during the nineteenth century.[189] Lars

185 Buchardt, "Religion, Education and Social Cohesion," 82, 107.

186 Norlin and Sjögren, "Kyrkan, utbildningspolitiken och den samiska skolundervisningen vid sekelskiftet 1900," 403, 414–431; Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 68–70;

187 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 288; Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare,* 222, 237, 261–262.

188 Hannu Mustakallio, *Pohjoinen hiippakunta: Kuopion–Oulun hiippakunnan historia 1850–1939* (Helsinki: Kirjapaja, 2009), 437–441; Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare,* 222; Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte*, 151–172; Lars Elenius, "Minoritetsspråken i nationalistisk växelverkan," 41–43.

189 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik,* 53, 115; Hannu Mustakallio, "Laestadianismen, den finskspråkiga minoriteten i norra Sverige och de finsk-svenska kyrkliga rela-

Elenius has shown that Swedish governmental and ecclesial authorities were suspicious towards laestadianism, which was partly because of the status of Finnish within the movement that transcended national boundaries.[190] Elenius has concluded that during the early twentieth century, two perspectives coexisted and competed in the articulations of the bishops of Luleå and Härnösand in northernmost Sweden: an ecclesial discourse that was positive toward the use of Sámi, and a monocultural school discourse that viewed the use of Sámi in a more negative light.[191] Esko I.Kähkönen's scholarship shows that for the part of Finland, Lutheran principles contributed to the fact that Sámi was used as a language of instruction in many of the catechist schools in early twentieth century northern Finland.[192]

Lutheranism and the influence of the churches stand in focus, especially when the intelligibility and the culture-bearing funtions of language of instruction are discussed.

Colonialism and Sámi education

Whether Sámi school history is a part of Sweden's colonial or imperialist history has been examined by Julia Nordblad[193], and for an earlier period, Daniel Lindmark[194] and Gunlög Fur[195]. Veli-Pekka Lehtola has discussed the utility of the concept of colonialism in the case of Sámi school history in Finland, and concluded that its use might yield interesting results, but that researchers should be open to other models of explanation as well.[196] In Norway, researchers such as Bjørg Evjen, Unn-Doris Karlsen Bæk and Gry Paulgaard have applied a postcolonial indigenous studies perspective on the history of Sámi education, exploring what benefits can be gained from studying Sámi school history in such a setting.[197] In a number of earlier studies, I have compared educational

tionerna från 1890-talet till år 1923," in *Nationsöverskridande kyrkohistoria. De språkliga minoriteterna på Nordkalotten*, ed. Daniel Lindmark (Umeå: Umeå University, 2016), 49.

190 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 115, 118.

191 Lars Elenius, "Stiftsledningen och minoritetspolitiken," 469.

192 Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 276–277.

193 Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor*.

194 Daniel Lindmark, "Colonial Encounter in Early Modern Sápmi," in *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity. Small Time Agents in a Global Arena,* ed. Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin (New York: Springer, 2013), 131–146.

195 Gunlög Fur, *Colonialism in the Margins. Cultural Encounters in New Sweden and Lapland* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

196 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 16.

197 See the anthology Kathryn W. Shanley and Bjørg Evjen, ed*., Mapping Indigenous Presence. North Scandinavian and North American Perspectives* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015).

policies targeting indigenous populations in Finland, Norway and Peru in a postcolonial theoretical framework, and noted a number of similarities between the discourses of the school authorities in these countries. At the same time, these discourses bore considerable resemblance to colonial ideas on education for instance in the British colonial world.[198]

The scholars above share a definition of colonialism as a hierarchical and unbalanced power relation where the Nordic states, in expanding to the Sámi regions, set up a system of non-reciprocal power relations that benefit the states, but not the Sámi. What can be concluded about earlier studies is that whether or not the education of Sámi children in the past is said to be colonialist, there were a number of structural and ideological similarities between the expansion of the school systems to the Sámi areas and the implementation of educational systems in Europe's overseas colonies. This applies also to the question on language of instruction, as elucidated by Julia Nordblad, who has laid bare the similarities between Swedish school policies targeting nomadic Sámi and French school policies targeting Arabic-speaking Tunisians. In both cases, indigenous cultural attributes, in some instances including languages, were tolerated to a certain degree, since the aim was not to educate the populations to a full-scale citizenship, but rather to a "qualified difference" [199].

In the analysis of this dissertation, colonialism relates to the culture-bearing and the state language functions.

198 Otso Kortekangas, "Uusia suuntia, vanhoja rajoja. Saamelaisten kouluhistorian moniääninen tulevaisuus," in *Saamelaisten kansanopetuksen ja koulunkäynnin historia Suomessa*, ed. Pigga Keskitalo, Veli-Pekka Lehtola and Merja Paksuniemi (Turku: Institute of Migration, 2014), 351–357; Otso Kortekangas, "Globaalit ideat 'Pohjan perillä'. Kohti saamelaisen kouluhistorian kansainvälisempää kontekstia," *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 1 (2015): 86–92; Otso Kortekangas, "Inclusion through exclusion. Comparing elite discourses on the *assimilation through education* of the indigenous peoples in early twentieth century Norway and Peru" (master's thesis, Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2012), accessed October 11, 2017, https://thesis.eur.nl/pub/12410/MA%20thesis%20Kortekangas.Final%20version.doc.

199 "kvalificerad olikhet": Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor*, 330–332.

3. Institutional (educational) contexts

By and large, the general history of education followed the same track in all of the three countries studied. This is true in terms of both structure and pedagogy. The standard elementary education systems were established in 1827 in Norway (*folkeskole*, before 1889 also *allmueskole*), 1842 in Sweden (*folkskola*) and 1866 in Finland (*kansakoulu/folkskola*).[200] It should be noted that the dates of establishment do not correspond with the totality of the populations being in the sphere of the regular elementary education systems. In Norway it took some decades after the law of 1827, and in Sweden the rest of the nineteenth century, to achieve a system where more or less all of the children between the ages of 7 and 12 attended governmental elementary schools. In Sweden, the 1913 nomad school reform was the breakthrough for school attendance among Sámi children.[201] In Finland, the ambulating schools organized by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland had the responsibility for the elementary education of many children well into the mid-twentieth century, especially in the scarcely populated northern regions.[202]

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the structure of the elementary school was duplex in all three countries, with the junior elementary school (classes 1 and 2; shorter teacher training; predominantly female teachers) and the proper elementary school (classes 3 to 6 or 7; longer teacher training). In all countries, one of the big debates concerning the elementary school was whether it was to be the common base school for further education. In Sweden and Finland, elementary school only came to fill the function of the base school in the early twentieth century, and even then only in theory. Structurally, the elementary school in Norway was the base school for further education from the

200 Myhre, *Den norske skoles utvikling*, 29; Gunnar Richardson, "1842 års folkskolestadga," in *Ett folk börjar skolan: Folkskolan 150 år 1842–1992*, ed. Gunnar Richardson (Stockholm: Allmänna förlaget, 1992), 18; Leino-Kaukiainen and Heikkinen, "Yhteiskunta ja koulutus," 22–23.

201 Gunnar Richardson, "Folkskolan tar form: de första decennierna," in *Ett folk börjar skolan: Folkskolan 150 år 1842–1992*, ed. Gunnar Richardson (Stockholm: Allmänna förlaget, 1992), 30; Myhre *Den norske skoles utvikling*, 46, 82.

202 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 82; Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 35–37.

beginning. However, since further education was out of the reach of the great masses due to economical and geographical hindrances, socio-economical factors ensured a de facto segregation of popular and elite schooling in all countries until the reforms that created the comprehensive school systems in the 1960s and the 1970s.[203] The education of elementary school teachers was organized in teachers' seminars. These were established around the Nordic countries during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The curriculum of the seminars ran over the course of three to four years. The junior elementary school seminar was shorter.[204]

The elementary education that targeted the Sámi children developed partly inside of the above-described advancement of national elementary education systems. In Norway, the Sámi children went to ordinary elementary schools, but special policies were instituted in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century. These policies took the form of officially prohibiting the use of Sámi language in instruction other than as an auxiliary language (the decrees of 1880 and 1898), and canceling the funding for teaching Sámi and Kven languages at the Tromsø teacher training seminar (this funding had been a continuation of the more relaxed language policies of the mid-nineteenth century). From the early twentieth century onwards, many schools had accommodation for the pupils in conjunction with the school buildings in order to facilitate not only school attendance, but also assimilation. Other measures included salary bonuses for teachers who contributed to language change (from Sámi and Kven to Norwegian) among the pupils. The governmental educational authorities viewed the Sámi- or Kven-speaking teachers as incapable of carrying through the "Norwegianization" of the pupils. The funding for the special policies was directed through a special item in the national budget, *Finnefondet* (the Lapp Fund).[205] Most of the governmental

203 Myhre, *Den norske skoles utvikling*, 57, 54, 110–111; Richardson, "Folkskolan tar form: de första decennierna," 33–34, Sixten Marklund, "Läraren i skolan. Utbildning och yrkesambitioner," in *Ett folk börjar skolan: Folkskolan 150 år 1842–1992*, ed. Gunnar Richardson (Stockholm: Allmänna förlaget, 1992), 145; Leino-Kaukiainen and Heikkinen, "Yhteiskunta ja koulutus," 23–26.

204 Myhre, *Den norske skoles utvikling*, 57–58, 96; Marklund, "Läraren i skolan. Utbildning och yrkesambitioner," 145; Sirkka Ahonen, "Millä opeilla opettajia koulutettiin?" in *Valistus ja koulunpenkki. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1860-luvulta 1960-luvulle*, ed. Anja Heikkinen and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2011), 243; Tuula Hyyrö, "Alkuopetus kiertokoulusta alakansakouluun," in *Valistus ja koulunpenkki. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1860-luvulta 1960-luvulle*, ed. Anja Heikkinen and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2011), 342.

205 Minde "Assimilation of the Sami: Implementation and Consequences," 126–128; Svein Lund, *Samisk skola eller norsk Standard: reformerne i det norske skoleverket og samisk opplaering* (Karasjok: Davvi Girji, 2003), 118; Eriksen and Niemi, *Den Finske Fare*, 114.

policies aimed at assimilating the Sámi and Kven populations of the two northernmost counties, Troms and Finnmark. In Nordland, south of Troms, no special policy was instituted, but since no special consideration was taken with regard to the Sámi language and culture, a de facto assimilation took place in many instances.[206] Even further south, in Trøndelag, the south Sámi had sent their children to the schools of *Svenska Missionssällskapet* (The Swedish Mission Society) on the Swedish side. After the break-up of the union between Norway and Sweden in 1905, a Norwegian ecclesial society, *Trondhjems Indremisjonskrets* established a boarding school for Sámi children in Havika. Tuition was carried out exclusively in Norwegian.[207]

In Finland, the form and outcome of the policies directed towards the Sámi were similar to those of the Norwegian counties that were outside of the official assimilation policies. No official discriminatory policy was ever instituted, but the distant northern regions were a low priority for the Finnish school authorities during the early twentieth century. As the main responsibility for educating the northernmost part of Finland was left to the church until mid-1920s, and even after the 1920s, the catechist schools played a significant role until the new school laws of the 1940s.[208] This meant that ambulating church teachers, or catechists, taught short courses in reading, writing and religion in the scarcely populated regions.[209] According to earlier research, elementary education of the Sámi was officially no special case within Finnish educational policies. However, through neglect and low priority, many of the children of northern Finland received an elementary education that held a lower standard than the tuition in the governmental elementary schools. Catechists were often more positive towards Sámi culture than the governmental authorities were, and Sámi language was preserved in many cases. The attitude towards tuition of and in Sámi shifted from positive to ignorant or negative with the distribution of the standard elementary school system to northern Finland towards the mid-nineteenth century.[210] Prior to the expansion of the standard elementary school system, the church, which was in terms of organization a part of the state in early twentieth century Finland, had a policy of positive discrimination where

206 Lars Ivar Hansen and Bjørg Evjen, "Kjaert barn, mange navn: Om forskjellige betegnelser på den samiske befolkningen i Nordland gjennom århundrene," in *Nordlands kulturelle mangfold: Etniske relasjoner i historisk perspektiv*, ed. Bjørg Evjen and Lars Ivar Hansen (Oslo: Pax forlag 2008), 30.

207 Lindkjølen, "Kirkens rolle i samisk opplæring," 6–7.

208 Aikio-Puoskari, *Saamen kielen ja saamenkielinen opetus Pohjoismaissa*, 139–142.

209 Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 322; Laura Lehtola, *Viimeinen katekeetta: opettajana Inarin erämaassa* (Juva: WSOY, 1984), 17.

210 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 95–96; Aikio-Puoskari, *Saamen kielen ja saamenkielinen opetus Pohjoismaissa*, 139, 142.

the catechists who used Sámi in tuition were favored during the recruitment of new teachers. In the Inari and Utsjoki parishes, skills in one of the Sámi varieties implied an extra salary of 100 marks from the early twentieth century onwards.[211] Considering that the church was an integral part of the state, this fact nuances the notion of Finland having no specific policy with regard to the education of the Sámi minority. Through the church, the state spent more money on teachers who were Sámi or taught in Sámi than on Finnish teachers teaching in Finnish.

One special case in the history of education of the Sámi in Finland was the Riutula boarding school. Tiina Saukko has studied this institution, a combined children's home and elementary school. The Finnish Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) founded Riutula children's home in Inari in 1905. From 1915 onwards, the children's home also operated its own elementary school. This school aimed to educate the children to the special conditions of Lapland and, for boys, reindeer herding was a part of the curriculum. However, the special conditions of Lapland did not include the Sámi language. Finnish language and Finnish and Lutheran values were encouraged, and even if the leadership of Riutula discussed the possible advantages of Sámi language tuition in many instances, it was never introduced as a language of instruction. The main language of the personnel was Finnish. Tiina Saukko compares YWCA leadership's ideas on the Sámi to the ideas this leadership had on Christianizing and "civilizing" people in the colonial world. In the official YWCA documentation, Riutula was placed under the "foreign missions" category instead of the domestic one. The foreign missions category was reserved for missions carried out in non-Christian countries.[212]

Riutula can be regarded as a special case in the Finnish educational policies that affected the Sámi: a residential school that educated children for the conditions of Lapland, but in the majority language of the country. In Sweden, similar ideas formed the mainstream educational policy targeting the nomadic fell Sámi since the nomad school reform of 1913. In the early years of the twentieth century, Sámi children in Sweden went to a number of different elementary school forms, such as the governmental elementary school, the so-called mission school maintained by *Svenska missionssällskapet* (Swedish mission society) or ambulating schools taught by catechists. A great number of Sámi children in Sweden attended no school at all.[213] 1913 marked a significant change in the education of the Sámi. The nomadic and the more

211 Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 465–466.

212 Tiina Saukko, "'Lapsia Jumalan valtakuntaa varten': NNKY:n ulkolähetystyö Inarissa vuosina 1902–1938 ja Riutulan lastenkoti," (unpublished master's thesis, Univeristy of Oulu 2010), 12, 18, 25, 29, 70, 77–79; Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 97.

213 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 4-5, 8-9.

or less sedentary Sámi populations were segregated in legislation. Whereas the sedentary Sámi were directed to regular governmental elementary schools, the government ordered the children of the nomadic Sámi to go to an elementary school designed especially for the Sámi: the nomad school.[214] The school was divided into two stages: the ambulating lower nomad school (grades 1 to 3), and the stationary higher nomad school (grades 4 to 6). After the elementary education, the Sámi children were expected to return to their lives as reindeer herders.[215] A central figure in the preparatory work behind the nomad school reform was the bishop of the diocese of Luleå, Olof Bergqvist. Sten Henrysson and Johnny Flodin have identified three arguments behind the nomad school reform of 1913: the economic argument (the Sámi are most economically effective as reindeer-herders), the racial or social Darwinist argument (because of their biology and culture, the Sámi can be nothing else than reindeer-herders), and the humanitarian argument (the Sámi are happiest as reindeer-herders).[216] Julia Nordblad has examined the imperialist idea among school authorities of educating the nomadic Sámi to be different from other Swedes (including Finnish-speaking children in the Torne valley), and hence excluding them from full-scale citizenship.[217] David Sjögren has pointed out in his dissertation that in Sweden, the idea of a school common for all citizens, and the idea of segregated tuition existed in parallel during the early twentieth century.[218] Sjögren has shown that some groups did not fit into the general idea of education for equal citizenship. Nomadic Sámi and Romani children were secluded to their own schools since they were considered to be a threat to the homogenous Swedish society in the making, or in the case of the nomadic Sámi, the Swedish society was considered a threat, introducing a challenging alternative to the traditional Sámi way of life, and hence risking the destruction of the pristine Sámi culture that leading authorities regarded as economically productive.[219] Sjögren's study does not treat the question of language of instruction in detail, but his results raise the question why Swedish was the standard language of instruction in the nomad schools if these were established in order to preserve Sámi culture from outside influence.

The development and course of pedagogical ideas on elementary education were rather similar in all three countries. Whereas the early and mid-nineteenth century classical tradition (focus on classical curriculum and elite education) lived on primarily in higher education, the elementary school system was

214 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 14, 18–19.
215 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 20
216 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 19.
217 Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor*, 318–320.
218 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 8.
219 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 216.

based on liberal ideas (universal education and education for citizenship) but also on functionalist ideas of the purpose of education.[220] As pointed out by Tomas Englund and David Sjögren, the leading layers of late nineteenth century European societies had a strong belief in education as a solution to social problems mainly considered to emanate from growth of the lower social classes.[221] This envisioned capacity of education to solve problems in society is an important notion to keep in mind when investigating Sámi education in the Nordic countries from the perspective of functions of language of instruction.

The form of pedagogy that research on early twentieth century Sámi schools has treated most extensively is reform pedagogy, also known as progressive education. In their early phase in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Nordic national elementary school systems were influenced by Herbartian ideas (named after the German philosopher J.F. Herbart) of the encyclopedic school, with a broad and universal knowledge base that was to be conveyed to the children by the teacher. Critique towards this pedagogy came under many names during the early twentieth century. In recent pedagogical research, the concepts "reform pedagogy" and "progressive education" are used rather interchangeably as umbrella terms for the new pedagogical ideas. The new pedagogy put the child, instead of the teacher, in center. Prominent figures in the development of this kind of pedagogy were, for instance, John Dewey in the US, Georg Kerschensteiner in Germany, Ellen Key in Sweden, Aukusti Salo in Finland and Anna Sethne in Norway.[222] Reform pedagogues considered that the natural surroundings and interests of the child should be made the core of elementary education. According to this tradition, children were like small explorers, and the task of the teacher was to help them to discover and learn.[223] Different traditions (classical; liberal; reformist) lived on side by side in the Nordic debates on education during the twentieth century.[224]

Reform pedagogy had direct bearing on language of instruction and Sámi pupils, as Eivind Bråstad Jensen has shown. According to Bråstad Jensen, the need to use Sámi in the Tromsø teachers' seminar vanished with the advent of the

220 Högnäs, "The Concept of *Bildung* and the Education of the Citizen," 30–31; Buchardt, Markkola and Valtonen, "Introduction: Education in the Making of the Nordic Welfare States," 19.

221 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 16; Englund, *Samhällsorientering och medborgarfostran i svensk skola under 1900-talet*, 14, 20.

222 Myhre, *Den norske skoles utvikling*, 36, 44–45, 77–81; Ahonen, "Millä opeilla opettajia koulutettiin?" 240–249; Tomas Englund, "Tidsanda och skolkunskap," in *Ett folk börjar skolan. Folkskolan 150 år 1842–1992*, ed. Gunnar Richardson (Stockholm: Allmänna förlaget, 1992), 94–96; Englund, *Samhällsorientering och medborgarfostran i svensk skola under 1900-talet*, 129–131.

223 Myhre, *Den norske skoles utvikling*, 78–80.

224 Ahonen, "Millä opeilla opettajia koulutettiin?" 249.

new pedagogical tools of reform pedagogy emphasizing experiential learning. As the immediate environment could be shown to the children through excursions and different kinds of visual aids, even an only-Norwegian-speaking teacher was suitable for teaching Sámi-speaking pupils. What needed to be explained in Sámi before, could now been shown to the pupils with progressive teaching materials.[225]

David Sjögren has noted how the creation of the nomad school system, while a special case, was also a part of general pedagogical ambitions from the side of the Swedish government. Reform pedagogical ideas, adapting education to the culture and natural surroundings of the children, were present in the articulations of leading school authorities, not least in the mind of the future minister of education Fridtjuv Berg.[226] Sjögren does not elaborate on the relationship between reform pedagogy and language.

In addition to Sjögren, Julia Nordblad has treated the question of pedagogy, comparing Sámi education to the education of the Finnish-speakers in Sweden. Whereas the Finnish-speakers were in the sphere of direct pedagogical methods, aiming at language assimilation and turning the pupils into Swedes, the reindeer-herding Sámi became subject to a differentiating pedagogy aiming at preserving their culture and livelihood, although not necessarily language. According to Nordblad, the aim of Sámi education was to teach the Sámi to know their surroundings. However, the pupils were not to learn to view their surroundings from the outside. In that case, the children would have run a risk of being tempted to leave behind traditional Sámi livelihoods when finishing school.[227]

The training for the teachers at the schools attended by Sámi children differed partly from the general line of teacher education in all three countries. In Finland, the fact that a great number of Sámi children attended the ambulating church schools meant that the quality and quantity of education that their teachers had profited from was low when compared to the elementary school teachers' seminars. In some cases, the catechists had undergone a one-year seminar.[228] In other cases, the catechists had some degree of unofficial education from the local parish authorities, or no teacher education at all.[229] The teachers in the standard elementary school in Finnish Lapland had undergone the course of a standard elementary school teachers' seminar.[230]

225 Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte*, 53.

226 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 63–64.

227 Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor*, 279–280.

228 Jukka Rantala, "Kansakoulunopettajat," in *Valistus ja koulunpenkki. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1860-luvulta 1960-luvulle*, ed. Anja Heikkinen and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2011), 278.

229 Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 108; Lehtola, *Viimeinen katekeetta*, 12.

230 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 82–84.

Esko I. Kähkönen shows that the Chapter of Kuopio-Oulu that was responsible for the catechist schools in northern Finland wished to ameliorate the pedagogic skills and knowledge among the catechists, through sending them to teachers' seminars for further education. Elementary school inspector Vihtori Lähde even suggested to the ecclesial authorities in 1920, without success, that a Sámi-language teachers' seminar be established for educating Sámi catechists.[231]

In Sweden, the requirements for teaching in the nomad schools were lower than the requirements for teachers in regular elementary schools. The lower elementary school teachers' competence (and at times even a lower level of competence) was regarded to be enough for the nomad school teachers.[232] However, the special interest that the state took in educating the Sámi minority is exemplified by the specific character of the nomad school teachers' seminar in Murjek, Jokkmokk. Whereas the other early teachers' seminars were organized by the county administration (*landsting*), Murjek, together with the seminar in Haparanda aimed at educating teachers for the Finnish minority in northeastern Sweden, was under direct supervision of the central government from the very beginning.[233] The contents of and time spent at the nomad teachers' seminar were adjusted over time not only according to the changes in educational politics regarding the nomad school, but also partly based on critique presented by Sámi activists.[234] The state encouraged young Sámi, especially young Sámi women, to embark on the career of the nomad school teacher, and Sámi language (the Lule variety) was included in the curriculum of the Murjek seminar at least at times. Sámi teacher Karin Stenberg later recounted that when she studied at the seminar, Sámi was taught by a Swedish-speaking woman from the southern county of Scania.[235] The authorities considered Sámi teachers as a practical intermediary level that could infuse "good values" into the Sámi population.

This dissertation studies the institutional context described above mainly through the intelligibility function and the quality of education function.

The gender of the teachers

Since the early nineteenth century, women were encouraged to become catechists and teachers for the lower classes of the nomad schools and elementary schools in Sweden and Finland. Esko I. Kähkönen sees both a diachronic and synchronic explanation model for this condition. The diachronic one is

231 Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 94–100.

232 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 21.

233 Marklund, "Läraren i skolan," 145.

234 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956,* 35, 38.

235 Olavi Korhonen, "Här har ni mig: om Karin Stenberg, samernas förkämpe i Arvidsjaur," in *År av liv: Luleå stift 1904–2004*, ed. Ulf Boström (Luleå: the Diocese of Luleå, 2003), 174.

the longue durée model already visible in eighteenth century Sweden (with Finland) that maintained that women were suitable for providing elementary Christian doctrine to children. The synchronic model is the turn-of-the-century idea that women were especially suitable as teachers in the lower classes of the elementary schools. This idea was widespread in Sweden and Finland. In Norway, an equivalent of this notion of women's suitability as teachers existed, but in practice only the daughters of big city families with money could afford to study to become teachers.[236]

Folk high schools

One common denominator in all three countries with regard to the Sámi movement was the appeals for an institution for higher popular education for the Sámi. Even if the Sámi folk high schools of Sweden, Finland and Norway were founded after the period in focus, it is important to briefly discuss them, since they were often at the center of the debate even before the Second World War. The folk high school was an important link in the ideological chain of Nordic popular education. The school later became an opportunity for higher education for adults and those pupils who did not have the opportunity to continue to grammar school from elementary school. The folk high school had both a civic and a Lutheran function of bringing up good citizens and good Lutherans.[237] In all three countries within the focus of this study, Sámi activists actively advocated the creation of Sámi folk high schools. The Norwegian Sámi were provided with one in 1949 (an ambulating folk high school course was active for some years before the Second World War) and the Sámi in Sweden in 1942. The Sámi folk high school was opened in Finland in 1953. Even if the main languages of tuition were Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish, respectively, the folk high schools offered courses in Sámi and in crafts and skills important to Sámi culture. The Lutheran churches in each country, or societies close to the church, were important funders and supporters of the folk high schools.[238]

236 Kähkönen *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 93–10; Myhre, *Den norske skoles utvikling*, *56–57*.

237 Ahonen and Rantala, "Introduction: Norden's Present to the World," 12.

238 Lindkjølen,"Kirkens rolle i samisk opplæring," 8; Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956,* 59; Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 416.

Part II: Educational and Sociopolitical Functions of Languages of Instruction

4. Sweden

The creation of the nomad school system

According to David Sjögren and Julia Nordblad, among others, and as detailed in the preceding chapter on contexts, the nomad school system was established in order to educate the nomadic reindeer herding Sámi into a population segregated from other inhabitants of Sweden. According to Sjögren, the purpose of the nomad school was to protect and preserve the Sámi from outside influence, that is, from Swedish culture.[239] Nordblad, for her part, sees in the nomad school system an imperial model of educating a population deemed to be culturally inferior to the majority population into a qualified difference.[240] Whereas Sjögren does not analyse language of instruction in depth, Norblad conludes that Sámi language in the nomad schools was a question of no particular importance. She also shows that the educational authorities tolerated the use of Sámi to a much higher degree than the use of Finnish. The conclusions of both of these studies trigger the question why Swedish language was the standard language of instruction in the nomad schools, if the purpose of these schools was to keep the Sámi children separate from other inhabitants of Sweden. It is with this inquiry in mind that this chapter sets out to map the envisioned educational and sociopolitical functions of Sámi and Swedish in the nomad schools.

In 1904, Olof Bergqvist (in office 1904–1937) succeeded Lars Landgren as bishop of northernmost Sweden. Bergqvist was the first bishop of the new Diocese of Luleå. The new diocese took over the northernmost part of the older Diocese of Härnösand. Bishop Olof Bergqvist, with his long period as the head of the Diocese of Luleå, gained a strong position within the policies on Sámi elementary education. Bergqvist's ideals regarding the elementary education of the Sámi had far-reaching consequences.

Up to the turn of the twentieth century, the Church of Sweden was mostly responsible for the elementary education of the Sámi. The church administered this responsibility through a number of different school forms. These were (1) standard Swedish elementary schools, (2) Lapp elementary schools (*lappfolkskolor*) evolved from the former Lapp schools (*lappskolor*) with religious curriculum, (3) ambulating catechist schools, and finally (4) mission schools, which were

239 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 17.

240 Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor*, 332–333.

mostly run by *Svenska missionssällskapet* (Swedish mission society), a missionary society affiliated with the Swedish Lutheran church since 1876.[241] Since new regulations in 1877 and 1896, the main language of tuition in all schools was to be Swedish. A small opening was left for Sámi as language of tuition, since the formulation of 1896 stated that Swedish should be the language of tuition "whenever possible"[242], that is, whenever the pupils understood that language.

Whereas Bishop Lars Landgren had promoted a transformation of the ecclesial schools with Sámi pupils into standard elementary schools with a Swedish curriculum, Olof Bergqvist was of a different opinion.[243] In 1909, Bergqvist wrote a proposition for a new school system for the children of the nomadic reindeer-herding Sámi (the children of the non-reindeer herding Sámi attended standard Swedish elementary schools). Elementary school inspector Karl Lorenz Österberg, and the future first nomad school inspector, Vicar Vitalis Karnell, assisted bishop Bergqvist in this work. The 1909 proposition led to the establishment of a new school system: the nomad school. The nomad school was divided into an ambulating lower nomad school (classes 1–3) that followed the Sámi to the grazing lands of the reindeer, and a stationary higher nomad school. The higher nomad schools (classes 4–6) were usually active in central villages where the Sámi traditionally gathered to spend the winter.[244] The lower nomad schools were called *kateketskolor* or catechist schools in the early years of the system, as the ambulating schools administered by the church had been called since the eighteenth century.[245]

Some Sámi children, especially among the reindeer-herding Sámi, were excluded from any elementary education around the turn of the century. This condition was something the nomad school reform was planned to resolve.[246]

The proposition of 1909: "No" to Finnish; a conditional "yes" to Sámi

The 1909 proposition by Bergqvist, Karnell and Österberg made some room for tuition in Sámi within the nomad school system. The proposotion led four years later, in 1913, to a decree that established the nomad school system. This

241 Norlin and Sjögren, "Kyrkan, utbildningspolitiken och den samiska skolundervisningen vid sekelskiftet 1900," 409–410; Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 4–5, 8–13.

242 "så vitt ske kan": as cited in Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 7, 10.

243 Norlin and Sjögren, "Kyrkan, utbildningspolitiken och den samiska skolundervisningen vid sekelskiftet 1900," 417.

244 Bergqvist, *Förslag till omorganisation af lappskoleväsendet*, 3–7; Norlin and Sjögren, "Kyrkan, utbildningspolitiken och den samiska skolundervisningen vid sekelskiftet 1900," 419.

245 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 46.

246 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 10–13.

decree did not mention language of instruction at all. The 1909 proposition, however, suggested that Sámi could continue to be used in the regions where it was already used as a language of instruction. The proposition left it up to the Chapters of the Dioceses of Luleå and Härnösand, the local school boards and local Sámi parents to make decisions about the use of Sámi as a language of instruction.[247] From the beginning, local Sámi parents were included in the process at least in principle, even if Julia Nordblad has shown that in practice, the opinion of the Sámi was ignored in the actual decision-making.[248] As shown by Norlin and Sjögren, in the early years of the nomad school system, the school boards divided the children into nomadic or sedentary Sámi. This division also decided which children were to attend the nomad schools and which were to attend standard Swedish elementary schools.[249]

The proposition of 1909 had a twofold view on the use of minority languages in the north of Sweden. The proposition expressed positive views about the use of Sámi in the nomad school while being negative to the use of Finnish in the said schools.[250] As discussed in the context chapter, Finnish was for a long time used in the Swedish Lutheran church to convey the gospel in the Finnish-speaking parts of Sweden (a major part of the Finnish-speaking regions were ceded to Russia in 1809). The Sámi inhabiting the northernmost regions of modern-day Sweden were more used to hearing and using Finnish than Swedish. For the majority of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Sámi language used by church authorities was based on the southern language varieties. This written Sámi was not easily intelligible for the Sámi in the north. Using Finnish was a pragmatic solution for both the church and the Sámi.[251]

Lars Elenius and Julia Nordblad have also noted the twofold view reflected in the 1909 proposition. Lars Elenius, in his discussion on the differences between policies targeting the Sámi and Finnish-speaking populations, has suggested that the nationalistic-assimilative policies targeted Finnish-speakers more than they did Sámi-speakers. This was due to the fact that the Finnish-speakers lived close to the Swedish-Finnish border, and Swedish authorities

247 Bergqvist, *Förslag till omorganisation af lappskoleväsendet*, 21.

248 Bergqvist, *Förslag till omorganisation af lappskoleväsendet*, 21; Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor*, 332.

249 Norlin and Sjögren, "Kyrkan, utbildningspolitiken och den samiska skolundervisningen vid sekelskiftet 1900," 424.

250 Bergqvist, *Förslag till omorganisation af lappskoleväsendet*, 21.

251 Daniel Lindmark, "Diaspora, Integration and Cantonization: Swedish colonial education from a theoretical, comparative and concluding perspective," in *Education and Colonialism: Swedish Schooling Projects in Colonial Areas 1638–1878*, ed. Daniel Lindmark (Umeå: Umeå University, 2000), 20; Tuuli Forsgren, "Language and Colonialism: Two Aspects," in *Education and Colonialism: Swedish Schooling Projects in Colonial Areas 1638–1878*, ed. Daniel Lindmark (Umeå: Umeå University, 2000), 98, 100.

considered a Finnish-speaking population close to this border a security risk. Julia Nordblad has concluded in her doctoral dissertation that the educational policies targeting the Sámi aimed at only a partial assimilation, or a qualified difference. The school policies targeting the Finnish-speakers, however, aimed at total assimilation. This meant turning the Finnish-speakers into full-scale Swedish citizens and nationals.[252]

Also, the Laestadian religious revival movement of the nineteenth century spread its mission in Finnish, even if Sámi was used at times. The Laestadian revival gained a strong position in many Sámi communities and strengthened the position of Finnish as the religious language in northern Sweden.[253] Hence, in the northern parts of post-1809 Sweden, the Sámi populations spoke North Sámi as their first language, and Finnish, rather than Swedish as their second. North Sámi-Finnish-Swedish trilingualism was common in the northern areas, as the later nomad school inspector Axel Calleberg noted. In the southern Swedish Sámi areas, the situation was different in that Finnish was considered a foreign language (even if the language is quite remotely related to the Sámi varieties), and Swedish was the second language of the Sámi in these areas.[254] Many of the leaders of the Church of Sweden frowned upon the lay Laestadian religious revival. Bishop Olof Bergqvist expressed in his memoirs considerable suspicion towards Laestadianism, calling its religious rhetoric something only suitable for a "people of nature" such as the Sámi.[255] Leading church authorities had two reasons to be suspicious towards Finnish language: it was a national security threat (the proximity of the border with Finland/Russia, as discussed by Nordblad and Elenius) and posed a challenge to the ecclesial order (lay Laestadian movement undermining the traditional authority of the church).[256]

Returning to Sámi as a language of instruction and its sociopolitical functions, the 1909 proposition regarded tuition in Sámi as "one of the most effective ways to preserve the Lapp tribe from being absorbed by other population elements and [from being] succumbed through contact with their [the other population element's] culture"[257]. The authors' view was that it was therefore not wise to

252 Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor*, 332–333; Lars Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 130–134, 177.

253 Lars Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 115–118.

254 C. Axel Calleberg. "Nomader och nomadskolor," in *Norrland: Natur, befolkning och näringar*, ed. Magnus Lundqvist (Stockholm: Geografiska förbundet and Industriens utredningsinstitut, 1942), 368–370.

255 Olof Bergqvist, *Bland svenskar, finnar och lappar* (Luleå: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag 1939), 61.

256 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 115.

257 "ett af de verksammaste medlen att bevara lappstammen från att uppslukas af andra folkelement och gå under genom beröringen med deras kultur": Olof Bergqvist, *Förslag till omorganisation af lappskoleväsendet*, 21.

discontinue instruction in Sámi in the regions where the parents wished that such instruction would be provided. However, in the regions where Swedish was already the sole language of tuition, Sámi could be left out of the instruction.[258]

The articulation clearly postulates that the Sámi ran the risk of being "absorbed" by the surrounding population. This is well in line with what David Sjögren has noted as the principal view of the educational authorities on the purpose of the nomad school system: to educate a nomadic Sámi population that was able to resist the risk of being assimilated.[259] It is noteworthy that in the most important document regarding the establishment of the nomad school system, Sámi language was portrayed as a tool for preserving the Sámi and Sámi culture from dying out. This is noteworthy for the reason that in the articulations on language of instruction of the nomad school inspectors, as we will see later, this culture-bearing function of Sámi as a language of instruction was ignored.

The concept papers of the research committee of 1915–1916: Sámi language and the intelligibility function

A new decree regulating the nomad schools was issued in 1916. Similarly to the one in 1913, it does not mention the language of instruction at all.[260] Julia Nordblad has investigated the concept papers of the committee that prepared the decree. It is clear that the committee retained the idea of the 1909 proposition: where Sámi was used in tuition, it could be continued to be used. Ahead of the work of the research committee, the Bureau of Elementary education (*Folkskolebyrån*) at the Church Department (*Ecklesiastikdepartementet*) had reached out to the chairmen of the school boards in the Sámi areas to consult them about what actions had been taken after the first regulation on the new nomad school system in 1913. Nordblad cites the chairman of the school board of Arjeplog[261], who stated that the teachers of the new nomad school of Arjeplog did not speak any Sámi. In one school, the old catechists had provided tuition in the nomad school, with the new teacher sitting in the school bench with the children and trying to learn some Sámi. Also, the school boards from other parts of the Sámi areas reported that knowing Sámi was a necessity for the teachers.[262] It can also be noted that trainees on a 1917 teachers' course in Vittangi, organized ad hoc to address the lack of suitable nomad school teachers, were selected in a

258 Bergqvist, *Förslag till omorganisation af lappskoleväsendet*, 21.

259 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 17.

260 "SFS 1916:463," *Svensk författningssamling för 1916* (Stockholm: Nordstedts, 1916).

261 The board was discontinued after the nomad school inspector overtook the tasks of the school boards.

262 Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor*, 268–269.

manner that represented all the dialects in the Swedish Sámi areas. This supports the claim that the use of Sámi as a language of instruction was hardly forcefully discouraged, even if David Sjögren has shown that Swedish language was the principal subject at the Vittangi course.[263]

A closer look at two answers to the Church Department ahead of the work of the 1915–1916 research committee elucidate why Sámi was used in tuition. The chair of the Arjeplog school board, vicar Per Gustaf Calleberg, presented it as a problem that the teachers of the higher classes of the nomad school lacked skills in Sámi. This led to problems in the mutual intelligibility of the teaching situation; the teacher did not speak Sámi, and many of the pupils lacked basic skills in Swedish. It was impossible to provide tuition if there was no common language. For this reason, the new teachers had been following the tuition given by the catechist teachers in the parish. These catechist teachers had worked within the ecclesial schools predating the nomad school. It was, according to Calleberg, highly probable that even the following term the teachers of the higher classes of the nomad school would need to be assisted by the Sámi-speaking catechist. Calleberg also pointed out that the school board in Arjeplog had the permission of the Chapter of the Diocese of Luleå to allow the catechist to take care of the tuition instead of the non-Sámi-speaking teacher actually hired for the job.[264] Calleberg's answer shows that at least in some cases, the chapter supported Sámi language in the schools. The function of Sámi as language of instruction in this case was the intelligibility function; it served the simple purpose of making the tuition understandable for the pupils.

Another report back to the Church Department, this time from the elementary school inspector of the northern Norrbotten County, Albin Neander, shows that he considered Sámi heritage and knowledge of local conditions as more important requirements for the teachers than formal education or a perfect, or in fact even "passable"[265], mastery of Swedish. Neander's positive attitude towards the use of Sámi as a language of instruction was based on the intelligibility function. On top of that, there was certain pragmatism in his argument. Teachers who were used to local conditions, including the nomadic lifestyle, could put their energies into the teaching of the children instead of trying to become accustomed to a new way of life that, according to Neander, "often enough [was] too demanding"[266] for outsiders.

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263 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 94.

264 Letter from Per Gustaf Calleberg to the Church Department, May 21, 1915, Ecklesiastikdepartementet E1, A22, The Swedish National Archives (SNA).

265 "hjälpligt" Letter from Albin Neander to the Church Department, June 3, 1915, E:1:A22, Ecklesiastikdepartementet (ED) (SNA).

266 "mången gång […] alltför krävande" Neander to the Church Department, June 3, 1915.

Already in the early preparation for and actual legislation of the nomad school, we meet two functions of Sámi as a language of instruction that will be treated in depth on the following pages. These are the intelligibility function, pointing out that Sámi was a tool for an efficient conveying of tuition, and the culture-bearing function of Sámi, as the mother tongue of the pupils.

Nomad school inspector Vitalis Karnell: Swedish as the guarantee of quality and the pathway to progress

A research committee appointed in 1915, consisting of Bishop Bergqvist, the minister of church and education, Fridtjuv Berg, and justice of the Supreme Court, Erik Marks von Würtemberg, criticized the school boards (*skolråd*) for being inconsequent and inefficient in dividing and categorizing Sámi children as nomadic and sedentary Sámi. The school boards, consisting of the local clergyman and a number of other members, held divided opinions about the need of a school reform, and thus delayed the implementation of the nomad school system. To further the reform and to achieve a more systematic segregation between the nomadic and the sedentary Sámi, the report suggested that a special inspector post be established; this was also implemented. With a decree issued in 1916, the school boards were discontinued in the nomad schools, and the nomad school inspector took over the role of the boards. The establishment of the the nomad school inspector's post marked a forceful centralization of authority, and an even clearer segregation between the standard elementary schools for sedentary Sámi children, and the nomad schools for the children of nomadic Sámi. As Norlin and Sjögren show, whereas the standard schools were administered and financed locally on the parish level (the responsibility was overtaken by the municipal administration in 1930)[267], the nomad schools were financed directly by the government, and were thus significantly disconnected from the local parishes.[268] The nomad school inspector was responsible to the National Board of Education, and had to consult the Dioceses of Luleå and Härnösand in curricular questions.

The first nomad school inspector (Karl) Vitalis Karnell (in office 1917–1919) was well acquainted with the conditions of Northern Sweden and the life of the Sámi. After growing up on the island of Öland in southern Sweden, Karnell moved to Uppsala where he studied theology at Uppsala University. Apart from studies leading to an exam in theology, he also studied Fenno-Ugric

267 Pia Skott, "Utbildningspolitik och läroplanshistoria," in *Utbildningshistoria*, ed. Esbjörn Larsson and Johannes Westberg (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2015), 427.

268 Norlin and Sjögren, "Kyrkan, utbildningspolitiken och den samiska skolundervisningen vid sekelskiftet 1900," 426–427.

languages with K.B. Wiklund, the future author of the textbook for the nomad schools (*Nomadskolans läsebok*). After his studies, Karnell moved to Norrbotten in northern Sweden to work as a clergyman and elementary school teacher. From the early twentieth century onwards, he worked as the elementary school inspector of the Eastern Norrbotten district in the northernmost Swedish areas. In that position, he was in contact with both the Finnish-speaking and the Sámi cultures of northern Sweden. Karnell was a member of an expert committee on reindeer herding appointed in 1904, and of the 1909 committee on Sámi education led by Bishop Bergqvist leading to the 1909 proposition and ultimately to the implementation of the nomad school system in 1913. In 1917, he was appointed as the first nomad school inspector. In 1919, after his period as nomad school inspector, Karnell returned to his earlier role as the inspector of the elementary schools of the Eastern Norrbotten district.[269]

In Vitalis Karnell's documents regarding the nomad school, the inspector commented sparsely on the issue of language of instruction. An exception is his annual inspection report (*inspektörsberättelse*) for 1918, where he singled out the localities of Gällivare, Arjeplog and Jokkmokk. Here, the tuition had been carried out with inadequate schoolbooks, and in "Lappish"[270]. This, wrote Karnell, implied that the pupils were "to no avail to themselves nor to others"[271] and that they were not making progress in terms of education. Karnell reported that also in these three municipalities (Gällivare, Arjeplog and Jokkmokk) the Sámi had decided in 1918 to switch to tuition in Swedish.[272]

In Karnell's report, Swedish language combined with better schoolbooks was portrayed as progress, as the way to a better future for the schools and the pupils. This argument underscores the importance of quality in the tuition provided in the nomad schools. This is close to what David Sjögren addressed with the "functionalist" motive he noted as one explaining motive behind the nomad school reform. This functionalist motive implied that the school had to fulfill its function, which was to be an efficient institution for educating nomadic reindeer-herding Sámi.[273] In this case, Karnell's comment on the need of adequate schoolbooks can be seen as a crucial step in reaching a positive outcome, that is, high-quality teaching molding skilfull reindeer herders.

269 Olle Franzén, "K Vitalis Karnell," *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, accessed August 30 2017, https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=12393.

270 "lappska": Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1918, D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

271 "till ingen nytta vare sig för sig själva eller andra": Inspection report 1918, D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

272 Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1918, D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

273 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 49.

Simone Pusch has shown that Karnell, in another context, stated that Swedish should be the language of instruction "throughout the line"[274] in the nomad schools. Also, Lennart Lundmark points out that Karnell did not view Sámi language as an important part of the policies aimed at preserving the Sámi way of life.[275] Pusch suggests that Karnell did not view Sámi culture as worth preserving, but only the Sámi livelihood of reindeer herding. Swedish language was, according to Karnell, the best guarantee for Sámi pupils to manage in the future, since it was the main language of the country and the best way to communicate with authorities and the surrounding society.[276] It is clear that Karnell believed that Swedish was a suitable language for tuition in the nomad schools. However, it is unclear if he considered Sámi as an unsuitable language of instruction, or if he rather considered it as the easiest way to raise the quality and precision of education to introduce Swedish teaching material and Swedish as the sole language of tuition. Julia Nordblad has discussed the textbooks for the nomad schools (*Nomadskolans läsebok*), authored by Professor K.B. Wiklund, and noted that pragmatic arguments favored the production of the books being solely in Swedish. Wiklund considered it a task too extensive to print the books in all Sámi varieties spoken in Sweden. Hence, the most pragmatic option was to print the books in Swedish.[277]

Karnell, similarly to K.B. Wiklund, was mostly interested in the quality of tuition in the nomad schools. Quality was synonymous with executing efficiently the function of the schools, to educate qualified reindeer herders. Whether Sámi was used in the schools or not was a question of secondary importance.

Karnell, Bergqvist and the culture-bearing function of language: same goal, different languages

Simone Pusch's conclusion (see paragraph above) that Karnell considered Sámi language redundant since he wanted to preserve the livelihood of reindeer herding, and not Sámi culture as such, is a possible explanation for why Sámi language was not given high priority in the nomad schools.[278] However, as reported in the minutes of the countrywide meeting of Swedish Sámi in 1918 (see pages 90–91), Karnell explicated during the meeting that he had high hopes and ideas about Sámi culture[279], even higher than about the culture of pioneer

274 "öfver hela linjen": Simone Pusch, "Nationalismen och kåtaskolan," 120.

275 Lennart Lundmark, *Stulet land: svensk makt på samisk mark* (Ordfront: Stockholm, 2008), 169.

276 Pusch, "Nationalismen och kåtaskolan," 121.

277 Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor*, 263.

278 Pusch, "Nationalismen och kåtaskolan," 121.

279 "lappkulturen": *Svenska lapparnas landsmöte*, 24.

farmers[280], who in his view risked outcompeting the reindeer herders in the fell regions. At the same time, Karnell was refuting the criticism that Sámi leader Gustav Park had expressed during the meeting about the poor quality of tuition in the nomad schools. According to Park, the northernmost Sámi areas in Sweden were the areas with the most ignorant pupils. These pupils had received less education than the Sámi children in the areas south of Norrbotten.[281] Karnell was of a completely different opinion, and emphasized that there was "a difference between culture and culture"[282]. The ideal personification of Sámi culture for Karnell was the less educated reindeer herders of Norrbotten. For Park, the ideal Sámi was an educated, informed an enlightened person.[283] The fact that Karnell defended Sámi *culture* in this way calls for some further discussion, and renders Pusch's interpretation an object for a reevaluating analysis. The instance of Karnell's attitude towards Sámi nomad school teachers lends itself to such an analysis.

Vitalis Karnell emphasized the importance of hiring Sámi teachers at the nomad schools. In Karnell's argumentation, one of the most obvious paradoxes in the ideology of the Swedish nomad school system becomes apparent. In a 1917 interview in *Svenska Dagbladet*, Karnell stated that the teachers needed to be carriers of "the true and sacred '*Lapp spirit*"[284]. However, this Lapp spirit was something that the "Lapp boys and girls"[285] that were to study in the nomad school seminar in Vittangi would have to learn during their teacher's education. During the seminar courses, Karnell suggested, the future teachers needed to "understand that the calling they are to execute is true and wonderful and great, and that the nomad life is the only right [life] for them and their people."[286] Karnell commented that suitable teaching material for conveying this "Lapp spirit" was not available as of yet. To improve the situation, the principal of the Vittangi seminar, Vicar Georg Bergfors, and professor of Fenno-Ugric languages K.B. Wiklund, were working hard to produce teaching material for nomad schools.[287] The "Lapp spirit" was something that was truly Sámi, but that had to be instilled from the outside, by Swedish teachers' education.

280 *Svenska lapparnas landsmöte*, 24–25.

281 *Svenska lapparnas landsmöte*, 149.

282 "skillnad på kultur och kultur": *Svenska lapparnas landsmöte*, 24.

283 *Svenska lapparnas landsmöte*, 149.

284 "den sanna och heliga '*lappanden*'": "Våra lappar måste tillbaka till kåtalifvet," *Svenska Dagbladet*, March 4, 1917.

285 "lappgossar och -flickor": "Våra lappar måste tillbaka till kåtalifvet."

286 "förstå, att det kall de ha att sköta är sant och härligt och stort, och att för dem och deras folk är nomadlifvet det enda riktiga.": "Våra lappar måste tillbaka till kåtalifvet."

287 "Våra lappar måste tillbaka till kåtalifvet."

In Karnell's text form 1917, the "sacred Lapp spirit" was something that the Sámi persons, especially young women studying to be nomad school teachers, had to internalize in order to be able to carry out their task among the nomad children. This task was to keep the nomads as nomads; to teach the children to live the lives to which they were "predestined"[288]. As Lennart Lundmark has discussed, the idea of the Sámi having their own people's spirit was typical to the early nineteenth, rather than early twentieth, century hierarchical ideas of cultural differences. Hegel used the term *Volksgeist*, (people's spirit) and Herder included a similar notion of culture in his texts. As discussed by the Basque philosopher Joxe Azurmendi, the roots of the German term *Volksgeist* go, in fact, to French Enlightenment thinkers, notably Voltaire and Montesquieu. Through these Enlightenment thinkers, the roots further extend to Italian Renaissance and finally to the philosophers of classical antiquity.[289] Racial biology and social evolutionism were ways of rebranding old hierarchies and stereotypes of the Sámi that have been produced and reproduced in literature since Tacitus first-century description of the "Finns", the "utter savages"[290].

Karnell's texts include traces of ideologies that pre-existed but obviously also coexisted with late nineteenth and early twentieth century ideas of racial rather than cultural difference. In Karnell's interview from 1917, both biological terms and notions of *Volksgeist* and cultural differences coexist. These results contradict Lennart Lundmarks periodization[291] where cultural hierarchies were replaced by hierarchies based on social evolutionism around the turn of the twentieth century. In fact, these two ideologies existed simultaneously in Karnell and Bergqvist's arguments, which include both social evolutionist, culturally hierarchizing and Lutheran elements. In discussing the reindeer herding Sámi and Swedish small-scale farmers, Karnell was in his own words comparing two cultures. However, Pusch's conclusion on Karnell wanting to preserve the Sámi livelihood, but not the Sámi culture, still holds. The element that Karnell mostly, or even exclusively, emphasized as worth preserving in Sámi culture was the livelihood of reindeer herding. Reindeer herding, in Karnell's articulations, was indeed synonymous with Sámi culture and the "true and sacred Lapp spirit". Karnell carried out this essentialization of the Sámi with a mixture of racially and culturally hierarchical terms

288 "predestinerade": "Våra lappar måste tillbaka till kåtalifvet."

289 Joxe Azurmendi, *Humboldt: Hizkunta eta pentsamendua* (Bilbao: Udako Euskal Unibertsitatea, 2007) 241–242.

290 Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *The Agricola and Germania*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1894 [English edition]), 97. The description of the Finns is generally believed to make reference to the Sámi. For the terms Finn, Lapp and Sámi, see pages 33–34.

291 Lundmark, *Stulet land: svensk makt på samisk mark*, 141.

In his first yearly report as nomad school inspector, Karnell included an introduction where he discussed and commented on some of the basic ideas behind and debates surrounding the nomad school. Karnell wrote about the incompatibility of the standard elementary schools and the "way of life [...] disposition and character"[292] of the Sámi. Apart from this obviously hierarchizing argument, Karnell cited a number of pragmatic arguments for the organization of the nomad schools. The school schedule and terms needed to be accommodated to the needs of the nomadic reindeer herding Sámi. If the school began in September, like the standard elementary schools, many Sámi would still be out in the fells on their summer grazing lands. The nomad school ensured that the law stipulating that all children had to attend an elementary school would also apply to all Sámi children in Sweden.[293]

Karnell connected to a topical debate about the nature of the Sámi. As Lennart Lundmark has discussed, the Swedish parliament debated at this time whether the Sámi should be able to be both reindeer-herders and farmers. There were two different lines about this question in the parliament: one promoting the idea that the Sámi should be able to choose a combination of reindeer-herding and agriculture (as many Sámi had done for centuries), and the other defending the segregationist idea that nomadic reindeer-herding Sámi should remain nomadic reindeer-herders. The outcome was a compromise of these two lines, dividing the Sámi population in Sweden *de jure* into two groups: a sedentary group, and a nomadic reindeer-herding group. The 1918 meeting of the Swedish Sámi took a stance to this question, criticizing the segregationist ideas.[294]

Karnell, for his part, was a staunch segregationist. He did not count on the Sámi to be able to decide about their own future. This kind of paternalistic approach towards the Sámi was in no way exceptional in Karnell's time, many of the members of parliament expressed similar arguments about the incapacity of the Sámi to decide over their own future. In either case, Karnell was very much against the combination of agriculture and reindeer herding. Since the Sámi needed help from the Swedes to survive as a pure Sámi population, the language question became irrelevant for Karnell. After all, if the Sámi were left to decide for themselves, "they would like to live completely free, unbound by any laws or decrees, even if they hereby would go towards their own destruction"[295],

292 "levnadssätt […] läggning och karaktär": Inspection report 1917 (Vitalis Karnell) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

293 Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1917 (Vitalis Karnell) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

294 Lennart Lundmark, *"Lappen är ombytlig, ostadig och obekväm,* 63–75.

295 "skulle de vilja leva fullkomligt fritt, obundna av lagar och förordningar, även om de därigenom skulle gå till sin egen undergång.": Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1917 (Vitalis Karnell) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

as Karnell stated in his report for 1917. Why allow a language that the Sámi could use to convey a culture that was alienating them from the "true Lapp spirit", the true reformed Sáminess that the Swedish state was to bring about among the Sámi through the nomad school system? True Sámi culture was to be reconstituted, but since it needed to be reconstituted in a manner controlled by the Swedish state, it was to be reconstituted in Swedish. At the same time, it needs be noted that the whole idea of the lower, ambulating nomad school was to follow the Sámi to the summer lands and thus keep the children close to their parents. In this structure, Sámi language would continue to play a role as the home language of the children.

Karnell's first yearly report as the nomad school inspector was mainly concerned with the Sámi areas in the Västerbotten and Jämtland counties. It was especially in the county of Västerbotten that the question of combined livelihoods was topical. In the north, in the Norrbotten county, the situation was healthier, according to Karnell, since the Sámi were involved to a higher degree in extensive reindeer herding in these areas. It is also probably no coincidence that the first proposition of 1909 by Bishop Bergqvist, Karnell and Österberg was more positive to the use of Sámi as a language of instruction in the northern areas than in the south.

It is plausible to suggest that it may have been Bishop Olof Bergqvist, and not Karnell, who was behind the formulation of the 1909 committee that Sámi language was an efficient conveyor of the Sámi culture (see page 85). Whereas Sámi language seems not to have been a culture-bearing language in Karnell's articulations, Bergqvist was more positive to this function of the language. Also, Bergqvist's more positive attitude to Sámi languages than Finnish suggests this.

Another example of Bishop Bergqvist's positive attitude towards Sámi as a language of instruction is from 1911. Similarly to Karnell, Bergqvist used mainly cultural terms when reproducing the hierarchy between Swedes and Sámi. In his article in the conservative but reformist (related to a political movement called *unghögern*, the young right) periodical *Det Nya Sverige* in 1911, Bergqvist treated the question of whether Sámi reindeer-herders should have the right to cross the Swedish-Norwegian border established after Norwegian independence in 1905. Bergqvist pointed out several times that the Sámi formed their own people and nation, and were thus a third party in the negotiations, the two others being Sweden and Norway. Nevertheless, Bergqvist did not hesitate to call the Scandinavians a "higher culture"[296] that had gradually pushed away the Sámi from their former land. For this very reason, the Sámi were in need of protection. Bergqvist went on to describe the educational situation in Norway

296 "högre kultur": Olof Bergqvist, "Nomadlapparna och de nordiska folken," *Det Nya Sverige* 5 (1911): 326.

and Sweden. He described the situation in Norway as hopeless. The assimilation pressures were strong and Sámi did not exist as "a church language and language of instruction"[297], apart from in Finnmark where the situation was "somewhat different"[298]. Bergqvist did not specify in what way it was different.

Sweden, however, Bergqvist portrayed as a country where the Sámi were protected, in spite of "old trespasses"[299]. In the case of education, Bergqvist described the nomad schools that were still only in the making in 1911, and stated that they were planned to "adapt the instruction to their [Sámi] conditions and needs"[300] Bergqvist claimed that the Sámi were free to use their language whenever and wherever they wished, that tuition was provided in Sámi wherever the Sámi wished thus, and that the government was paying for the translation of teaching materials into Sámi.[301] Combined with the text on Sámi language in the 1909 proposition, Bergqvist's article in *Det Nya Sverige* suggests that he really held such ideals about the future nomad schools, and that he considered Sámi a nation in its own right. At the same time, it is apparent that he was making the comparison with Norway in order to show how poorly Norway was treating the Sámi, whereas Sweden was much ahead in this regard. Indeed, following the description of Sámi education in Sweden, Bergqvist urged Norway to assume greater responsibility for the survival of the Sámi through the opening of the Swedish-Norwegian border for the Swedish Sámi who had parts of their traditional grazing lands on the Norwegian side.[302]

There was a remarkable difference in the ways Bergqvist and Karnell, two authors of the 1909 proposition that led to the establishment of the nomad schools, envisioned how Sámi culture was to be preserved. Bishop Olof Bergqvist, the principal planner of the nomad school system, viewed the Sámi language as a tool to preserve the Sámi culture and livelihood from dying out. Karnell, the first nomad school inspector, thought that Swedish language had this very function. Only in Swedish could Sáminess be preserved and indeed reformed into such a direction that it could survive the assimilatory pressures from the surrounding society. The comparison above suggests that the principles of the use of language in the nomad school were much more open to the use of Sámi than the practice, steered by the nomad school inspectors, would turn out to be.

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297 "kyrkospråk och skolspråk": Bergqvist, "Nomadlapparna och de nordiska folken," 326.

298 "något annorlunda": Bergqvist, "Nomadlapparna och de nordiska folken," 326.

299 "gamla försyndelser": Bergqvist, "Nomadlapparna och de nordiska folken," 326.

300 "anpassa undervisningen efter deras förhållanden och behof.": Bergqvist, "Nomadlapparna och de nordiska folken,": 327.

301 Bergqvist, "Nomadlapparna och de nordiska folken," 327.

302 Bergqvist, "Nomadlapparna och de nordiska folken," 327.

Karnell and Gustav Park: high quality education and equal citizenship in Swedish

In 1918, inspired by a Sámi meeting in Trondheim, Norway in 1917, a number of Swedish Sámi gathered for a nation-wide meeting in Östersund in the southern Sámi regions of Sweden. As shown by Patrik Lantto, most of the attendants were from the southern Sámi areas of Sweden (see context chapter for a more exhaustive discussion). During the 1918 meeting, two Sámi figures stepped up as leaders: teacher Torkel Tomasson and theology student and clergyman-to-be Gustav Park. Park criticized the nomad schools for not providing the same quality of instruction as other Swedish elementary schools. Park was of the opinion that it was wise to dedicate the few school years to learning Swedish rather than having Sámi as a part of the curriculum. Considering that the Sámi were Swedish citizens and lived their lives mainly with the Swedes, Park was happy that the newly updated instructions for the nomad schools (1916) stated that nomad schools should provide instruction in Swedish.[303] Park believed that Sámi language would survive in any case since the children would use Sámi at home and in reindeer herding.[304]

Park's main lines of critique were that the duration and quality of nomad education was inferior to standard elementary education, and that the nomad school teachers had a shorter education than standard elementary school teachers. Park pointed out that teaching Swedish to the Sámi children was a difficult task, and the duration of both the terms of the nomad school and the teachers' seminar should be made longer.[305] During his speech at the 1918 meeting, Park also discussed the concept of citizenship. While demanding a decent quality education for Sámi, a right they had as Swedish citizens, he also criticized the Sámi for not living up to their duties as citizens. Just as the state had duties towards its citizens, a "good citizen"[306] also had certain duties towards the state. Park criticized some of the Sámi parents for not fulfilling their civic duties, as some parents had been reluctant to send their children to the schools. Park showed considerable diplomatic skill in demonstrating that the Sámi could improve at being good citizens, whereas the state had something to consider with regard to its duties to the citizens: providing an elementary education that was as qualitative as the education provided for the rest of the Swedish citizens. Park viewed Swedish as the language of instruction as a guarantee for high quality education and an equal citizenship. It is important to retain for further

303 *Svenska lapparnas landsmöte*, 130.
304 *Svenska lapparnas landsmöte*, 130.
305 *Svenska lapparnas landsmöte*, 133–136.
306 *Svenska lapparnas landsmöte*, 151.

discussion and comparison with Finland and Norway that Park's fundamental assumption was that Sámi language would survive in any case, since it was used in homes and in settings of reindeer husbandry. For Park, mastering Swedish was an added bonus rather than a dichotomous alternative to the survival of Sámi language. Park's compliance with Swedish as the language of instruction was based on the notion that the nomad schools were active among a living Sámi culture that could transmit the Sámi language and culture to the children.[307] The school was a different sphere, where know-how that was to be common for all Swedish citizens was to be reproduced. Sámi language was to prevail in homes and outside of the school hours. This domestic/educational duality was in fact a built-in feature in the nomad school system. As David Sjögren shows, for most of the 1920s, all hostesses of the boarding facilities of the nomad schools, except for one, were of Sámi origin.[308] The assumption was then, that after a school day in Swedish, the children spent the evening at the boarding facilities that were, at least in principle, a Sámi environment.

The meeting made no further reference to language of instruction. However, many of the Sámi present, as well as the meetings' final resolution on school issues, yearned back to the mission schools, mainly discontinued after the nomad school reform and mostly run by *Svenska missionssällskapet* (Swedish mission society), affiliated with the Church of Sweden.[309] These missionary schools were adapted to the lifestyle and needs of the Sámi, while providing instruction permeated with Christian values, and instruction in Sámi, at least in the schools of the Southern Sámi areas.[310]

As long as Sámi language could exist unthreatened in the oral tradition of the Sámi communities, the precedence of Swedish as the language of instruction in the nomad schools was unproblematic. As will be discussed further down, complaints among the Sámi arose when these experienced that the survival of Sámi language was threatened.

In his yearly report of 1918, Vitalis Karnell commented on the critique from the 1918 meeting of the Swedish Sámi, and doubted whether this critique was justified. He wrote that the nomad school system had been in place for such a short time that it was difficult to draw any conclusions on the quality of tuition. It was for this reason also hard to tell whether the schools, as the meeting had

307 *Svenska lapparnas landsmöte*, 130.

308 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 83.

309 Norlin and Sjögren, "Kyrkan, utbildningspolitiken och den samiska skolundervisningen vid sekelskiftet 1900," 409–410; Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 4–5, 8–13.

310 Sölve Anderzén, "Kyrkans undervisning i Lappmarken under 1800–talet," in *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna. En vetenskaplig antologi*, ed. Daniel Lindmark and Olle Sundström, volume I (Skellefteå: Artos 2016), 389–391.

discussed, actually provided the children with tools and competence that "would […] hold in comparison with other Swedish citizens"[311]. Using an explicit racial categorization that is otherwise rare in Karnell's report, he closed the section of the report about the 1918 meeting by stating that even if the Sámi present at the meeting of 1918 would get to decide over their own school system, they would soon discover that it was impossible to implement since the Sámi "out in the fells" would have conflicting views on the issue, as they tended to be stubborn and reluctant to compromise. This, wrote Karnell, he could conclude after twenty years of experience and knowledge of the "race character of the Sámi people"[312]. This instance again lays bare Karnell's condescending attitude towards the Sámi, who were in Karnell's view incapable of deciding over their future.

Julia Nordblad has treated the question of language of instruction and citizenship rather exhaustively in her doctoral dissertation. In her conclusions, Nordblad makes a comparison of elementary school policies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with four cases: the nomadic Sámi in Sweden, the Finnish-speakers in Sweden, the Breton-speakers in France and the Arab-speakers of the French protectorate of Tunisia. Whereas the Finnish-speakers and the Breton-speakers were in the sphere of an assimilative school policy, the nomadic Sámi and the Arab-speakers were educated into a second-class citizenship, or a qualified difference. The education emphasized the cultural difference of the Arab and nomadic Sámi populations compared to the majority populations of France and Sweden.[313] Gustav Park's critique above can be interpreted as a specific critique of this segregating side of the school policies. For Park, education that held the same quality as other elementary schools in the country was a higher priority than instruction in Sámi. Park disagreed with Karnell about the curriculum and structure of the nomad schools. With regard to the function of Swedish as the language of high quality instruction, however, he agreed with the nomad school inspector. Another function Park reserved for Swedish as a language of instruction was the added resource the mastery of Swedish was for Sámi children, whether in terms of an equal citizenship or material well-being. Park's articulations on the functions of Swedish rested upon the assumption that Sámi language would survive in a domestic setting.

311 "uthärda jämförelse med andra svenska medborgare": Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1918 (Vitalis Karnell) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

312 "same-folkets rasegendomlighet": Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1918 (Vitalis Karnell) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

313 Julia Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor*, 330–334.

Legislative changes after Karnell: the 1925 decree on nomad schools

A governmental committee appointed in 1919 to reform the nomad school system treated, among other things, the question of Sámi education. It suggested no significant changes to the nomad school. As Julia Nordblad has accounted for, the committee organized thirteen meetings with Sámi in different parts of the country about the school conditions. Four meetings discussed the language of instruction, with two meetings with a majority for Swedish as the language of tuition, and two meetings expressing differing opinions.[314]

In 1923, the committee published a new proposition for a decree regarding the instruction in the nomad schools. It proposed some modifications to the earlier decrees concerning the nomad school, taking among other things into consideration some of the points of critique that had been presented during the Sámi meeting of 1918.[315] According to the proposition, it was recommended that local Sámi be hired as nomad school teachers:

> All male and female teachers of the Lappish tribe are especially suitable and interesting for the vocation of a nomad teacher. They are since their childhood used to the environment where the activities of the nomad school take place, and often feel that it is an inner duty to get the opportunity to teach among their own people.[316]

The committee was positive towards hiring Sámi as teachers, but all tuition was to be given in Swedish, "where specific conditions do not prompt otherwise"[317]. The proposition of 1923 led to the decree of 1925, which retained the proposition's formulation on language of tuition.[318] The proposition itself never explicated the specific conditions that would support providing tuition in Sámi. However, as discussed previously, the 1909 proposition on nomad schools stated that teachers could continue teaching in Sámi in the schools where Sámi had been in use and where the parents of the pupils wished for education in Sámi.[319] In the proposition of 1909, it was left up to the Chapters of Luleå and

314 Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor*, 291–292.

315 *Förslag till stadga angående nomadundervisningen i riket samt till instruktion för nomadskolinspektören.* Statens officiella utredningar (SOU) 1923:52.

316 "åtskilliga lärare och lärarinnor av lapsk stam äro synnerligen lämpliga och intresserade just för nomadlärarkallet. De äro från barndomen vana vid den omgivning, till vilken nomadskolornas verksamhet är förlagd, och känna det ofta som en inre uppgift att få undervisa bland sitt eget folk.": SOU 1923:52, 38.

317 "där ej särskilda förhållanden annat föranleda": SOU 1923:52, 10.

318 "SFS 1925:511," *Svensk författningssamling för 1925* (Stockholm: Nordstedts, 1926), 1377.

319 Bergqvist, *Förslag till omorganisation af lappskoleväsendet*, 21; Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor,* 292.

Härnösand, and the school boards to decide on the use of Sámi in instruction. In the decree of 1925, and still in fact the one of 1937, the formulation was that the Chapters had the ultimate responsibility of deciding, "whether in special cases, knowledge in the Lappish or the Finnish language or both is necessary for [formal] competence"[320].

Henrysson and Flodin interpret the decree of 1925 as an opening for at least four processes leading to considerable changes in Sámi education: The decree paved the way for the raise of the quality of instruction as well as an increase in the tuition times of the nomad schools, so that they gradually closed in on the tuition times of the regular elementary schools. The decree also initiated a process culminating in the 1940s, where the goahti tents, criticized as low-quality school and boarding buildings at the 1918 meeting, were discarded as tuition and boarding facilities. What is more, the 1925 decree also established an institutionalized forum for the voice of Sámi parents of pupils through the nomad school boards (*nomadskolefullmäktige*) consisting of the local teacher and representatives for parents, even if these boards only had a consultative function.[321]

In parallel to the legislation, the 1920 appointment of Erik Bergström as the nomad school inspector can be designated as a starting point for changes within the nomad school system that partly if not whole-heartedly responded to the critique voiced by many Sámi, not least at the 1918 meeting. According to Henrysson and Flodin, Bergström's successor, Axel Calleberg, was also responsive to the critique and opinions of the Sámi and interested in reforming the nomad schools.[322] The changes initiated during the inspector periods of Bergström and Calleberg would eventually, in the 1940s lead to bigger changes that dismantled the nomad school system, stripping it back its earlier role as the one and only permitted school form for reindeer-herding nomadic Sámi.

Inspector Erik Bergström: Sámi language as a pedagogical measure among others

Vitalis Karnell left his position as nomad school inspector in 1919, and returned to his earlier role as inspector of regular elementary schools in the Eastern Norrbotten district (called the District of Torne Valley from 1920 onwards).[323]

320 "huruvida i särskilt fall insikt i lapska eller finska språket eller bådadera är erforderlig för behörighet": "SFS 1925:511," 1378; "SFS 1938:479," *Svensk författningssamling för 1938* (Stockholm: Nordstedts, 1939), 1006.

321 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 73.

322 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 44–45.

323 Franzén, "K Vitalis Karnell".

According to Olle Franzén, heart disease and considerable opposition from the side of Sámi leaders and parents towards the nomad schools led to Karnell's decision to leave the nomad school system behind.[324] As reported in the memoirs of nomad school teacher Sigrid Rutfjäll, Karnell had been shocked and disillusioned by the harsh criticism the nomad school had met among the Sámi, for instance, at the 1918 national meeting.[325]

Whereas Vitalis Karnell was one of the powerhouses behind the creation, establishment and implementation of the nomad school system, his successor Erik Bergström (in office 1920–1933) had not been as directly involved in its early stages. However, he had worked as the Lapp bailiff[326] (*Lappfogde*) of the county of Västerbotten, and had been a member of the 1919 committee for reforming the nomad schools.[327] Bergström was born in Stockholm, and prior to his work in state administration he had pursued an academic career, holding a PhD in zoology from Uppsala University. He had also worked at the zoological museum of that university.[328] According to Henrysson and Flodin, Bergström invested a considerable amount of time and energy into raising the quality of tuition in the nomad schools. As seen previously, one of the principal critiques from the 1918 meeting of the Sámi had been that the quality of instruction in the nomad schools did not compare to the quality of instruction in regular Swedish elementary schools. As a member of the 1919 committee, Bergström was involved in the report of that committee that in 1925 led to the new decree for the nomad school system. Bergström was also concerned about the forced relocations of Sámi from the Karesuando area in the north to the Arjeplog area. These relocations were due to the increased pressure on reindeer grazing lands in Sweden, a consequence of the regulation of the border crossing of reindeer herds between Sweden and Norway in 1919 (see pages 63–64). As Tore Andersson Hjulman has shown, Bergström was worried that the reindeer herding of the Karesuando Sámi would not be sustainable in the Arjeplog area, and would be a threat to both the nature and the local Sámi.[329]

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324 Franzén, "K Vitalis Karnell".

325 Sigrid Rutfjäll and Bo Lundmark, *ABC bland fjällen: Nomadlärarinnan Sigrid Rutfjäll berättar* (Köping: Lindfors, 1990), 41.

326 A provincial governmental authority mainly responsible for issues relating to reindeer-herding.

327 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 35.

328 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 42–43.

329 Tore Andersson Hjulman, *Ett med naturen. En studie av hur naturen omförhandlades i mellankrigstidens konflikter mellan naturskydd och samiska rättigheter* (Luleå: Luleå University of Technology, 2017), 43–47.

Judging by the minutes of a number of meetings during the 1920s and 1930s between the nomad school inspector and the local nomad school boards[330], the lack of Sámi as a language of instruction was an issue that both the inspector and the boards regularly reported as a fault in the nomad school system. Especially in the southern Sámi regions, the reported risk was that the local Sámi varieties were quickly losing ground to Swedish among the children.[331]

In 1927, Erik Bergström answered Tuorpon's nomad school board's critique on the lack of Sámi as a language of instruction as follows:

> […] it is now the intention to introduce tuition in the Lapp language so widely that the children learn to read in a Lappish book, so that they would not stand helpless in front of what is printed in their own mother tongue. Swedish must, however, as the state language of the country, be the principal language in the nomad schools."[332]

In the same minutes, Bergström noted that the board was happy with the planned Sámi tuition in the overall frame where Swedish continued to be the principal language of instruction. During another board meeting, just a few days earlier in Luokta-Mávas, Arjeplog, a Sámi board member, Anders Larsson Bär, expressed similar thoughts to those of Bergström, stating that the schools should avoid spending too much time teaching Sámi, since this could reduce the time spent teaching Swedish. Similarly to Bergsröm, Bär designated Swedish as the "state language"[333], a language that the children needed to learn to understand perfectly. According to Bär, the children, coming from Sámi-speaking homes, already understood Sámi.[334]

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330 In Swedish: *nomadskolfullmäktige*. Established by the 1925 decree and consisting of local Sámi parents.

331 Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), October 26 1927, Luokta-Mávas lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH); Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), July 24, 1926, Umbyns lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH); Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), July 11, 1927, Luokta-Mávas lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH); Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), July 15, 1927, Tuorpons lappby; Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), May 8, 1932, Mittådalens lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

332 "det vore avsikten att nu införa undervisning i lapska språket i så stor utsträckning, att barnen skulle lära sig läsa i lapsk bok, så att de ej stode rådlösa inför det som är tryckt på deras eget modersmål. Svenskan måste dock i sin egenskap av landets rikksspråk vara huvudspråket i nomadskolorna.": Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll) July 15, 1927, Tuorpons lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

333 "rikksspråket": Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), July 12, 1927, Luokta-Mávas lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

334 Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), 12.7.1927, Luokta-Mávas lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

According to Bergström, Sámi children should not stand "helpless" in front of written Sámi. Bär thought that the Sámi language should also, in the future, be conveyed in the Sámi-speaking homes rather than in schools. For both Bär and Bergström, Swedish, the state language, was the self-evident main language of instruction.

Bergström and Brygfjeld on the Kautokeino boarding school

During the same meeting in Luokta-Mávas, in Arjeplog, Bergström noted the pedagogical advantage of teachers teaching in Sámi. Bergström wrote that he had undertaken a journey to Norway and the boarding school in Kautokeino. Apparently inspired by this visit, he wrote that he also hoped to introduce regular instruction in Sámi in the nomad school of Arjeplog. The board had presented Bergström with the wish of tuition in Sámi, and Bergström considered that wish "well founded"[335], while at the same time noting that tuition in Sámi was already offered "to a certain extent"[336] within the nomad school system. The cross-national recontextualization in Bergström's articulation is worth noting. In this instance, Bergström used Kautokeino boarding school as a positive example of a school where the tuition, including the language of instruction, was adapted to the needs of Sámi children. This picture, although not much highlighted in Norwegian research, is confirmed by contemporary documents in Norway. In a letter by Director of Schools Christen Brygfjeld to the school board of the Kautokeino in 1928, the director commented on a general scheme for tuition in Kautokeino, expressing his full support to the praxis where Norwegian was the language of instruction, with Sámi as an "auxiliary language"[337]. Also, Lydolf Lind Meløy who worked as a teacher at the boarding school has noted that Sámi was commonly used as an auxiliary language.[338] Brygfjeld's attitude towards the languages in Kautokeino becomes even clearer from the overview of the elementary schools of Finnmark for the years 1915–1920, signed in 1924. In the overview, Brygfjeld described the situation in Kautokeino, where, before the boarding school was opened in 1907[339], it was common that both younger and older Sámi understood no Norwegian at all. The boarding school had fulfilled

335 "välmotiverad": Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), July 11, 1927, Luokta-Mávas lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

336 "i viss utsträckning": Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), July 11, 1927, Luokta-Mávas lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

337 "hjelpespråk": Letter from Christen Brygfjeld to the Kautokeino school board, April 7, 1928. H: 469, Skoledirektøren i Finnmark (SF), The Regional State Archives in Tromsø (RSAT).

338 Lydolf Lind Meløy, *Internatliv i Finnmark: Skolepolitikk 1900–1940* (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 1980) 10–12, 108.

339 Lind Meløy, *Internatliv i Finnmark*, 34.

its function, since it had become rare "to meet a young Lapp boy or girl from there who does not speak Norwegian."[340] Brygfjeld added that the parents were also happy with this, since the children could act as interpreters for their parents at the marketplaces.

As noted by Reisigl and Wodak, and Wodak and Fairclough, in the case of recontextualizations, we should study both what is included and what is excluded from both the original and the destination contexts.[341] In this case, Bergström decontextualized the original *function* of Sámi in the Norwegian school system, and underscored the *fact* that Sámi was used as an auxiliary language in Kautokeino, and applied it in the Swedish context of the nomad schools with a new function: the intelligibility function. To elaborate, director of schools Brygfjeld highlighted the assimilative function that Sámi had at the Kautokeino boarding school, as exemplified in his letter to the Department of Church and Education in Oslo in 1931. The function of Sámi was that of an auxiliary language of Norwegianization. In fact, Brygfjeld viewed the Kautokeino boarding school as a successful example of language assimilation. It was, according to him, a school that taught its pupils Norwegian to a high level of proficiency (by using Sámi as an auxiliary to meet this goal), to the point where the use of Sámi would eventually become superfluous.[342] In Bergström's recontextualization, the use of Sámi in schools was portrayed as having a function of intelligibility. It was an auxiliary of facilitating the communication between the teacher and the pupils, in order to reach better teaching outcomes.

In either case, this discussion supports Anton Hoëm's nuancing of Norwegianization as a research concept. Hoëm points out that the language assimilation in schools was not always as totalitarian as earlier research has withheld.[343] At the same time, however, it needs to be noted that in Brygfjeld's view, when the teachers used Sámi, they did so only to speed up and support the process of language assimilation, or Norwegianization, of the Sámi-speaking children. I will return to this discussion later on in the dissertation.

340 "å treffe en ung lappegutt eller jente derfra som ikke kan norsk.": Beretning om folkeskolen i Finnmark byer og landdistrikter for femåret 1915–1920, Db:162 (SF), (RSAT).

341 Reisigl and Wodak, "The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)," 28; Wodak and Fairclough, "Recontextualizing European higher education policies: the cases of Austria and Romania," 22.

342 Letter from Christen Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education, May 15, 1931, published in *Samisk skolehistorie 4* (Kárášjohka: Davvi Girji, 2010), accessed August 31, 2017, http://skuvla.info/skolehist/brygfjeld-n.htm.

343 Anton Hoëm, *Fra noidiens verden til forskerens,* 476.

The intelligibility function: Sámi language as a transitory measure en route to Swedish monolingualism

In the annual report of 1929–1930, Bergström described the situation with regard to the Swedish skills among the pupils in both northern and central parts of the Swedish Sámi area. In the north, "all normally gifted children even in the purely Lappish and Finnish-speaking regions in the county of Norrbotten"[344] learned to speak and understand Swedish in a "passable"[345] manner. In the areas around Jokkmokk and Arjeplog, Bergström described the Swedish skills among the pupils as "rooted"[346]. Bergström again admitted that knowing some Sámi was an advantage and an aid for teachers teaching Swedish, "not least when it comes to the explanations of difficult words and expressions"[347]. However, he downplayed the role of Sámi as an auxiliary language of instruction and stated that a pedagogically skilled Swedish teacher without any knowledge in Sámi was still able to convey the teaching as successfully as a Sámi-speaking teacher, especially with the lower level classes. According to Bergström, what was paramount was that the teachers had an impeccable knowledge of Swedish. Knowing Sámi was secondary to knowing Swedish, and could never compensate for any faults in the Swedish skills among the teachers.[348] Some Sámi skills were, according to Bergström, beneficial, such as in teaching the subject of Christianity. In teaching Swedish, the lack of Sámi skills was "of far lesser significance"[349]. However, with regards to Christianity, the primary function of Sámi was to help the children to learn to read and recite the Bible in Swedish. Especially where pedagogically able teachers were around, from fourth grade onwards, teaching in Christianity could be provided in a manner similar to that in "standard Swedish elementary schools"[350], even if the capacity of the pupils in the upper nomad schools (grades 4 to 6) to recite a bible text in Swedish was "substantially weaker than [that

344 "alla normalt begåvade barn även i de rent lapsk- och finskspråkiga trakterna i Norrbottens län": Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1929–1930 (Erik Bergström) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

345 "hjälpligt": Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1929–1930 (Erik Bergström) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

346 "betecknas så som rotfäst.": Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1929–1930 (Erik Bergström) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

347 "ej minst då det gäller förklaringar av svåra ord och uttryck": Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1929–1930 (Erik Bergström) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

348 Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1929–1930 (Erik Bergström) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

349 "av långt mindre betydelse": Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1929–1930 (Erik Bergström) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

350 "de vanliga svenska folkskolorna": Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1929–1930 (Erik Bergström) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

of] purely Swedish-speaking children."[351] Bergström viewed the use of Sámi language as a pedaogical auxiliary, comparable to other pedagogical methods. When other pedagogical tools developed, or the pupils learned enough Swedish, the intelligibility function was not needed any more, and the need for Sámi in schools disappeared. This is why Bergström wrote that even in the case of Christianity, where the status of Sámi was traditionally at its strongest, teachers with pedagogical skills could teach in Swedish.

In 1930, inspector Bergström reported that the nomad school teachers that spoke only Swedish had learned some Sámi so that they could convey the most basic Christian instruction in Sámi. It is unclear whether this applied to all nomad schools or only to the schools in the Norrbotten area. The nomad school inspector reported that the language barrier was only a problem in Norrbotten, where the Sámi children were monolingual Sámi-speakers when they started at the nomad school. The goal was, as we have seen, to gradually reduce the quantity of Sámi language instruction so that in the upper nomad school (classes 4 to 6), the tuition could be carried out in Swedish similarly to in the regular Swedish elementary schools.[352] In Bergström's arguments, it was the instruction and dissemination of instruction in Christianity that held an intrinsic value, not Sámi, nor Finnish, as languages of instruction. These languages were again reduced into the intelligibility function.

Functions of Sámi in the meeting minutes of the nomad school boards

In 1932, Israel Andreas Jonsson, a member of the nomad school board in Gran and Ran in Sorsele, Västerbotten, expressed in a clarifying manner the apparent paradox of the nomad school. This paradox was that the schools aimed at providing an environment, which was as Sámi as possible, but where instruction was in Swedish. According to Jonsson, it was pointless to discuss whether or not Sámi children should wear traditional Sámi clothes in school. As David Sjögren has shown, inspector Bergström was very clear on the point that he preferred that the pupils wore traditional Sámi clothes, rather than industrially produced clothes from southern Sweden, in order not to stray from their way of life.[353] In Jonsson's view, much more important and worrying than clothing was the fact that the schools did not provide tuition in Sámi. This, concluded Jonsson, led to a situation where the children learned to think that Sámi was inferior to

351 "väsentligt mindre än rent svenskspråkiga barns": Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1929–1930 (Erik Bergström) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

352 Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1929–1930 (Erik Bergström) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

353 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 108.

Swedish.[354] Six years earlier, further north in Luokta-Mávas in Arjeplog, Per Nilsson Ruong, a member of the nomad school board, stated that instruction exclusively in Swedish would render the children "arrogant"[355], and would "lead them away from the Lapp life."[356] Jonsson and Ruong highlighted the culture-bearing function of Sámi, stating that instruction solely in Swedish would make the Sámi children foreigners and condescending towards their own culture. This is the function that the 1909 proposition had reserved for Sámi as a language of instruction. Later, this function was not prioritized in the arguments of the nomad school inspectors.

In the northern parts of the Swedish Sámi areas, the locals asked for tuition in Sámi as was the case in the southern regions. However, in the north, the Sámi also asked for education in Finnish, since this was their traditional church language, as discussed by Sölve Anderzén and Hannu Mustakallio, among others, and as accounted for earlier.[357] The minutes from a 1928 nomad school board appointment in Könkämä close to the Finnish border explicitly stated the importance of the use of Finnish language in religious contexts. According to the minutes, the members of the nomad school board wanted Finnish to be used in the local nomad school, since "the Christian proclamation among the Lapps in the case of sermons and during meetings always takes place in the Finnish language."[358] After this statement, the members of the board added another reason for learning Finnish: trade. The minutes show that for the local Sámi in Könkämä, the nomad school was at least in part a continuation of religious and church activities. Finnish as a language of instruction was to have the intelligibility function of conveying tuition in Christianity in a language the pupils knew and associated with church and church activities. At the same time, the reference to trade points to the added resource function where the majority language of the country was viewed as a resource as the trade language, a necessity in economic terms. In the case of Könkämä, Sweden, however, the language to be learned was the majority language of the neighboring country,

354 Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll) April 23, 1932, Grans och Rans lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

355 "högmodiga": Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), January 16, 1926, Luokta-Mávas lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

356 "leda dem bort från lapplivet": Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), January 16, 1926, Luokta-Mávas lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

357 Sölve Anderzén, *Teaching and Church Tradition in the Kemi and Torne Laplands, Northern Scandinavia, in the 1700s* (Umeå: Umeå University, 1997) 12; Hannu Mustakallio, "Laestadianismen, den finskspråkiga minoriteten i norra Sverige och de finsk-svenska kyrkliga relationerna från 1890-talet till år 1923," 49.

358 "kristendomsförkunnelsen bland lapparna vid predikningar och möten alltid sker på finska språket.": Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), August 5, 1928, Könkämä lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

and the need to know some Finnish was portrayed as making economic sense because it would benefit trade across the border with Finland. This is one of many examples where the voice of the Sámi breaks out in an active manner, showing that the Sámi were very much aware of the different functions of the languages in Northern Fennoscandia. In a nomad school board meeting in Saarivuoma, in northernmost Sweden in 1929, the wish that the teacher in the lower classes would know Sámi or Finnish was expressed.[359] It did not seem to matter which language as long as the children understood the language of instruction, which was not the case with Swedish. As the minutes testify, the board members referred to the intelligibility and added resource functions to support their claims to adapt the language of instruction to a language the pupils knew and understood, or that was of use for them in their daily lives.

The annual reports of Bergström show that, from 1925 onwards, Finnish books were provided to the northernmost nomad schools, in addition to the ones in Sámi that were provided to almost all nomad schools (both lower and higher). Erik Bergström formulated the need for books in different Sámi varieties and in Finnish as follows:

> The aim of this action is partly, where this can be arranged with regard to the competence of the teachers, to offer the opportunity to study Lappish and Finnish in the nomad schools, and partly to acquaint the children with the literature available in their mother tongue and their religious language, respectively. The nomad school inspector has selected the books from the storage of such books at the Chapter of Luleå. The books are quite old and [are written] in different Lappish dialects.[360]

Bergström saw the introduction of Sámi and Finnish as beneficial to the mother tongue and the religious language of the children, thus giving testimony to the fact that Finnish was often used in standard Lutheran services. It was also,

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359 Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), September 13, 1929, Sarivuoma lappby, (the meeting took place in the Gaitsaluokta camp in Norway), A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

360 "Avsikten med denna åtgärd är dels att, då så med hänsyn till lärarkrafternas kompetens kan arrangeras, bereda möjlighet till läsning av lapska och finska i nomadskolorna, dels att lära barnen känna den litteratur, som finnes på deras modersmål respektive deras religiösa språk. Böckerna ha av nomadskolinspektören utvalts ur det förråd av dylika böcker, som finnes deponerat hos Luleå domkapitel. Böckerna äro av äldre datum och på olika lapska dialekter." Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1925 (Erik Bergström) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

as pointed out by Hannu Mustakallio, among others, something of a *lingua sacra* for the Laestadian revival movement.[361]

The role of Sámi in religious instruction was discussed in a number of nomad school board meetings. In Umby in Västerbotten, the board called for "some tuition"[362] in Sámi in the nomad schools. The board also emphasized that only "Västerbotten-Lappish"[363] (a Sámi variety now called Ume Sámi) should be considered as a language of instruction. In the same paragraph, the board also asked for sermons in Sámi in the area. Since the nearby congregation of Stensele had a Sámi-speaking vicar (Gustav Park, who had been an active participant of the 1918 meeting of the Swedish Sámi, see page 96), the board noted that this should not be a problem.[364] Sámi, the Ume Sámi variety in this case, was portrayed as the language of religion and religious instruction, just as Finnish was in northern Swedish Sámi areas. Again, there was a certain intelligibility argument at work with regard to the function of religious language. Religious language and mother tongue needed not to be the same language. Among Sámi-speakers, similar arguments were in use for Finnish and Sámi even if the former was not the mother tongue of the people asking for religious instruction in this language. The main point was that the congregation understood the language of the clergymen, and the pupils the language of the teachers.

Inspector Axel Calleberg: a continuation of unfulfilled promises of widened use of Sámi

After Bergström, a nomad school inspector with a scientific background, the office returned to a theologian in 1933, when the earlier vicar of Sorsele (in Västerbotten County) Carl Axel Calleberg (Axel Calleberg) assumed the position. Calleberg (in office 1933–1945), a native of Dalecarlia in central Sweden, had actively participated in the debate around Sámi education even prior to this. According to Henrysson and Flodin, the cooperation between Calleberg and the Sámi was mainly smooth, and he took a clear stance for improving the quality of the nomad schools both in terms of curriculum and the actual school

361 Hannu Mustakallio, "Laestadianismen, den finskspråkiga minoriteten i norra Sverige och de finsk-svenska kyrkliga relationerna från 1890-talet till år 1923," 49.

362 "någon undervisning": Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), September 9, 1928, Umbyns lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

363 "Västerbottens-lapska": Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), September 9, 1928, Umbyns lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

364 Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), September 9, 1928, Umbyns lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

buildings.[365] Calleberg took interest in Sámi language varieties and Sámi culture and established a collection of Sámi artifacts showcased at the open-air museum in Härnösand.[366]

In his first yearly report (1933–1934) as nomad school inspector, Calleberg expressed his concerns about the risk of Sámi language becoming extinct in the southern Sámi areas. To prevent this from happening, Calleberg wanted to "prepare some room, even if only a little"[367] for Sámi instruction in the nomad schools. Calleberg gave no further reasons for why instruction in Sámi should have been a part of the tuition provided in the nomad schools. Once again, what is left unsaid is most revealing, namely that Calleberg considered the disappearance of Sámi language as a negative development. When referring to Sámi language and that it should be secured more space in the curriculum, Calleberg even used the word "subject"[368] (*ämne*), referring to it becoming a school subject. In this case, then, it seems that Calleberg considered that Sámi language varieties should have their own slot in the weekly timetable, as the mother tongue of the school children. The earlier articulations by inspector Bergström on Sámi language had only been about whether parts of the instruction in other subjects could be conveyed in Sámi. Sámi as a school subject was introduced in Sweden in 1957.[369] Calleberg was quite ahead of his time with this articulation.

Calleberg was positive towards the use of Sámi, but it is as important to note the second part of the citation "prepare some room, even if only a little". The space for Sámi in schools was to be minimal. In his report for the years 1936 to 1937, Calleberg joined in with Bergström's earlier reasoning that Sámi or Sámi-speaking teachers were not a necessity for nomad schools. This is also noted by David Sjögren. He affirms that Calleberg was even clearer on the priority of Swedish teachers than Bergström, stating that the nomad schools should rather have Swedish teachers with no skills in Sámi than Sámi teachers with imperfect skills in Swedish.[370] However, a closer look at Calleberg's articulations indicates

365 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 45.

366 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 44–45; *Vem är det. Svensk biografisk handbok 1943*, s.v. "Calleberg, Claës Axel," accessed October 10, 2017, http://runeberg.org/vemardet/1943/0140.html; "Samlingar," Murberget. Länsmuseet Västernorrland, accessed October 10, 2017, http://www.murberget.se/om-museet/samlingar/foeremaal.aspx.

367 "bereda […] ett om än litet utrymme": Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1933–1934 (Axel Calleberg) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

368 "ämne": Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1933–1934 (Axel Calleberg) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

369 Aikio-Puoskari, *Saamen kielen ja saamenkielinen opetus Pohjoismaissa,* 106.

370 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 114; Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1938–1939 (Axel Calleberg) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

that there was no clear difference between the priorities of the inspectors regarding the question of language of instruction.

Nomad school teachers' skills in Sámi: a culture-bearing or an intelligibility function?

In his report for 1936 to 1937, Calleberg stated that Swedish- and Finnish-speaking teachers were as competent at teaching in nomad schools as teachers with Sámi heritage were. He added that the "Swedish-born learn Lappish quite quickly"[371]. Calleberg assumed that all teachers, including the "Swedish-born", should learn some Sámi, while at the same time assuming that all teachers should have an impeccable knowledge of the Swedish language. Calleberg referred only to the Swedish speakers as teachers who learn Sámi "quite quickly". He did not mention the Finnish-speaking teachers. This indicates that he either assumed that the Finnish speakers, being language-relatives of the Sámi, learned Sámi quickly, or that knowing Finnish was enough, since this language was used as an auxiliary language in some schools, as discussed above. The former interpretation would point to a culture-bearing function that maintained that Sámi had a certain value as the mother tongue of the pupils, and of a whole culture. The latter interpretation points to the intelligibility function already widely referred to above, where Sámi and Finnish had a certain value, but only as auxiliaries of providing education in the most efficient way possible. A list of nomad school teachers, organized according to language skills from 1938–1939, shows that both interpretations are possible (see Table 1). Swedish skills were assumed as self-evident and not listed at all. If the teacher knew Finnish or Sámi as well as Swedish, these languages were listed. In most cases, the teachers that spoke Finnish also spoke Sámi, but in some cases they only knew Finnish. It is not surprising that all of the Finnish-speakers (3 teachers) and speakers of both Sámi and Finnish (6 teachers) worked in the three northernmost nomad school districts of Karesuando, Jukkasjärvi and Gällivare, the area where Finnish had been in use as church and to some extent educational language already since the eighteenth century.[372]

In his conclusions on the list, Calleberg commented on the origin (*härstamning*) of the teachers: "Of the 25 ordinary and extra ordinary teachers, 14 are of pure Lappish origin, 4 of Swedish-Finnish and 7 of Swedish origin. An in general excellent and good group of teachers."[373] What is striking in this

371 Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1936–1937 (Axel Calleberg) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

372 Sölve Anderzén, *Teaching and Church Tradition in the Kemi and Torne Laplands,* 12.

373 "Av de 25 ordinarie och extra ordinarie lärarna äro 14 av ren lapsk härstamning, 4 av svensk-finsk och 7 av svensk härstamning. En i det stora hela utmärkt och bra lärarkår.":

articulation is that while 14 teachers were of "pure Lappish origin", all the Finnish-speaking teachers are labeled as "Swedish-Finnish". There can be several reasons for this, but as Lars Elenius and Julia Nordblad have shown, educational authorities in the Swedish north tended to view the Sámi as a population different and separate from the Swedes, and the Finnish-speakers as a part of the general Swedish population. As Lars Elenius has shown, *Finnbygdsutredningen*, a governmental survey into the elementary school system in the Finnish-speaking areas of Norrbotten, stated that most Finnish speakers in northern Sweden were biological Swedes that had adopted the majority language of the region, Finnish. These people, reasoned the survey, were actually Swedes and had thus no right to a different mother tongue from the majority language of the country.[374] The task of the nomad school system was to preserve a "pure Lappish" population, whereas the task of the elementary schools in the Finnish-speaking regions of Sweden was to assimilate the Finnish-speakers.[375] This difference can explain the terms in Calleberg's table, where a pure Finnish origin did not exist, since the Finns were also Swedish. The Sámi teachers of the nomad schools, however, were designated as being of a pure Sámi population, since this pureness of the nomadic Sámi population was one of the ideals of the nomad schools.

Calleberg on Sámi in religious instruction

In the 1930's, Calleberg acknowledged in a number of instances the important role of Sámi language varieties in conveying religious instruction. Still, in 1939, he wrote that the lack of tuition in Sámi was a deficiency in the nomad school system. He noted that in the upper nomad school of Arjeplog, the morning prayer was held in Sámi. Calleberg planned to implement a Sámi-language morning prayer in all nomad schools, at least in Norrbotten, and he hoped that this could also be done in Jämtland and Västerbotten.[376] In a text from 1942, Calleberg elaborated on Sámi as a language of religious instruction. The text *Nomader och nomadskolor*, describing Calleberg's experiences as nomad school inspector, was published in 1942 in a book called *Norrland: natur, kultur och näringar*. The book was commissioned by *Geografiska förbundet i Stockholm* (The Geographical Association in Stockholm) *and Industriens utredningsinstitut* (Research Institute for Industrial Economics) to inform the general Swedish public, and particularly people involved in the economic development of

Inspektörsberättelse (Inspection report) 1938–1939 (Axel Calleberg) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

374 Elenius, "Minoritetsspråken i nationalistisk växelverkan. Samiska och finska som kyrkospråk och medborgarspråk," 33.

375 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik* , 119; Nordblad, *Jämlikhetens villkor,* 332–333.

376 Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1938–1939 (Axel Calleberg) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

Table 1: nomad school teachers and languages spoken. The school year 1938-1939[377]

Skills in Swedish are not listed in the source material as it was assumed that all teachers master Swedish. The "no note on language skills" category implies that the teacher knew only Swedish or that the note in the yearly report is incomplete.

Nomad school district	Sámi[378]	Sámi and Finnish	Finnish	No note on language skills	Total number of teachers[379]
Karesuando		1	1		
Vittangi	1	1		2	
Jukkasjärvi	1	3	2	2	
Gällivare	2	1			
Jokkmokk	3				
Arjeplog	1			1	
Västerbotten	2			1	
Jämtland	4			1	
Total	**14**	**6**	**3**	**7**	**30**

Source: Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1938–1939 (Axel Calleberg) DIV:1 (RNS) (RSAH).

Norrland,[380] about the "nature, population and livelihoods"[381] of Norrland. In his chapter, the nomad school inspector wrote that whereas services in Finnish were held in the northern areas, the central area around Jokkmokk had services in Sámi. Calleberg continued that south of Jokkmokk the Sámi knew Swedish. In these areas, there was no need to use other languages in services, nor in schools.

377 Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1938–1939 (Axel Calleberg) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH).

378 Including two teachers with "some skills" in Sámi ("något kunnig") instead of the standard formulation Lappish-speaking ("Lapsktalande").

379 The table includes 30 teachers in total, the 25 "ordinary" (teachers with a permanent employment) and "extra ordinary" (= teachers with a fixed-term employment) nomad school teachers as well as five substitute teachers, and excludes the especially hired handicraftteachers (their language skills are not listed).

380 Sweden's northern parts.

381 "natur, befolkning och näringar": foreword to *Norrland: Natur, befolkning och näringar*, ed. Magnus Lundqvist (Stockholm: Geografiska förbundet and Industriens utredningsinstitut, 1942).

Calleberg portrayed the use of Finnish and Sámi as religious languages as special arrangements that had to be upheld as long as there were Sámi parishioners that had problems with using and understanding Swedish.[382] As an increasing number of Sámi children were learning Swedish, the need for a specific religious language separate from the majority language of the country disappeared. The language of instruction in the nomad schools is treated in one short sentence. It was Swedish, leading to a situation in the northern Swedish Sámi areas where the pupils were "rather perfectly"[383] trilingual after finishing school, speaking Finnish, Sámi and Swedish.

Nomad school inspector Axel Calleberg showed in his text from 1942 that the official view on the nomad school had changed to correspond well with the view the Sámi opposition, and notably the meetings of 1918 and 1937, had held. Swedish was "nowadays"[384] the self-evident language of instruction[385]. In the concluding paragraphs of his text on nomad schools, Calleberg uses the old term "nomad spirit"[386] already used by Karnell in the form "the holy Lapp spirit"[387] to describe the core of the nomad school. However, this "nomad spirit" was again to be modernized and suited to the wishes of the Sámi, away from "the primitive and the unhealthy"[388]. Calleberg continued in a tone of proclamation: "I dare state that knowledge does not destroy the Lapps and the nomad life, but rather builds up and heightens the Lappish people and generates responsibility and removes feelings of inferiority."[389] Calleberg's statement has clear parallels to the claims of the Sámi opposition and the speech by Gustav Park at the national meeting of the Swedish Sámi in 1918, where he declared that it was knowledge and enlightenment that removed feelings of inferiority and helped the nomadic Sámi to realize the true value of their "calling"[390]. Both Bergström and Calleberg, but not Karnell, had mixed feelings about whether the culture-bearing function of Sámi language was to be prioritized in the nomad schools. Through the years, however, the leaders of the nomad school system officially downplayed Sámi language as a language of instruction, since that language was part of the old, primitive Sáminess that the school wanted to steer away from.

382 Calleberg, "Nomader och nomadskolor," 368.

383 "ganska perfekt": Calleberg, "Nomader och nomadskolor," 370.

384 "numera": Calleberg, "Nomader och nomadskolor," 370.

385 Calleberg, "Nomader och nomadskolor," 370.

386 "nomadanda": Calleberg, "Nomader och nomadskolor," 402.

387 "heliga *"lappanden"*": "Våra lappar måste tillbaka till kåtalifvet."

388 "det primitiva och osunda": "Nomader och nomadskolor," 402.

389 "Jag vågar det bestämda påståendet, att kunskap inte förstör lapparna och nomadlivet, utan den bygger upp och höjer det lapska folket och skapar ansvar samt tar bort mindervärdighetskänslor": Calleberg, "Nomader och nomadskolor," 402.

390 *Svenska lapparnas landsmöte,* 149.

The national meeting of 1937 and the decree of 1938

The national meeting of the Swedish Sámi in 1937, this time in Arvidsjaur, again pointed out the need to modernize the nomad schools. In the same year, Calleberg produced a thorough report on the nomad schools. As pointed out by Elenius, this time the leaders of the Sámi meeting and the leader of the nomad school system held an almost uniform view about the need to modernize the nomad school. The 1938 decree on the nomad schools brought the nomad school closer to the learning standards and schooling times of the standard Swedish elementary school. While the nomad school still had a restricted schedule and curriculum, the idea that it should be as thorough and have the same quality of teaching and curriculum as other Swedish elementary schools had now gained strength. Gradually, the nomad school aligned itself with the general Swedish elementary school system, and the claims that the nomad school system was to have the same quality of teaching as the standard elementary schools gained strength.[391]

Bergström, Calleberg and the use of Sámi in the nomad schools: conclusions

Lars Elenius has claimed that the 1925 decree marked the point when Swedish completely took over as the language of tuition in the nomad schools. According to Elenius, before this year the children of the reindeer herding Sámi received education in both Sámi and Swedish, but after 1925 the language of tuition was "only Swedish"[392]. The analysis above nuances Elenius' conclusion. The 1925 decree stated that Swedish should be the language of tuition "where specific conditions do not prompt otherwise"[393], thus repeating the formulation in the report of the 1919 committee, as well as retaining the core content of the 1909 proposition. 1925 did not mark a turn for the worse. Even the contrary could be argued. Whereas the de jure formulation of 1925 on the use of Sámi in tuition was similar to the earlier formulations, inspectors Bergström and Calleberg were de facto more positive towards providing tuition in Sámi than Karnell had been, even if the space reserved for this language was minimal. It is clear, however, that for Bergström and Calleberg, Sámi was an auxiliary language for conveying the tuition of the nomad schools as efficiently as possible. Even in the case of tuition of Christianity, Sámi language held no intrinsic value, but had the function of facilitating the learning process of the pupils. The general level of Swedish skills among the pupils correlated negatively with the need of Sámi in the nomad schools.

391 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 164–165; Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 139.

392 "enbart svenska": Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 157.

393 "där ej särskilda förhållanden annat föranleda": "SFS 1925:511".

However, in certain instances both Bergström and Calleberg expressed arguments about Sámi that point to another function, which is that of Sámi having a culture-bearing value as the mother tongue of a nation, just like Swedish had as the mother tongue of a nation. These arguments on a culture-bearing function of the language were rare, but they existed and co-existed with the arguments that Swedish, the state language, was the self-evident main language of the nomad school system. There was also a certain uncomfortable tinge in the articulations on the culture-bearing function since the culture that Sámi language was bearing was in certain ways primitive in the eyes of the inspectors. The nomad school, branded as a school for progress and modernity, could hardly have a language of instruction that hampered the progressive function of the school system.

Both Bergström and Calleberg stated in similar terms that the teachers needed to master Swedish, and that knowing Sámi was a complementary resource that could never compensate for an imperfect acquisition of Swedish.[394] That Calleberg still noted the lack of Sámi as a deficiency in 1939 (see above) goes to show that even if both Bergström and Calleberg discussed the use of Sámi in tuition on a number of occasions, in practice, tuition in Sámi was not a prioritized part of policies affecting the nomad school. Whereas Vitalis Karnell had supported the idea of hiring local Sámi teachers (see page 91), both Bergström and Calleberg stated that Swedish teachers were at least as good as Sámi teachers, since they had the pedagogical skills to teach Sámi children. An earlier idea of hiring Sámi to teach Sámi was slowly replaced by a professionalized notion that viewed teacher training and pedagogy, rather than knowledge of local conditions and Sámi as an auxiliary language of instruction, as the tools that created good results in schools.

Sámi and Swedish teachers in the nomad schools

As mapped out by David Sjögren, the number of nomad school teachers with Sámi origin declined during the 1930s. In 1929, 20 of the 28 teachers were of Sámi origin, whereas in 1940, the ratio was 14 Sámi teachers to 11 of other origin (Swedish- or Finnish-speaking Swedes).[395] One possible explanation that Sjögren suggests is that the nomad school inspectors prioritized formally competent Swedish-speaking teachers to Sámi speakers with lower formal competence, an observation that is confirmed by my analysis above.[396]

394 Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1930 (Erik Bergström) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH); Inspection report (*Inspektörsberättelse*) 1939 (Axel Calleberg) D:IV:1 (RNS), (RSAH) (RNS), (RSAH).

395 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen,* 113.

396 Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen,* 114.

Even if the official policy steered away from the use of Sámi teachers and did not particularly encourage the use of Sámi as a language of instruction, local practices varied. Nomad school teacher Sigrid Rutfjäll of South Sámi origin commented on Calleberg's reforms in her memoirs from 1990. She portrayed Calleberg as "something of a reformer of the Sámi school system"[397]. Calleberg sympathized with the opinion held by many Sámi that the school goahtis used as boarding facilities were not safe or hygienic. The ambulating summer courses that the 1918 meeting had already criticized were discontinued. Even if Rutfjäll sympathized with Calleberg, she was of the opinion that the summer schools had been "an important component in the preservation of Sámi culture."[398] Her writing about these summer courses and the culture-bearing function includes several examples of how she used Sámi in the tuition of the nomad school pupils.[399]

Rutfjäll also remembered in her memoirs her time as a practicing teacher among the Sámi population of Sörkaitum in the late 1910s. She wrote that "the most important thing in the schedule was the instruction in the Swedish language."[400] However, the children were "almost exclusively Sámi-speaking"[401], and Rutfjäll used Sámi as an auxiliary language when teaching Swedish. She explained that whenever her southern Sámi variety diverged from the pupils' more northern variety to the point that they were mutually unintelligible, she used a local teenage girl, Risten Kitok, as interpreter.[402] Later, when working close to her home area, she also described having used Sámi in tuition. Rutfjäll portrayed the use of Sámi as unproblematic, not including any specifications of in which contexts she used Sámi, and in which contexts Swedish.[403] Rutfjäll considered Sámi to have an intelligibility function and a culture-bearing function, and she seems to have used Sámi rather unproblematically in parallel to Swedish, making use of these two sociopolitical functions of the language of instruction.

The case of the Swedish (non-Sámi) nomad school teacher Terese Torgrim also points towards the intelligibility function of Sámi language. Torgrim, the daughter of the vicar of Pajala Otto William Zeidlitz, learned Sámi in the early years of her long career as nomad school teacher in the northernmost Swedish

397 "något av en reformator för samernas skolväsen.": Rutfjäll and Lundmark, *ABC bland fjällen*, 105.

398 "viktigt led i samekulturens bevarande.": Rutfjäll and Lundmark, *ABC bland fjällen*, 101.

399 Rutfjäll and Lundmark, *ABC bland fjällen,* 46, 92–93.

400 "Viktigast på schemat var undervisningen i svenska.": Rutfjäll and Lundmark, *ABC bland fjällen* 45.

401 Rutfjäll and Lundmark, *ABC bland fjällen*, 45.

402 Rutfjäll and Lundmark, *ABC bland fjällen,* 45, 46.

403 Rutfjäll and Lundmark, *ABC bland fjällen,* 92–93.

Sámi areas. In her memoirs from her teaching years, edited by Bo Lundmark, learning Sámi is depicted as self-evident, the Sámi language being something Torgrim "of course"[404] had to improve. According to Lundmark, Torgrim's Sámi skills indeed ameliorated quickly, to the point that she was interpreter for the famous race biology professor Herman Lundborg when he carried out his research in Laimoluokta on Lake Torneträsk.[405]

There are also opposite accounts of the use of languages in instruction. Kally Holmström was a Swedish teacher who, after a period of unempolyment, had the opportunity of working within the nomad school system. After giving it some thought, she decided to accept the offer, as she herself described later, to the astonishment of her friends and former colleagues. In 1938, Holmstörm published an account of her time as nomad school teacher. She did not use Sámi in tuition. Rather, she expected the children to learn Swedish as quickly as possible. To speed up this process, she used sign language and teaching through demonstration.[406]

The fact that Sámi was not used to the extent that would have pleased all of the locals is reflected in the documents from the meetings between the nomad school inspector and the nomad school boards. Swedish Sámi from the whole Sámi region, from Jämtland in south to the central Swedish Sámi areas of Västerbotten and further north to Norrbotten, complained to the nomad school inspector in the late 1920s and early 1930s that the nomad school system was alienating the school children from Sámi language and rendering them "Swedified"[407].[408] Their wish was that some Sámi would be included in the teaching at the nomad schools, since it would be "a shame"[409] if the children were to forget their mother tongue. The plea for the preservation of Sámi language and culture is paramount in these articulations.

404 "förstås": Bo Lundmark, "Terese Torgrim: Från en nomadlärarinnas minnsanteckningar," in *Från skolkåtor och renfjäll: Terese Torgrim och Johan Turi berättar*, ed. Bo Lundmark (Luleå: Norrbottens museum 1972), 20.

405 Bo Lundmark, "Terese Torgrim: Från en nomadlärarinnas minnsanteckningar," 21.

406 Kally Holmström, *Nomadskola: en lapplärarinnas upplevelser* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1938) 7–12, 41.

407 "försvenskade": Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), April 3, 1932, Sirkas lappby and Tuorpons lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

408 Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), July 15, 1927, Tuorpons lappby; Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), May 8, 1932, Mittådalens lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

409 Minutes of the meeting of the nomad school board (protokoll), July 24, 1926, Umbyns lappby, A1 (RNS), (RSAH).

Nomad school teachers Sara Nutti and Laila Jääskeläinen: conflicting views on the culture-bearing function of Sámi in instruction

Sámi nomad school teacher Sara Nutti from Kiruna in the northernmost Swedish Sámi regions traveled to Stockholm in 1935 to study the elementary schools in the capital. Sara Nutti had received her teacher's education at the one-year Vittangi seminar course in 1919. Her background was in a reindeer-herding Sámi family living in the northernmost parts of Sweden. Nutti was in contact with the ethnographer and since 1939 leader of the "Lappish department" of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm, Ernst Manker. Manker's archives at the Nordic Museum Archive house a text that Nutti wrote during or around the time of her visit to Stockholm in 1935. She described the life of the Sámi in the north. Someone, probably Manker, has corrected the language of the text, and a part of the text is copied with a typewriter, as it became the manuscript for an article on Sara Nutti published in the newspaper Stockholms-Tidningen.[410] In the original text, Nutti criticizes the governmentally sanctioned forced displacements of parts of the northern Sámi population that took place in the 1920s and 1930s.[411] She also discussed education, and especially her own field of work, the nomad school. In general, Nutti seemed to be happy with the way the nomad schools functioned and that the schools conveyed a knowhow relating to the traditional Sámi way of life, notably through the school subject "nomad knowledge" (*nomadkunskap*). The main fault she reported was the lack of instruction in Sámi language. Nutti was worried that the Sámi language was in the risk of disappearing or turning into a mixed language.[412] Nutti's argument points to the culture-bearing function of Sámi as a language of instruction.

In the printed and corrected version of the same text, as well as in the article, the lack of Sámi in schools was portrayed as a defect from a different angle. In this text, the lack was criticized for the reason that Swedish had no accurate expressions for a number of objects and phenomena relating to nomadic reindeer herding. Being so, instruction in Swedish could not convey the skills related to this livelihood in an efficient manner.[413] Here, the function of Sámi was clearly portrayed as the conveyor of the livelihood of reindeer herding.

In her original text, Sara Nutti described a paternalistic attitude from the Swedes that kept the Sámi from deciding over their own fate, and it is tempting to say that she could not have been more right. In a letter to the editor of Stockholms-Tidningen Sven Haglund written two days after the publication

410 "Lapparna glada åt nomadskolan," *Stockholms-Tidningen*, November 20, 1935.

411 See pages 63–64.

412 Sara Nutti November 11, 1935, L:2:1, Ernst Manker's archive (EMA), The Nordic Museum Archives (NMA), 14–15.

413 Sara Nutti, no date, L:2:1, (EMA), (NMA), 1–2.

of the article on Nutti, Ernst Manker wrote that he had met the nomad school teacher and noted among the interests "of the little intelligent miss Nutti"[414] the use of Sámi as a language of instruction. Manker himself supported the use of Sámi in schools, and in Nutti he saw a chance to distribute his message. He wrote to Haglund: "now I only hope that I put the words into her mouth with so much both substance and modesty that it has some effect without her being uncomfortable with it."[415] Manker thus took credit for Nutti's views, even if he wrote that Nutti herself thought that Sámi should get more room in the schools. It is probable that the two different versions of Nutti's text reveal Manker's involvement in the writing of the final version. Emphasizing that tuition in Sámi would be beneficial for an efficient conveying of the livelihood of reindeer herding was an argument that Manker probably knew would hit home among the leading school authorities. These authorities, as is apparent throughout this book, were very much interested in the national economic function of the nomad school system. Manker himself noted in a letter to the Finnish geodesist and researcher Karl Nickul that among the motives for preserving Sámi culture, the economic considerations were paramount (see also pages 153–154).[416] It is thus tempting and plausible to conclude that while Nutti herself, in the original unprinted and uncorrected version, underscored the culture-bearing function of Sámi, Manker altered the argumentation in the printed version to correspond with a national economic function (the language as the conveyor of the livelihood of reindeer herding).

Ernst Manker was in contact not only with Sara Nutti, but also with nomad school teacher Laila Jääskeläinen from the Dåraudden nomad school in Ammarnäs, Sorsele. Manker wrote to Jääskeläinen about Nutti's article, and stated that he hoped that nomad school inspector Calleberg would consider the message of that text. Jääskeläinen, however, was not convinced about the need to provide tuition in Sámi. Quite the contrary, she attacked Nutti's text for romanticizing the situation among the Sámi. According to Jääskeläinen, life in northernmost Sweden was challenging, and there was no space for romantic language policies. Jääskeläinen, who identified herself as not being Sámi and had a Finnish name, closed the letter by saying that the Finnish speakers of Torne Valley did not want to learn Finnish, and the Sámi should not dream about learning Sámi. In Jääskeläinen's articulation, Swedish was the main language of the country, the only viable language of tuition, and the only victorious way

414 "lilla intelligenta fröken Nuttis": Letter from Ernst Manker to Sven Haglund, November 22, 1935, E:1:A:3, (EMA), (NMA).

415 "jag hoppas nu bara, att jag lagt orden i hennes mun både så pass talande och hovsamt, att det gör någon verkan, utan att hon får obehag för det.": Manker to Haglund November 22, 1935.

416 Letter from Ernst Manker to Karl Nickul, March 16, 1938, Ba:1 (KNA I), (SAF).

out from the "struggle"[417] of life up north. Jääskeläinen considered Swedish to have a progressive function as language of instruction. She pointed out that there were several different Sámi varieties, and according to her it would have been "baroque"[418] to either force Southern Sámi to learn North Sámi, or to have several different languages in the different nomad school districts. Jääskeläinen questioned whether nomadic Sámi really made good nomad school teachers. In biologically hierarchizing terms she stated that the "nomads" were not developed enough to be teachers. Employing nomadic Sámi as teachers would only build "a wall around Lapland and close in all Lapps inside, and we outside [of the wall] would lead a highly civilized life".[419] In either case, Jääskeläinen concluded that the nomadic Sámi had not reached a point where they would be capable of generating a group of teachers for their own needs. Jääskeläinen's letter is a testimony of the fact that there were various perspectives on the use of Sámi among the teachers. Jääskeläinen's perspective is clearly non-Sámi, as she wrote about "us" who were leading a highly civilized life, and "them" referring to the nomadic Sámi whom the nomad school aimed to isolate and cement into their ignorance.

Conclusions

Throughout the research period, discussions on language of instruction were centered on two main assumptions about the functions of languages of instruction: First, that Swedish was the main language of the schools that ensured good quality tuition. Secondly, that Sámi had an intelligibility function and could be used both in schools and ecclesial contexts as a pedagogical auxiliary. The function of Sámi in this case was to facilitate the teaching situation in schools or in ecclesial settings. During the first four decades of the twentieth century, Sámi was confined to the domestic and ecclesial settings, whereas Swedish was the self-evident language of other sectors of life.

Inspector Karnell, along with his successors, were highly interested in the quality of tuition in the nomad schools. Quality was synonymous with the efficient execution of the function of the schools, which was to educate qualified reindeer herders. Whether Sámi was used in the schools or not was a question of secondary importance, or rather, of no importance at all.

The countrywide meeting of Swedish Sámi in 1918, with the Sámi theology student Gustav Park in its forefront, criticized the instruction in the nomad

417 "kamp": Letter from Laila Jääskeläinen to Ernst Manker, December 19, 1935, E:1:A:3, (EMA), (NMA).

418 "barockt": Jääskeläinen to Manker, December 19, 1935.

419 "en mur kring Lappland och stänga in alla lappar därinnanför och vi utanför leva ett högt civiliserat liv.": Jääskeläinen to Manker, December 19, 1935.

school for failing in quality. For Park, elementary education as qualitative as in other elementary schools in the country was the highest priority. Park considered Swedish to be the best language to ensure the quality of instruction. Park also noted that Swedish as a language of instruction had the function of an added resource in the wider sociopolitical context. Mastering Swedish was beneficial for Sámi children, whether in terms of equal citizenship or material well-being. As exemplified by Park, there was a certain level of compliance among the Sámi towards the use of Swedish as language of instruction. Another example is Anders Larsson Bär, a Sámi member of the Luokta-Mávas nomad school board in Arjeplogm who expressed in 1927 the wish that Swedish would be the language of instruction, since Sámi children already learned and used Sámi at home. This was a precondition of the added resource function: as long as the survival of Sámi was not threatened, the majority language could be considered an added resource, a means of managing, and not a threat. Larsson Bär used an argument that the inspectors used in several instances, calling Swedish the "state language", and thus the self-evident main language of instruction.

Inspectors Bergström and Calleberg considered Sámi to have a function of intelligibility in facilitating the communication between the teacher and the pupils. Hence, Sámi as a language of instruction was comparable to any other pedagogical tool. When the level of Swedish among the Sámi pupils rose, the need of Sámi as a language of instruction disappeared. The inspectors prioritized Swedish-speaking teachers with pedagogical skills to Sámi-speaking teachers. This was true even in the case of Christianity instruction, where the position of Sámi was traditionally strongest. The use of Sámi was recommended only as long as there was a real problem of intelligibility between the pupils and the teacher.

The intelligibility function was also referred to among the Sámi. On the one hand, teachers Rutfjäll and Torgrim used Sámi in tuition whenever necessary. On the other hand, in the north, where the traditional church language of the Sámi was Finnish, the nomad school boards asked for Christianity tuition in Finnish, rather than in Sámi. Sámi held no intrinsic value as a religious language. Rather, it was the understanding of the contents of the tuition that was important for both the inspectors and the Sámi alike. In the northernmost Sámi areas of Sweden Finnish also had an added resource function for the Sámi. In communication and trade with the bordering Finland, knowledge of Finnish was beneficial, as pointed out by the nomad school board of Könkämä in northernmost Sweden.

Nomad school teachers Sigrid Rutfjäll and Sara Nutti, both with Sámi backgrounds, also underscored the culture-bearing function that Sámi language had as a language of instruction. According to Nutti, only Sámi language had

the vocabulary necessary for passing on the culture to the future generations. Nomad school teacher Laila Jääskeläinen of non-Sámi background, however, underscored the progressive function of Swedish, and considered the use of Sámi a hindrance for the progress the nomad schools could bring about in Swedish.

The two men that most actively participated in the creation and early development of the nomad school system were Olof Bergqvist, the bishop of the Diocese of Luleå, and Vitalis Karnell, the first nomad school inspector. Both of these men considered it a priority to preserve Sámi culture. However, this culture was in the articulations of Begqvist and Karnell all but synonymous with the livelihood of reindeer herding. Whereas Bergqvist considered Sámi language to have a culture-bearing and culture preserving function, Karnell thought that only Swedish as a language of instruction could perform this function. On top of a culture-bearing function, Swedish had, in Karnell's view, a progressive function that could improve Sámi culture from the outside. Only in Swedish could the Sámi culture be reformed to a shape that could survive the assimilatory pressures from the surrounding Swedish society.

The successors of Karnell, Erik Bergström and Axel Calleberg were used to hearing complaints about the lack of Sámi in instruction from the Sámi members of the nomad school boards, founded in 1925. Members of nomad school boards such as Israel Andreas Jonsson and Per Nilsson Ruong highlighted the culture-bearing function of Sámi, stating that instruction solely in Swedish would alienate Sámi children from their own culture and render them arrogant.

Differently from Karnell, who was clear about the need of Swedish, and Swedish only, as a language of instruction, his successors had mixed feelings about whether the culture-bearing function of Sámi language was to be tolerated in the nomad schools. In practice, however, the nomad school inspectors downplayed Sámi language as a language of instruction, since that language was part of the old Sáminess that the nomad school, with its progressive goals, wanted to leave behind. This discussion contributes to earlier research on why Sámi was not prioritized in the nomad schools. The reason was that the leading educational authorities considered Sámi language to be lacking in the quality of education and progressive functions that were prioritized in the nomad schools. Karnell, Bergström, Calleberg and Bergqvist all concluded that in the long run, only Swedish as a language of instruction could uplift and modernize the livelihood and way of life of the nomadic reindeer-herding Sámi. What was paramount for these men was that the curriculum and education of the nomad school was executed as efficiently as possible. Questions of language of instruction were always of secondary importance. This explains why there was a certain consistency in the arguments on the functions of language of instruction throughout the research period. Vitalis Karnell was against the use of Sámi also

in principle. Bishop Bergqvist and inspectors Bergström and Calleberg argued in favor of Sámi as language of instruction, but this question was never a high priority for any of them.

5. Finland

During the first half of the twentieth century, two parallel school systems administered the education of the Finnish Sámi area. The ambulating *ecclesial* catechist school system administered by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland had the main responsibility for education until the 1920s. The stationary *standard* elementary school system administered by the National Board of Schools of Finland (NBSF) expanded to the Sámi areas at quite a moderate pace from the turn of the century onwards. As pointed out by Esko I. Kähkönen, Jukka Nyyssönen and Veli-Pekka Lehtola, these two systems had very different views on Sámi as a language of instruction. These scholars have explained the negative attitude of the standard elementary schools mainly with nationalism and certain ignorance and insensitiveness to minority languages. The positive attitude of the ecclesial catechist schools, on the other hand, Kähkönen, Lehtola and Ritva Kylli explain with the Lutheran tradition of using every people's mother tongue in religious instruction and a certain political sympathy for the Sámi stemming from the fact that Finnish was a minority language within the Russian Empire.[420]

Finland was the last of the three countries studied in this dissertation to ratify a law on compulsory education. This happened in 1921. A decree on language of instruction from 1871 stated that the language of instruction of the elementary school was to be adapted to the mother tongue of the population being educated.[421] Another decree in 1898 and the law of 1921 retained this formulation, stating that if a school district had enough pupils (over 20) that had other mother tongues than Finnish or Swedish, the municipality was obliged to provide education for the pupils in their mother tongue. This paragraph of the law was subordinate to the paragraph stating that if there were less than twenty pupils in a school district, the municipality was not obliged to establish a school in this district, and to the paragraph stating that children living more than five

420 Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 276–277; Lehtola, "Katekeettakouluista kansakouluihin. Saamelaisten kouluhistoria 1900-luvun alkupuoliskolla," 52; Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 446, 454. Nyyssönen, "Principles and Practice in Finnish National Policies towards the Sámi People," 84; Kylli, "Misjon og utdanning blant samer i 1800-tallets Finland," 54.

421 "Hans Kejserliga Majestäts nådiga kungörelse angående undervisningsspråket wid lärdoms-, real- och folkskolorna i Finland," Storfurstendömet Finlands Författningssamling för 1871 (Helsinki: Kejserliga Senatens tryckeri, 1871).

kilometers from the closest school were exempt from mandatory education.[422] In the case of the Sámi, this meant that a substantial number of Sámi children were still exempt from compulsory education. For this reason, a number of ecclesial catechist schools continued to function to educate pupils who were outside of the standard elementary school system. The catechist schools that in many cases provided tuition in Sámi played a considerable role in the elementary education of Sámi children until the mid-twentieth century. When the network of standard elementary schools gradually expanded to Lapland, Finnish came to be the language of instruction in most cases, because of a lack of interest in organizing tuition in Sámi from the side of educational authorities, and because of the small number of Sámi-speaking teachers available.[423] The number of pupils in standard elementary schools surpassed the number of pupils in the catechist schools in 1927.[424]

Veli-Pekka Lehtola and Jukka Nyyssönen have claimed that the only standard elementary school providing tuition in Sámi during the first four decades of the twentieth century was the Outakoski school in the municipality of Utsjoki, where the North Sámi speaking father and son, Josef and Hans Aslak Guttorm, worked as teachers.[425] However, the elementary school inspector reports for the fall term of 1933 state that in the Utsjoki church village, Sámi was also in use as a language of instruction.[426] In either case, apart from these two Utsjoki schools, Sámi was not used as a language of instruction within the standard elementary school system.

The standard elementary schools were administered by the National Board of Schools of Finland (NBSF) on the national level, the inspector of the elementary schools on the regional level, and the school boards on the local level. The administration of the catechist schools began with the catechists, who were accountable to the local clergymen. The bishop of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu was the head of the clergymen. Bishop J.R. Koskimies held this office from 1900 until 1936, almost throughout the research period of this dissertation.

In the following, I will analyze first the functions of language of instruction within the standard elementary school system. After that, I move on to an analysis of the ambulating catechist school system.

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422 "Laki oppivelvollisuudesta," *Suomen asetuskokoelma* (AsK) 101/1921; Aikio-Puoskari, *Saamen kielen ja saamenkielinen opetus Pohjoismaissa*, 144; Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 83, 87.

423 Lehtola, "Katekeettakouluista kansakouluihin. Saamelaisten kouluhistoria 1900-luvun alkupuoliskolla," 52.

424 Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 35–37.

425 Nyyssönen, "Saamelaisten kouluolot 1900-luvulla," 64.

426 Antti Hämäläinen, Inspection reports (*Tarkastuskertomukset*), syyslukukausi (fall term) 1933, Ee:18. Kouluhallituksen kansanopetusosaston II arkisto (KKA II), NAF.

Elementary school inspector Kaarlo Kerkkonen: the inevitable, assimilative state ideology

During the period 1900–1920, a majority of the pupils in northernmost Finland attended the ecclesial and ambulating catechist schools for their elementary education. Gradually, the standard elementary schools expanded even to the northern areas. The office of the elementary inspector for the District of Lapland, which covered most of the Sámi population area in Finland, was established in 1906, together with 26 other district elementary school inspector offices around Finland.[427] The first inspector of the elementary schools of the District of Lapland was Kaarlo Kerkkonen (in office 1906–1912).

Kerkkonen, who was born, raised and educated in southern Finland, far away from the realities of the lives of the Sámi, was well acquainted with educational issues and policies. He was a clergyman and had been the principal of two different folk high schools before accepting employment as the elementary school inspector of the district of Lapland. After his time in Lapland, he worked as the inspector of the school district of Lohja, northwest of Helsinki, from 1912–1917. He served simultaneously as an auxiliary member and, since 1917, a full member of the National Board of Schools of Finland (NBSF), the government agency responsible for the development and oversight of education and schools.[428]

In a 1914 book, Kerkkonen published a summarizing report of his years as elementary school inspector in Lapland. Kerkkonen's tone on the question of language of instruction was clear: the Sámi themselves understood that "already the material subsistence requires that the children learn Finnish."[429] Claiming to talk with the voice of the Sámi, Kerkkonen asked the following rhetorical question about using Finnish, rather than Sámi, as a language of instruction: "why deny the children of the poor Lapps the good that is offered to the other children in Finland through elementary schools."[430] Kerkkonen related Finnish language to a progressive function and the common good that the elementary schools were to bring about. This correlation between education in the main language of the country, progress and the common good is reminiscent of Vitalis

427 Karttunen, *Kansakoulutarkastajat ja heidän seuraajansa,* 8.

428 Karttunen, *Kansakoulutarkastajat ja heidän seuraajansa*, 55.

429 "Jo pelkkä aineellinen toimeentulo […] vaatii lasten oppia suomenkieltä": Kaarlo Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912* (Jyväskylä: Gummerus, 1914), 14.

430 "miksi kieltää lappalaisparkain lapsilta se hyvä, mikä kansakoulujen kautta Suomen muille lapsille tarjotaan": Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912*, 14.

Karnell's reasoning in Sweden. Both inspectors thought that the full benefits of the school could only be reached through the majority language of the country.

In the book, Kerkkonen wanted to present himself as being positive towards the Sámi language *as such*. He noted, inaccurately, that Finnish law, unlike the Norwegian one, guaranteed every population the right to receive elementary education in their mother tongue.[431] While noting this legal base for education in Sámi, he considered the language as irrelevant as a language of instruction. To bolster his argument, Kerkkonen referred to the opinion of the Sámi (in the text presented by an "old man"[432] from Utsjoki) who according to him saw no point in providing instruction in Sámi.

Kerkkonen on the survival of the Sámi in Norway and Finland

The said irrelevance of Sámi as a language of instruction stemmed in Kerkkonen's opinon from the fact that the different Sámi varieties in Finland were so distant from each other, and the Sámi so few, that there was no future for a common Sámi nationality in Finland. Here he compared the situation with that in Norway, where the number of the Sámi was greater and the "national ideology"[433] of the Sámi stronger. However, even in Norway with some "national [Sámi] revival, a couple of small newspapers and some young enthusiastic leaders"[434], both the elementary school and church policies were inevitably spreading the Norwegian culture and eradicating the Sámi language and culture. If this was happening to the Norwegian Sámi, Kerkkonen concluded, then it was highly improbable that the Sámi culture would survive in Finland.[435] In this cross-national recontextualization, Kerkkonen used the situation in Norway as a parallell image of the situation in Finland. Kerkkonen portrayed the assimilation of the Sámi as an inevitable force that would eradicate Sámi language in Finland, as it was doing so even in Norway, where the Sámi culture was stronger. Kerkkonen stated that the reason why assimilation was taking place in Finland and Norway was that the "state ideology"[436] of Norway and Finland was "for its purposes"[437] winning over the "national ideology" of the Sámi. Not only did Kerkkonen portray the "state ideology" as an actor in itself with its own purposes, strong

431 Contrary to Kerkkonen's claim, the Norwegian legislation guaranteed a certain space for Sámi language as an auxiliary language in schools, even if this space was minimal (see page 163). Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912*, 14.

432 ""ukko":Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912*, 14.

433 "kansallisuus-aatteen": Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912*, 14.

434 "kansallista heräystä, pari pientä sanomalehteäkin ja joitain nuoria innostuneita johtomiehiä": Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912*, 14.

435 Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912*, 14–15.

436 "valtioaate": Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912*, 15.

437 "tarkoituksiansa varten": Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912*, 15.

and impossible to resist, but he also granted the Sámi their own nationality, and national ideology. For Kerkkonen, the Sámi language indeed possessed the function of a culture-bearing language, as the language of a nation. However, the Sámi nationality and culture were weaker than the state ideologies of Norway and Finland that were suffocating the space for the Sámi nationality to exist. Kerkkonen considered the Sámi in Norway and Finland as a nationality. However, the state ideology was an ideology of monolingual[438] administration, which executed its purposes through "church and elementary school"[439] and announced the "end [of the Sámi] as a nationality"[440]. The function of Finnish and Norwegian as languages of instruction was, in Kerkkonen's articulation, the state language function, a function we already saw in the case of Swedish in the nomad schools of Sweden. As we see in Kerkkonen's articulation, highlighting this function did not necessarily mean denying the value of Sámi language. Rather, this function rendered Sámi as a language of instruction redundant, with the innate assumption that minority languages without their own states, and consequently without "state languages", were bound to become extinct. Kerkkonens recontextualization omitted the fact that language assimilation in Norway was obviously no natural force as he portrayed it. Rather, it was a highly conscious policy from the state and regional administration. Turning processes or ideologies such as "state ideology" into actors, as pointed out by Norman Fairclough, is a way of obscuring responsibility and agency.[441] In this particular case, placing the responsibility of assimilation on the unstoppable "state ideology", Kerkkonen could present himself as neutral and even elegiac about the disappearance of Sámi language and "nationality". Indeed, Kerkkonen stated that the Sámi "nationality" would inevitably die out, even if he himself considered this extinction as unfortunate. Nothing was to be done, however, such was the power of the state language and state ideology, according to the inspector.[442]

Kerkkonen, teacher Guttorm and the Utsjoki school board

In the annual inspectors' overall reports (*piiritarkastajien yleiskatsaukset*) that Kerkkonen sent to the National Board of Schools (NBSF) between 1907 and 1912, he included a table on the language of instruction in the elementary schools of Lapland. The language categories were Finnish and Swedish, with all

438 or to be accurate, in the Finnish case, Fenno-Swedish bilingual, in the case of Norway riksmål-landsmål bilingual

439 "kirkon ja kansakoulun": Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912*, 15.

440 "kansallinen loppunsa": Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912*, 15.

441 Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 40–58, 129–132.

442 Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912*, 14–15.

pupils in the Finnish column, to little surprise considering that the number of Swedish speakers in Finnish Lapland was minimal.[443] Sámi language was not even given a possibility to exist in Kerkkonen's handwritten tables. This is peculiar considering that Josef Guttorm had provided tuition in Sámi in the Outakoski school in Utsjoki since 1903. Guttorm had been handpicked to become a teacher in Outakoski by Gustaf Johansson, bishop in the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu between 1884 and 1897, who also organized the finances for Guttorm's studies. There had been a local skirmish about whether Guttorm should teach in Sámi at all. The school board of the Outakoski school, which included local Sámi, had expressed the opinion that teaching in Finnish was preferable. Esko I. Kähkönen and Veli-Pekka Lehtola have interpreted this preference in slightly different ways. Kähkönen considers it as an adaptation to the majority culture, where the Outakoski Sámi considered learning Finnish a necessity. Lehtola, however, has disputed Kähkönen's view and interprets the wish to have Finnish as the language of instruction as a question of an added resource. Outakoski in Utsjoki was a highly Sámi-speaking environment, and the locals did not feel that their language and culture was threatened. The whole municipality of Utsjoki was a strong Sámi area where the majority of the population was Sámi-speaking. Even the majority of the municipal officials, apart from the officials in the leading posts, were Sámi.[444] In this kind of atmosphere, as suggested by Veli-Pekka Lehtola, learning Finnish could be regarded as a useful extra resource, since the children would learn Sámi language and ways in any case in the strong Sámi milieu of Outakoski.[445] This kind of attitude is easily comparable to Sweden, where Sámi opposition to school policies accepted education in Swedish, if Sámi lived on as a language of everyday life (seesee pages 96–97). Both are instances of the added resource function that the Sámi envisioned the majority language as the language of instruction to have, as long as Sámi language and culture lived on in the domestic and Sámi cultural settings.

I would like to nuance the interpretations of both Kähkönen and Lehtola through pointing out that another reason for the popularity of Finnish among the Sámi of Utsjoki could have been the fact that Finnish had been the church language of the Sámi in the northernmost regions of Sweden and Finland since the eighteenth century, as discussed in the chapter on Sweden. This line of interpretation is supported by the inspection report of the Chapter of the

443 Kaarlo Kerkkonen, Overview report (*Yleiskatsaus*) 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, En:3, Kouluhallituksen kansanopetusosaston I arkisto (KKA I), The National Archives of Finland (NAF), Helsinki; Kaarlo Kerkkonen, Overview report (Yleiskatsaus) 1912, En:4 (KKA I), (NAF).

444 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 120–122.

445 Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 280; Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 87.

Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu for the years 1929–1931. A section on Utsjoki in the report and the instruction material there stated that while the instruction was mainly given in Sámi (the majority language in Utsjoki at the time), the children could choose whether they wanted to have their catechisms and Bible history books in Finnish or in Sámi. A majority of the pupils, according to the report, chose Finnish books.[446] For the Utsjoki Sámi, Finnish was not only the majority language of the nation state, the borders of which they had rather recently ended up living within. In a longer perspective, Finnish had had an intelligibility function as the religious language since most of the Sámi-language religious literature was printed in South Sámi, a language many North Sámi speakers understood much less of than of Finnish (see also page 69). In an even longer time perspective, Finnish was the language that conveyed religious contents in the most intelligible manner.

Sámi as the "sister language" of Finnish

Despite Kaarlo Kerkkonen's aloof attitude towards Sámi, he wished to give some room for that language in the standard elementary schools. He noted that the system in the Outakoski elementary school in Utsjoki worked at least reasonably well, revealing a cautiously positive take on teacher Guttorm's Sámi-language tuition. In Outakoski, the teaching material was in Finnish, whereas the tuition was carried out in Sámi. Kerkkonen concluded that this kind of functional bilingualism worked for now, but that in a generation or two "Finnish language, in its superiority, will suffocate its sister language. As sorrowful as it is, there is nothing we can do about it."[447] With these elegiac and deterministic lines, Kerkkonen closed the discussion on Sámi as a language of instruction. The elegy in Kerkkonen's statement reveals a strategy for refuting competing arguments on language of instruction. In giving Sámi language a certain space in Outakoski, Kerkkonen was able to present himself on the side of the Sámi, giving the tuition in that language a certain degree of legitimacy. In the following lines, however, he stripped the notion of tuition in that very same langue of any de facto bearing, benefit, or function. Since he was positive that the Sámi language (in this case, North Sámi) would disappear soon enough, he could condone tuition in that language as long as it went on, even if it had no importance whatsoever for the pupils in the future.

Kerkkonen's expression "sister language" calls for some further elaboration. Finnish nationalism had a strong political and cultural strand called the

446 Meeting minutes of the Chapter of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu (*Pöytäkirjat*), November 26, 1933, Attachment 5 paragraph 3 on the ecclesial schools 1929–1931, Ca:83, Oulun hiippakunnan tuomiokapitulin arkisto (OTA), The National Archives in Oulu (NAFO).

447 "suomenkieli ylivoimaisena tukahuttaa sisarkielensä. Niin surkeata kuin se onkin, emme sille mitään voi.": Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912*, 15.

Fennoman movement. Supporting the Fennoman movement implied supporting Finnish rather than Swedish as the primary, although not necessarily exclusive, language of the national elite.[448] The Fennoman movement was born against the backdrop of Russian control over Finland. It gained strength during the later part of the nineteenth century as the centralization measures, called Russification policies by the Fennomans, of the government in Saint Petersburg strengthened. These policies restricted the Finnish autonomy granted in 1809, when Sweden had ceded Finland to Russia. The Fennoman movement included an expansive nationalistic element that maintained that the closest Fenno-Ugric peoples to Finland should be brought under Finnish protection or control. The Fenno-Ugric Sámi languages were thus considered domestic not only in a cultural sense, but also in a political sense, even if many supporters of Fennoman ideas viewed the Sámi as a population clearly inferior to the Finns.[449] In either case, this "sisterhood" between Finnish and the Sámi varieties implied that the school authorities in Finland labeled the Sámi varieties much less clearly as foreign languages than their Swedish and especially Norwegian equivalents did.[450] Kerkkonen's use of the term "sister language" shows that he, in line with Fennoman ideology, acknowledged not only the relationship between Sámi and Finnish, but also a clear hierarchy between the two languages, where Finnish was the language of the future and Sámi a language of the past. Kerkkonen could tolerate Sámi as a language of instruction; however, Finnish, as the language of state administration in Lapland would gradually take over even in the schools with Sámi pupils.[451]

The discussion above shows the ways in which Kerkkonen mixed Fennoman and culturally hierarchizing arguments to get around the problem that the "disappearing" Sámi people was a related one, and thus, according to Fennoman ideology, needed the protection of Finland. Sámi was to be protected in principle, but as it was a language without a function, not in practice.

Inspector Vihtori Lähde: Sámi language at the Finnish frontier

Elementary School Inspector Kerkkonen was succeeded by Vihtori Lähde (in office 1912–1922). Prior to his career as an inspector, Lähde, a farmer's son from Southwestern Finland, had worked as a teacher in a number of schools in

448 Virtanen, *Fennomanian perilliset*, 106.

449 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 178.

450 Elenius, *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik*, 82–83; Virtanen, *Fennomanian perilliset,* 106.

451 Again, it should be pointed out that Finnish was not the language of state administration in the Swedish-speaking regions of Finland, where it was,and still is, Swedish.

southern and central Finland. He was educated at a teachers' seminar and later at the University of Helsinki.[452]

Differently from Kerkkonen, Lähde mentioned in his reports that Sámi-language tuition was provided in Outakoski and included "Finnish-Lappish" as a category in his tables over pupils attending the elementary schools of Lapland in 1914.[453] The categories in Lähde's reports were "Finnish, Swedish, Finnish-Swedish and Finnish-Lappish".[454] Still, no exclusively "Lappish" category existed. Apparently, it was possible to have both "Finnish" and "Swedish" pupils in the elementary schools in Finland, but not exclusively "Lappish" pupils. "Finnish-Lappish" might have indicated some kind of a scale of mixing of the languages. Another interpretation is that it was important to mark in Outakoski, right on the Norwegian border, that all of the "Lappish" pupils in the elementary school were also, and actually foremost, Finnish. In the 1921 report, Lähde described his inspection district, the district of Lapland, which almost entirely bordered Sweden, Norway and Russia as an either an "especially hopeful or an unfathomably dangerous frontier".[455] Whereas security-political ideas as a background for assimilation policies has been one of the main lines of research on Sámi education in Norway (Eriksen and Niemi; Minde), and discussed also in Sweden (Elenius), it has drawn less attention in Finland, although Veli-Pekka Lehtola has noted it among factors resulting in assimilation.[456] Also, Hannu Mustakallio has discussed that part of the sympathy for Sámi language among the church leaders in Finland stemmed from the idea of securing the borders and protecting and controlling other Fenno-Ugric peoples.[457]

A comment on the Riutula children's home and boarding school in Inari confirms that Lähde considered Sámi language to have a certain value as a language of instruction. The elementary school in the Riutula home for orphans and poor children was founded in 1915 by the Young Women's Christian Association of Finland. As Tiina Saukko has shown in her master's thesis, the main aim of the leaders of the children's home and school was missionary, to educate children for "God's kingdom". In the organization of the Finnish YWCA, an organization separate from but not oppositional to the Lutheran church of Finland, Riutula was placed under foreign mission, rather than domestic mission (see also page

452 Karttunen, *Kansakoulutarkastajat ja heidän seuraajansa,* 59.

453 Vihtori Lähde, Overview report (*Yleiskatsaus*) 1914, En:5 (KKA I), (NAF).

454 "suomenkielisiä, ruotsinkielisiä, suomalais-ruotsalaisia, suomalais-lapinkielisiä": Vihtori Lähde, Overview report (*Yleiskatsaus*) 1914, En:5 (KKA I), (NAF).

455 "valtakunnallisesti Suomelle joko erityisen toivorikasta tai aavistaman [sic] vaarallista rajaseutua": Vihtori Lähde, Overview report (*Yleiskatsaus*) 1921, En:9 (KKA I), (NAF).

456 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 158.

457 Mustakallio, *Pohjoinen hiippakunta*, 282.

75).[458] Even if Riutula was placed under foreign mission and had many Sámi-speaking pupils, Finnish was the only language of instruction. The missionaries were positive towards using Sámi in Christian contexts, but this interest and positivity never translated into hiring Sámi-speaking teachers or hostesses.

The missionaries encouraged other features of Sámi culture such as reindeer herding even if Sámi language was not prioritized.[459] Also Veli-Pekka Lehtola has commented on this paradox of Riutula, educating Sámi children towards Sámi livelihoods, but in Finnish language and with Finnish cultural ideals.[460] This paradox resembles the idea of the nomad school system in Sweden, where the leaders took good care to ensure that reindeer herding and other features of the nomadic livelihood were included in the curriculum, whereas the interest to teach Sámi language was lukewarm. Indeed, according to elementary school inspector Kaarlo Kerkkonen, one of the initiators of the mission in Riutula, Ida Lilius, had been following the mission among the Sámi in Sweden before embarking on a missionary career in Finnish Lapland.[461]

The teacher and the personnel of Riutula were Finnish, so the contact point to Sámi culture was weak. According to Saukko and Teuvo Lehtola, Lähde considered this a problem and regarded teaching Sámi language and culture as an important task for a school with pupils without Sámi-speaking homes to go to after school hours.[462] Again, it is easy to draw a comparison to Sweden here, where educational authorities encouraged the use of Sámi in domestic and ecclesial settings (see page 97). When this possibility, due to the loss of parents, did not exist, Lähde was prepared to give this responsibility to the elementary school in the Ritutula children's home. Even if the leaders of the children's home and boarding school run by the Young Women's Christian Association of Finland were not negative towards the use of Sámi language, tuition in Sámi was never put into practice. Rather, Riutula came to be one of the strongest symbols of assimilation of Sámi children in Finnish Lapland.[463] Lähde, however, wished for Sámi to be used in the tuition as he considered Sámi as a language of instruction to have a culture-bearing function.

458 Saukko, "'Lapsia Jumalan valtakuntaa varten'".

459 Saukko, "'Lapsia Jumalan valtakuntaa varten'," 52.

460 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 97.

461 Kaarlo Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912*, 30.

462 Saukko, "'Lapsia Jumalan valtakuntaa varten', " 76; Teuvo Lehtola, *Kolmen kuninkaan maa. Inarin historia 1500-luvulta jälleenrakennusaikaan* (Inari: Kustannus-Puntsi, 1998), 298–299.

463 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 97; 76, Saukko, "'Lapsia Jumalan valtakuntaa varten'," 78–79.

After ten years in office, Vihtori Lähde left his post as the inspector of the elementary schools of the District of Lapland in 1922. After Lähde, the district had three inspectors who all stayed in office for only a few years.

Inspector Antti Hämäläinen: quality of education more important than Sámi as a language of instruction

In 1930, Antti Hämäläinen was appointed as the inspector of elementary schools in the District of Lapland, and stayed in Lapland for seven years thereafter, leaving behind both written and photographed material from his trips in the north.

Like his predecessor Kaarlo Kerkkonen in the earliest years of the century, Antti Hämäläinen saw himself fit to represent the Sámi, or more accurately, the "part of the Lapps that are in favor of learning Finnish"[464]. In his travel memoirs from his years in Lapland, he wrote that the majority of the Sámi held the opinion that if their children would not learn the main language of the country, they would "inevitably be left behind also from […] civilization."[465] As in Kerkkonen's reasoning, Hämäläinen portrayed the majority language and elementary education as the heralding twosome of civilization, even if Hämäläinen stated that he was not sure himself whether or not it would be better to preserve Sámi language or culture or not. Nevertheless, Hämäläinen, similarly to Kerkkonen, believed that Sámi language and culture would disappear and give way to Finnish culture.[466] In this context, special measures to ensure Sámi tuition would have been in vain.

Hämäläinen was born in Ingria in the Russian Empire, in the Southeast corner of the Gulf of Finland. He studied at the Sortavala teachers' seminar before the city of Sortavala was ceded to the USSR after the Second World War. Maybe due to his origins in mainly Finnish-speaking Ingria, one of the areas included in the Fennoman dreams of a Greater Finland, Hämäläinen was responsive to Fennoman ideas regarding the protection of other Finno-Ugric peoples and cultures. He took his principles into practice by participating in the Estonian War of Independence and he took great interest in the folklore of his native Ingria. He was also interested in the culture of the Sámi, of which he

464 "se osa lappalaisista taas, joka on suomenkielen oppimisen kannalla": Antti Hämäläinen, *Tunturien mailta* (Turku: Aura, 1945), 224.

465 "auttamattomasti he jäävät jälkeen muustakin sivistyksestä.": Hämäläinen, *Tunturien mailta*, 224.

466 Kerkkonen, *Lapin piirin kansakoulut lukuvuosina 1906–1912*, 14; Hämäläinen, *Tunturien mailta*, 227.

published both texts and photographs.[467] As pointed out by Veli-Pekka Lehtola, as interested as he was in the way of life of the Sámi, Hämäläinen considered himself a documenter of a vanishing culture.[468]

One of the main initiatives of the newly established *Lapin Sivistysseura* (established in 1932 in Helsinki) was to work towards including Sámi as a school subject for the Sámi pupils in the standard elementary school.[469] The initiative resembles the Swedish nomad school inspector Axel Calleberg's reasoning from 1933–1934 (see page 110), in that it wanted to see Sámi as a subject and not only as an auxiliary language of instruction. The National Board of Schools, in its treatment of the subject, wanted to hear the opinion of the school boards in Lapland, as well as Hämäläinen's view on the issue. Hämäläinen stated that he could not support the proposition, since not all of the school boards unanimously supported it. Hämäläinen added that since the differences between the Sámi dialects in Finland were so great, it would have been difficult to apply the ideas of the proposition. Hämäläinen thus withdrew his support from the proposition, as did the NBSF that chose to discard the initiative from *Lapin Sivistysseura.* Veli-Pekka Lehtola interprets Hämäläinen's views as some kind of aloofness and passivity to organizing Sámi language tuition.

Hämäläinen did, however, suggest the establishment of a wholly new school in Paatsjoki in Inari, to cater for the needs of Inari Sámi speaking pupils. According to Lehtola, Hämäläinen's suggestion was not ment very seriously: the initiative of establishing a new school was expensive, and was for this reason not supported by the NBSF.[470] I would like to add that Hämäläinen's suggestion can also be viewed in the light of the quality of education function. As inspector, Hämäläinen wished for no half-hearted initiatives for introducing Sámi as a language of instruction, since these could lower the quality of tuition. However, a school that would be designed for Sámi pupils was a more manageable unit, also from the point of view of quality of education. As Jukka Nyyssönen has pointed out, many initiatives in the history of Sámi education in Finland have met with this kind of opposition emanating from the "ruthlessly egalitarian" character of Finnish Sámi policies.[471] For the elementary school inspectors, equality and egalitarianism meant a maximal emphasis on the universal quality

467 *Kansallisbiografia* s.v. "Antti Hämäläinen," accessed October 23, 2017, http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/9407/; M.O. Karttunen, *Kansakoulutarkastajat ja heidän seuraajansa. Suomen koulutoimen piirihallinnon tarkastajamatrikkeli 1861–1980* (Helsinki: Valtion kouluhallinnon virkamiehet VKV ry, 1983), 74–75.

468 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset,* 351.

469 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 300.

470 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 300–301.

471 Nyyssönen, "Principles and Practice in Finnish National Policies towards the Sámi People," 84.

of tuition, and minimal openness for any kind of positive discrimination. If these two goals came into conflict, there was no hesitation about which of the two goals was paramount.

Inspectors Hämäläinen and Saarelma: the choice between the man of culture and the reindeer herder

Antti Hämäläinen, and Frans Saarelma (in office 1930–1932), the elementary school inspector of the Länsipohja district south and west of Hämäläinen's district, discussed whether or not education should be adapted to the life of the Sámi. Hämäläinen elaborated retrospectively on his thoughts on the issue in his travel memoirs for his years in Lapland, published in 1945.

Hämäläinen contrasted the views of the Finns who were positive towards preserving Sámi language and culture, and the Sámi who were in favor of the expansion of Finnish language and culture. According to Hämäläinen, the first group included such personalities as Inari vicar Tuomo Itkonen. This group maintained that "the Lapps that leave behind their own way of life and become Finnish cannot carry out their main livelihood, reindeer herding, as efficiently. And without it, they cannot survive in the harsh struggle with the Finns, but collapse little by little and vanish"[472] This would be lamentable not only because of the loss of economic efficiency, but also because the preservation of Sámi culture was "an interesting feature for scientific research"[473]. According to Hämäläinen, the Sámi that wanted to learn Finnish had quite a different view on the issue of learning languages. If the Sámi would not learn Finnish, they would admittedly maintain their "Lapp language"[474], but at the same time, they would preserve their "primitive culture"[475] and be left behind from civilization.[476] Hämäläinen, then, admitted that Sámi as a language of instruction had a culture-bearing function. However, as this culture was "primitive", providing education in Sámi would in fact damage the Sámi. It is hard to say whether Hämäläinen was referring here to some actual group of Sámi who held this view. It seems, in either case that this latter view was the one that Hämäläinen himself adhered to.

Frans Saarelma presented his ideas as a comment in a discussion at the meeting of the teachers of the district of Lapland in 1930. The chair of the meeting was

472 "lappalaiset, jotka jättävät omat elämäntapansa ja suomalaistuvat, eivät enää niin tehokkaasti kuin ennen pysty harjoittamaan pääelinkeinoaan poronhoitoa. Ja ilman sitä he eivät pysty tulemaan toimeen ankarassa kilpailussa suomalaisten kanssa, vaan sortuvat vähitellen olemattomiin": Hämäläinen, *Tunturien mailta*, 223–224.

473 "tieteelliselle tutkimukselle mielenkiintoinen seikka": Hämäläinen, *Tunturien mailta*, 224.

474 "lapinkielensä": Hämäläinen, *Tunturien mailta*, 224.

475 "alkukantaisen kulttuurinsa": Hämäläinen, *Tunturien mailta*, 224.

476 Hämäläinen, *Tunturien mailta*, 224.

Antti Hämäläinen. The meeting discussed the issue of boarding schools, and whether the boarding facilities in the Sámi areas should be modeled according to Sámi or Finnish customs. Saarelma considered boarding schools as the only rational way of organizing the elementary education in the sparsely populated Sámi areas in the future. One question was whether the hostesses of the residence buildings should be Sámi or Finnish-speaking. Saarelma made a similar point to that made in Hämäläinen's memoirs, and presented two contrasting points: "First: We want to preserve the Lapps as Lapps, as pristine [persons]. In this case we believe that culture will spoil the Lapp women and men. If we think thus, let us have some uneducated Lapp woman as the hostess of the boarding facilities. Second: would it not, even if culture causes damage and unhappiness, be wrong to prevent culture from spreading?"[477] After presenting these two points, Saarelma concluded that the choice of future policies was completely dependent on whether the task was to "educate the Lapps to reindeer herders or a people of culture"[478]. Apart from the fact that Saarelma did not consider the Sámi way of life as a real culture, he also considered that this way of life was best conveyed by Sámi hostesses, in Sámi. Both Hämäläinen and Saarelma considered Sámi as a language of instruction to have a culture-bearing function. The "culture" this language would transmit seems not to have been worth preserving in the articulations of the two inspectors.

Hämäläinen's and Saarelma's arguments resemble the articulations of the nomad school inspectors in Sweden: whereas Sámi was considered a culture-bearing language, the culture behind the language was hardly worth preserving. Differently from the nomad schools inspectors of Sweden, however, Hämäläinen and Saarelma did not give reindeer herding a high priority. This is a testimony to the contextual factor that agriculture, rather than reindeer herding, was, in the eyes of the inspectors, the livelihood of choice even in northernmost Finland. In Sweden, as we have seen, it was in the eyes of educational authorities only reindeer-herding that could render the mountainous Swedish Sámi areas productive.

477 "Ensiksi: Tahdomme säilyttää lappalaiset lappalaisina, koskemattomina. Uskomme tällöin, että kulttuuri pilaa lappalaisnaiset ja miehet. Jos näin ajattelemme, silloin pantakoon joku kouluuttamaton [sic] lappalaisnainen asuntolan vaalijaksi. Toiseksi: Eikö kuitenkin, vaikka kulttuuri turmelee ja tekee onnettomaksi, olisi kuitenkin väärin estää kulttuuria leviämästä?": Meeting minutes of the District meeting 1930, Ca:1, Pohjois-Lapin piirin kansakouluntarkastajan arkisto (PLPKKA) , (NAFO).

478 "kasvatammeko lappalaisista poropaimenia vaiko kulttuuri-ihmisiä": Meeting minutes of the District meeting 1930, Ca:1 (PLPKKA), (NAFO).

The 1938 committee: primary Finnishness, secondary Sáminess.

A 1938 governmental committee appointed to develop the economic conditions of Lapland also discussed the question of language. Among the members of the committee was Vicar Tuomo Itkonen, the Inari vicar and author of the North Sámi ABC book (see pages 139–140). According to the committee, the Sámi in Finland had almost perfectly adapted to the Finnish culture and way of life. Given this, it was thought that some room could and should be prepared for teaching Sámi in elementary schools. The committee also supported the idea of printing Sámi language teaching material.[479] The committee stated that societal attention should generally be directed towards enabling the Sámi people to "satisfy their need of cultivation"[480] also in their own language. To reach this goal, the committee report suggested that the elementary schools of Lapland that had Sámi-speaking pupils would provide tuition in the literacy of their mother tongue.[481] In this articulation, cultivation and Sámi language are mentioned in a relationship of positive correlation, quite contrary to the earlier discussion by inspectors Hämäläinen and Saarelma where Sámi language and culture were separated from higher culture. However, the function was the same: Sámi in schools was a link to Sámi culture. Still, the fundamental assumption of the 1938 committee was that the Sámi were first and foremost Finnish, as they were almost perfectly adapted to Finnishness. If this condition was secured in the schools, then Sámi pupils could receive some tuition in their mother tongue. The committee confirmed this connection between primary Finnishness and secondary Sáminess through stating that Sámi culture was a valuable part of "the common cultural capital of the people of Finland"[482]. These were the formulations in the report. Whether Sámi was actually used in tuition is a different question, as pointed out by Veli-Pekka Lehtola. Tuomo Itkonen reported in his memoirs from 1970 that the measures for supporting Sámi language varieties in standard elementary schools suggested by the committee in 1938 had been totally ignored by the state.[483]

A note on Vicar Itkonen and his Sámi ABC book

Tuomo Itkonen was well acquainted with Sámi culture. He was one of the founding members of *Lapin Sivistysseura*. Himself vicar of Inari, Itkonen was the

479 Komiteanmietintö N:o 8: 1938, *Lapin taloudelliset olot ja niiden kehittäminen: Lapin komitean mietintö* (Helsinki 1938) 169–170.

480 " tyydyttää sivistystarpeitaan": Komiteanmietintö N:o 8: 1938, 169–170.

481 Komiteanmietintö N:o 8: 1938, 169–170.

482 "Suomen kansan yhteiseen kulttuuripääomaan": Komiteanmietintö N:o 8: 1938, 169.

483 Tuomo Itkonen, *Pippinä ja pappina* (Helsinki:WSOY,1970); Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 354.

son of Lauri Arvid Itkonen, an earlier vicar of Inari. According to his memoirs, already as a schoolboy Tuomo Itkonen had identified more with the Inari locals, be they Sámi or Finnish-speaking, than with teachers from southern Finland.[484]

One of the most notable manifestations of the general interest Itkonen took in Sámi culture was the publication of *Samikiel Abis*, an ABC book in the most widely-spoken Sámi language variety, North Sámi. Itkonen encountered many hurdles when trying to finance and publish the ABC book, and he reported in 1970 that he had received hardly any support from the government of Finland.[485] Be that as it may, he was persistent and managed to get the book published in 1935.

In his memoirs, Itkonen accounted for the reasons behind his idea of writing the ABC book. Itkonen's deep interest in Sámi languages and culture led to actions for Sámi language both locally, considering the Inari Sámi variety, and considering the Sámi in general. In the memoirs, he described an experiment he had carried out among the Sámi in Angeli village in Inari. In 1929, he had held some pre-confirmation instruction for a number of Sámi youngsters there. As teaching material, he used the Catechism and Bible history book translated into Sámi by Vicar Aukusti Hakkarainen in the first decade of the twentieth century. Itkonen reported, referring to the intelligibility function of Sámi as a language of instruction: "the most talented [pupils] learned to read in their mother tongue astonishingly quickly and even the slowest one learned at least to spell in a fully satisfying manner."[486] His auxiliary teacher was a Sámi man, Juhani Jomppanen. After the experiment in Angeli, Itkonen traveled to Outakoski, where he held a service in the Outakoski elementary school. Also here, in Lutheran instruction, Itkonen highlighted the importance of the full intelligibility of a teaching or preaching situation. In Outakoski, the local teacher Josef Guttorm interpreted from Finnish to North Sámi. Here, the congregation sang psalms in North Sámi in an "extraordinarily forceful manner"[487]. It was obvious, noted Itkonen, "how much the mother tongue was loved here."[488] Itkonen paraphrased his auxiliary teacher Jomppanen, stating that for Sámi-speakers, hearing a sermon in Finnish was like "a soup without salt"[489]. In his memoirs, Itkonen pointed out that these experiences made him realize more than ever that education in the mother tongue of the Sámi children was "both necessary and beneficial."[490]

484 Itkonen, *Pippinä ja pappina*, 36– 37.

485 Itkonen, *Pippinä ja pappina*, 324, 327.

486 "lahjakkaimmat oppivat äidinkielellään sisäluvun hämmästyttävän nopeasti ja hitainkin oppi ainakin tavaamaan aivan tyydyttävästi.": Itkonen, *Pippinä ja pappina* 317.

487 "tavattoman voimakkaasti": Itkonen, *Pippinä ja pappina*, 317.

488 "miten täällä äidinkieltä rakastettiin": Itkonen, *Pippinä ja pappina*, 317.

489 "suolaton keitto": Itkonen, *Pippinä ja pappina*, 317.

490 "sekä tarpeellinen että hyödyllinen.": Itkonen, *Pippinä ja pappina*, 317.

Itkonen was active in trying to expand the use of Sámi in tuition in ways other than the publication of the ABC book. In 1930, he managed to get funding from the Chapter to send two of the Inari catechists, Laura Lehtola and Agneta Valle, to Outakoski in the summer to study Sámi for five weeks with teacher Josef Guttorm. The application for funding was first discarded by the NBSF, but was accepted by the Chapter after a second attempt. As Itkonen concludes in his memoirs, this only showed how improbable it was that teachers in the standard elementary schools, administered by the NBSF and not by the Chapter, would ever get funding for learning Sámi.[491]

Sámi teachers within the standard elementary school system: father and son Guttorm.

Outakoski-based Teacher Josef Guttorm from Utsjoki was the first Sámi-speaking teacher in the standard elementary school system. Guttorm received a state grant for studies at the Kymölä teachers' seminar in Sortavala, a Carelian city Finland ceded to Russia after WWII. Bishop Gustaf Johansson of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu (in office 1885–1897) had arranged the grant for Guttorm.[492]

In 1908, the municipal council of Utsjoki had discussed the founding of a new elementary school in the Utsjoki church village. One of the questions that stirred most debate was whether this school should have Sámi as language of tuition. Guttorm expressed his frustration to bishop Koskimies over the fact that such a thing should even be debated: "that Lapp language is a topic of disagreement or a stumbling-block in Lapland feels […] strangely sad"[493] Guttorm continued that the insensitive language policies were a testimony to the wider pattern that, in Finland, "the Sámi people"[494] was currently "nothing else than Lapps, regardless of what we ourselves think"[495]. It is clear how Guttorm used these two terms, Sámi and Lapp, to emphasize the tensions between the Sámi and the Finnish political authorities. At the same time, the debate about the Utsjoki church village school and its language of tuition Guttorm referred to was active in Utsjoki, with a strong Sámi majority population. With the nominations "Lapp" and "Sámi", Guttorm also referred to the fact that a number of the Utsjoki Sámi was for the use of Finnish, rather than Sámi as the

491 Itkonen, *Pippinä ja pappina*, 316.

492 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 82.

493 "Että Lapissa on Lapinkieli riidan aiheena eli loukkauskivenä tuntuu […] kumallisen surulliselta": Guttorm to Koskimies, January 18, 1908, Coll. 108.4, (JRKA), (NLF).

494 "Sämilaiskansa": Guttorm to Koskimies, January 18, 1908.

495 "mitään muuta kuin lappalaisia, ajatelkaammepa me itse mitä tahansa": Guttorm to Koskimies, January 18, 1908.

language of instruction. This "party" Guttorm called "Lapp-Finns". According to Guttorm, then, it was partly the pressure from the outside, and partly the conflicting views within the Utsjoki Sámi community that reduced the Sámi to "nothing else than Lapps"[496], a population that needed not be consulted when decisions were taken over their heads. In this articulation, a certain resemblance to Per Fokstad's writings in Norway can be discerned. Similarly to Fokstad (see pages 190–191), Guttorm thought that it was the respect and cherishing of the Sámi culture from within the Sámi community that could uplift the "Lapps" into a Sámi people or a Sámi nation (the term "kansa" used by Guttorm can mean both people and nation). This uplifting had as one of its means the Sámi language. Guttorm, and Fokstad as we will come back to, clearly considered Sámi to have a culture-bearing, but also a progressive function.

During the first half of the twentieth century, of the standard elementary schools of Lapland, only the two Utsjoki schools (Outakoski and from 1929 onwards, the Utsjoki church village) had Sámi teachers. In Utsjoki church village, the Sámi teacher Juho Högman was, according to Lehtola, reluctant to use Sámi in tuition as he considered it important to have a strong Finnish culture in the border areas.[497] However, elementary school inspector Antti Hämäläinen mentioned the Utsjoki church village school in his inspection report for the fall term of 1933, noting that tuition was provided in Sámi with Juho Högman as teacher.[498]

Also, in many other areas in Lapland the school districts had enough Sámi children to require tuition in Sámi according to the law of 1921. However, initiatives towards widening instruction in Sámi here met either passive or active opposition from authorities.[499]

Josef Guttorm's son Hans Aslak Guttorm continued his father's work as teacher in the Outakoski elementary school.[500] Hans Aslak was also a writer, and he participated actively in the defence of the language and culture of the Sámi. Hans Aslak published poems and short stories in North Sámi. He also published a proposal for the national anthem of the Sámi people. This version did not make it to the official Sámi anthem since this honor was granted the contribution of Guttorm's fellow Sámi teacher Isak Saba across the national border in Norway. Hans Aslak Guttorm was also one of the founding members of the *Samii Litto*, the first organization of the Sámi in Finland, founded in

496 Guttorm to Koskimies, January 18, 1908.

497 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 158.

498 Antti Hämäläinen, Inspection reports (*Tarkastuskertomukset*), syyslukukausi (fall term) 1933, Ee:18 (KNA II), (NAF).

499 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 288, 290.

500 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset,* 84.

1945.[501] In short, Guttorm had considerable influence on the development of Sámi culture.

In 1939, Hans Aslak Guttorm published the article *Sabmelažža arvu* (On the value of the Sámi) in the Sámi-language periodical *Sabmelaš* ('The Sámi') published in Finland since 1934. This periodical offered a forum for Sámi writers, mainly from Finland but also internationally, to share their ideas. Even if *Sabmelaš* functioned as a cultural forum for Sámi writers, the publisher, *Lapin Sivistysseura*, a society founded in Helsinki in 1932, was in its early years in the 1930s and 1940s a society of mostly Finnish, rather than Sámi, intellectuals. The society aimed to develop and protect Sámi language and culture in Finland.[502] In *Sabmelažža arvu*, Hans Aslak Guttorm defended the value of the Sámi people, going against any claims that the Sámi would be different from other "enlightened people"[503]. Not being enlightened was described in the article as leading a pagan and non-Christian way of life. Guttorm demented any such claims and concluded that the Sámi people were a civilized Christian people with the same values as any other people. This kind of active articulation about the Sámi as a people of its own, not relating to other nations or states, and not as a minority within a nation state, resembles the ideas of Per Fokstad, as will be discussed in the section on Norway (see pages 190–191).

The catechist schools in Finnish Lapland

If the nomad school of Sweden was in a number of ways a continuation of earlier ecclesial school forms[504], the catechist school system in Finland was a direct continuation of the school forms implemented by the Church of Sweden from the seventeenth century onwards. The fact that the ambulating catechist schools administered by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland[505] had the main part of the responsibility for elementary education in Northern Finland until the 1920s, and provided a part of elementary education until the years following the Second World War, meant essentially two things. First, the children attending ecclesial elementary education received an education that was inferior in duration of time and width of curriculum to the education

501 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 422–423.

502 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 308.

503 "čuvgitum olbmuk": Hans-Aslak Guttorm ("Asgu"), "Aččieäna," *Sabmelaš* 29, no. 1 (1941), 3.

504 Norlin and Sjögren, "Kyrkan, utbildningspolitiken och den samiska skolundervisningen vid sekelskiftet 1900," 403, 414–431.

505 The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland is a direct continuation of the Church of Sweden, separated from its mother church when Sweden ceded Finland to Russia in the early nineteenth century.

provided through the standard elementary school system. Second, the catechist school system was ran parallel to, rather than being part of, the administration of the growing network of standard elementary schools. Given that the ecclesial schools were under the administration of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu, the leading school authority in this area was the bishop, local vicars being the middle level, and finally the ambulating church teachers, the catechists, forming the teacher collective. The catechists were the face of the church towards the locals in the areas without village churches to attend regularly. They gained a fabulous reputation as all-around persons, working as teachers, substitute clergymen and even substitute midwives and doctors when no medically trained person was around.[506]

Until 1927, a majority of all school children in the Finnish Sámi areas received their education in the ecclesial ambulating catechist schools. The teachers of these schools, the catechists, were most often local people, either Sámi- or Finnish-speakers, who had completed a one-year formal education at the teachers' seminar for ambulating school teachers, or had no formal teachers' education at all apart from short courses with local vicars.[507] According to a guideline from 1915, formalizing earlier practices and repeating earlier guidelines, the yearly tuition time for a catechist was 36 weeks. Ambulating between the far-flung villages, the catechist was to spend 6 weeks in each village of hers or his district.[508]

In the documents considering the catechist schools of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu, the ecclesial school authorities presented it as an unproblematic fact that Sámi and Finnish were used in parallel in a number of catechist schools, mainly in the Utsjoki and Inari areas. This is not surprising considering that Bishop Koskimies and a number, although not all, of the local vicars had a positive attitude towards Sámi as a language of instruction.[509] Veli-Pekka Lehtola has noted that this positive attitude among the church leaders led to an ameliorating language situation among the catechists in the early years of the twentieth century.[510]

506 Tarja Nahkiaisoja, "Kansanopetus 1873–1920," in *Inari. Aanaar. Inarin historia jääkaudesta nykypäivään*, ed. Veli-Pekka Lehtola (Inari: The Municipality of Inari, 2003), 280–284; Lehtola, *Viimeinen katekeetta*, 84–86, 103.

507 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset,* 99.

508 Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 148–149.

509 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset,* 82.

510 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset,* 82.

Bishop Koskimies and Finnish and Sámi in the instruction of the catechist schools

Esko I. Kähkönen, Hannu Mustakallio and Veli-Pekka Lehtola have noted that the bishops of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu, Gustaf Johansson and his successor J.R. Koskimies (earlier J.R. Forsman), sympathized with the language and culture of the Sámi to a certain degree. This was also true of some of the vicars in Finnish Lapland, notably Tuomo Itkonen in Inari, whose work for the Sámi language resulted in an ABC book in 1935. This positive attitude was reflected in the Sámi skills of the catechists.[511] The chapter of the diocese encouraged local Sámi-speaking youngsters to become catechists, as chapters in Sweden and Finland had done for centuries.[512]

Bishop Juho Rudolf Koskimies, the son of a family with a long pedigree of clergyman and intellectuals, was the bishop of Finland's northernmost diocese between 1900 and 1936. According to Hannu Mustakallio, Fennoman ideology influenced the bishop. In fact, similarly to many Fennoman-influenced members of the Finnish early twentieth century intelligentsia, Koskimies changed his Swedish surname Forsman to the Finnish Koskimies in the early years of the twentieth century. Koskimies was the first bishop in Finland with a name in Finnish since the Middle Ages.[513] He was also a member of the Academic Karelia Society (*Akateeminen Karjala-Seura*, AKS), a Fennoman elite society with dreams of annexing adjacent areas with Fenno-Ugric populations to Finland.[514]

Koskimies acknowledged the importance of learning Finnish, even if he was a driving force behind promoting the use of Sámi in schools. Koskimies believed that mastering Finnish perfectly was beneficial in "all worldly affairs", as he stated during a bishop's visitation in Inari in 1902.[515]

If Finnish was the language for "all worldly affairs", Sámi had a different function in Koskimies' reasoning. In 1919, bishop Koskimies wrote to The Norwegian Bible Society and asked about the possibility of buying some Sámi-language Bibles and New Testaments from Norway. Koskimies reported that no translations for said books were available in Finland, and that the "Lappish population"[516] (about 1500 persons) in Finland remained in a "relatively low

511 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset,* 95, 98–99.

512 Henrysson and Flodin, *Samernas skolgång till 1956*, 3.

513 Mustakallio, *Pohjoinen hiippakunta*, 336.

514 Mustakallio, *Pohjoinen hiippakunta*, 365.

515 "kaikissa maallisissa asioissa": J.R. Koskimies, Bishop's visitation minutes (*Piispantarkastuspöytäkirjat*), Inari, July 19–21, 1902, Eb:18a (OTA), (NAFO).

516 "lapsk befolkning": Letter from J.R. Koskimies to Det norske bibelselskap, December 13, 1919, Coll. 108.109 (JRKA), (NLF).

cultural position"[517] lacking the access to these "holy books"[518] in their own mother tongue.[519] Koskimies hence articulated a positive correlation between access to the Gospel in Sámi and the prospects of a higher cultural standpoint. Sámi culture, in Koskimies' view, was worth preserving, and this preservation was best carried out in Sámi language. The culture-bearing and progressive functions of Sámi language are clearly formulated, whereas the bishop portrayed Finnish as having an added resource function in all worldly affairs in Finland.

Why was the Sámi language worth preserving, then? Bishop Koskimies advised the vicars of his diocese to learn to use the mother tongue of the churchgoers. During a bishop's visitation in the Utsjoki parish in 1907, he had tried to persuade the local vicar P.R. Heikinheimo to learn some Sámi. According to the minutes of the visitation, Koskimies had expressed his wish even if "no external law"[520] stipulated that the vicar should learn Sámi. "But there is one law"[521], continued the bishop, "and it is the law of love that obliges to and requires that"[522]. With "the law of love" bishop Koskimies probably referred to the famous Bible passage in Galatians 5:14, which states that the only law that really matters is the command ordering you to "love your neighbor as yourself". This Biblical backing for preserving Sámi language is maybe unsurprising coming from a bishop. However, there could have been a certain security political aspect in Koskimies' reasoning. As Hannu Mustakallio has discussed, Koskimies' predecessor, Bishop Gustaf Johansson also saw a soft power national security function in allowing Sámi language to flourish. According to Johansson, keeping the Sámi happy secured their loyalty to the Finnish state in the northern areas bordering with several other nation states.[523] This soft power function was also underscored by Johansson and Koskimies' colleague Eivind Berggrav across the border in the Diocese of Hålogaland in Norway. Eriksen and Niemi describe this function aptly with the Latin motto "ubi bene, ibi patria".[524] Among the clergy in northern Finland, the soft power function was also related to a certain political argument for preserving and protecting Sámi

517 "jämförelsevis låg kulturståndpunkt": Koskimies to Det norske bibelselskap, December 13, 1919.

518 "heliga böckerna": Koskimies to Det norske bibelselskap, December 13, 1919.

519 Koskimies to Det norske bibelselskap, December 13, 1919, Coll. 108.109 (JRKA), (NLF).

520 "mikään ulkonainen laki": J.R. Koskimies, Bishop's visitation minutes (*Piispantarkastuspöytäkirjat*), Utsjoki, July 19–21, 1907, Eb:138 (OTA), (NAFO).

521 Koskimies, Bishop's visitation minutes (*Piispantarkastuspöytäkirjat*), Utsjoki, July 19–21, 1907, Eb:138 (OTA), (NAFO).

522 Koskimies, Bishop's visitation minutes (*Piispantarkastuspöytäkirjat*), Utsjoki, July 19–21, 1907, Eb:138 (OTA), (NAFO).

523 Mustakallio, *Pohjoinen hiippakunta*, 282.

524 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare,* 222.

language.[525] The status of Finnish was at times repressed under Russian rule. The meeting minutes of the Chapter[526] of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu stated in 1920 that since Finland had "with the help of God"[527] been liberated from language oppression, it was only righteous to support instruction in Sámi. This idea is in certain ways reminiscent of Sámi teacher Isak Saba's cross-national recontextualization of Russian language policies in Finland to a Norwegian-Sámi context (see page 168). It is also comparable to inspector Kerkkonen: similarly to him, the Chapter portrayed the Sami as its own nationality and culture. Contrary to Kerkkonen, however, the Chapter supported and recommended instruction in Sámi and the supporting of the preservation of this culture and its language. Bishop Koskimies noted in the Bishop's visitation minutes for the Utsjoki parish in 1907 that "for a people, its own language is such a treasure, that wherever a people grasps its value, it holds it [the language] as its most important [thing]"[528].

It should be noted for a full understanding of the context that not all clergymen or church authorities were open-heartedly positive towards the use of Sámi in elementary education. The fact that bishop Koskimies had to encourage his clergymen to learn the language of their parishioners suggests that there were pragmatic obstacles, and maybe also motivational ones, to learning Sámi.[529]

The Chapter of the Diocese and the intelligibility function of Sámi in the catechist schools

The Chapter's meeting minutes show that the Chapter of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu preferred Sámi-speaking catechists to Finnish-speakers in the Sámi areas. In 1912, when introducing candidates to fill a number of new catechist's positions, the Chapter emphasized the importance of knowledge of the local conditions and skills in Sámi language. Vicar Itkonen from Inari recommended Anna "Anni" Aikio (called Anni Kitti after marrying) to be hired in the fourth catechist's position in the Inari parish since she knew both of the Sámi varieties spoken in the area (North Sámi and Inari Sámi).[530] Vicar

525 Kylli, "Misjon og utdanning blant samer i 1800-tallets Finland."

526 The Chapter was led by the bishop, and besides him included four other members, three clergymen and a lawyer.

527 "Jumalan avulla": Meeting minutes of the Chapter of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu (*Pöytäkirjat*), September 28, 1920, Ca:70 (OTA), (NAFO).

528 " Kansalle on oma kielensä sellainen aarre, että missä kansa tulee käsittämään sen arvon, niin se pitää sen tärkeimpänään." Koskimies, Bishop's visitation minutes (*Piispantarkastus-pöytäkirjat*), Utsjoki, July 19–21, 1907, Eb:138 (OTA), (NAFO).

529 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 90.

530 Meeting minutes of the Chapter of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu (*Pöytäkirjat*), January 11, 1912, Attachment "Uudet katekeetat" Ca:62 (OTA), (NAFO).

P.H. Heickell from Sodankylä recommended Sabina Kangas to be the fourth catechist in Sodankylä. This fourth catechist was planned to have the partly Sámi-speaking Sompio region as her work field.[531] Vicar Heickell endorsed Kangas because she understood and was acquainted with the people and the region with all its hardships. According to the vicar, she would also be able to quickly learn Sámi. In the articulations of vicar Heickell and the Chapter, knowing the local language, people and conditions made a good teacher for the children in the catechist schools. The Chapter followed the recommendations of the vicars, and hired Aikio and Kangas.[532]

In the annual report for the catechist schools in 1920, the Chapter again considered candidates for catechist's positions. The Chapter now doubted the competence of two catechists (one in Inari and the other one in Utsjoki) who taught in Sámi but were "Finnish-born"[533]. Hence, the Chapter was not fully convinced "to what extent and how successfully"[534] these catechists were able to teach in Sámi. The Chapter then, prioritized native-level Sámi skills over formal competence among the teachers for reasons of intelligibility.

The 1908 and 1929 governmental committees recommend Sámi as the language of instruction in the catechist schools

As Erkki Pääkkönen has discussed, arguments for the use of Sámi as a language of instruction in the catechist schools came not only from an ecclesial source.[535] In 1906, a governmental committee was appointed to continue the work of an earlier committee (established in 1901) to further the economic development of Lapland. Among the members of the committee was N.W. Holmberg, a Sámi-Finnish bilingual catechist who worked as a catechist in Utsjoki for a long period. Whereas the committee, in its published report from 1908, emphasized that farming and keeping livestock, rather than herding reindeer, was the most secure source of income for the inhabitants of Lapland in the future, it also underscored the role of the catechist schools in the sparsely populated northern areas. What is more, the report also stated that instruction should be provided in Sámi at least in the catechist schools in the Utsjoki and Paatsjoki (in Inari)

531 Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 465.

532 Meeting minutes of the Chapter of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu (*Pöytäkirjat*), January 11, 1912, Attachment "Uudet katekeetat" Ca:62 (OTA), (NAFO).

533 "syntymäsuomalaisia": Meeting minutes of the Chapter of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu (*Pöytäkirjat*), September 28, 1920, Attachment "Lappi" paragraph 13 on the ecclesial schools 1919, Ca:70 (OTA), (NAFO).

534 "minkä verran ja kuinka menestyksellisesti": Meeting minutes of the Chapter of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu (*Pöytäkirjat*), September 28, 1920, Attachment "Lappi" paragraph 13 on the ecclesial schools 1919, Ca:70 (OTA), (NAFO).

535 Pääkkönen, *Saamelainen etnisyys ja pohjoinen paikallisuus*, 151–152.

catechist districts, and preferably even in the standard elementary schools of these districts.[536] The articulation of the report paired up the national economic ideal of farming with a recommendation of continued use of Sámi in the schools. This can be due to the fact that the report included opinions from its different members. In either case, the contrast to the reasoning of the nomad school planners could hardly be greater. The ideal citizen educated in the nomad school was a reindeer herder who spoke Swedish, whereas the Finnish ideal was, according to the 1908 report, a farmer who spoke Sámi.

As Esko I. Kähkönen and Veli-Pekka Lehtola show, in 1929, 8 years after the law on compulsory education, the minister of Education appointed A.J. Tarjanne from the Department of Education to publish a report on developing the elementary school system in sparsely populated areas, including Lapland. Still in this report, the recommendation was that the catechist school should continue to play a substantial role in the elementary education of children in Lapland. According to Tarjanne, this was due to the small and sparse population of Lapland (as a reminder, the 1921 law stated that pupils living further than five kilometers from the nearest elementary school were exempt from compulsory education) and the positive attitude that the locals had towards the catechist schools.[537]

Laura Lehtola and Anni Kitti: two catechists on the languages of instruction

Judging by Finnish catechist Laura Lehtola and Finnish-Sámi catechist Anni Kitti (née Anna Aikio), both working in the Inari parish, the world-view of the catechists corresponded with their employment in the service of the Lutheran church. Both Kitti and Lehtola wrote down their memoirs, Lehtola in an almost 200-page book *Viimeinen katekeetta* ("The last catechist")[538] and Kitti in an eleven-page leaflet published in Inari Sámi and Finnish by the parish of Inari, called *Oovt sámmilii mátttááttijjee eellim kuáttá – Erään saamelaisopettajan elämästä*[539] ("On the life of a Sámi teacher"). Both memoirs, with clear religious undertones, were published in 1984.

Laura Lehtola viewed it as self-evident to adapt to the mother tongue of her students and teach in that language, whether it was Finnish or Sámi.[540]

536 *Neuvottelukomitealta, joka on asetettu keskustelemaan ja lausuntoa antamaan Lapinmaan taloudellisten olojen tutkimista varten astetun komitean mietinnöstä* (Helsinki, 1908).

537 Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta*, 338–339; Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 288.

538 Lehtola, *Viimeinen katekeetta*.

539 Anni Kitti, *Oovt sámmilii mátttááttijjee eellim kuáttá: Erään saamelaisopettajan elämästä* (Inarin seurakunta: Inari 1984).

540 Lehtola, *Viimeinen katekeetta*, 124.

Reciting a discussion she reported having had with the Finnish-minded standard elementary school teacher Olga Huurre in Inari, Lehtola noted that for her, it had always been "clear that I teach a child in the language and by those means that she/he best understands."[541] Given that Lehtola looked back at discussions that had taken place decades before she wrote her memoirs, there is of course the possibility of her portraying herself in an exaggeratedly positive light. However, the same kind of pragmatism regarding the intelligibility of the teaching situation that is visible in Lehtola's reported teaching methods also comes across from the report of Tarjanne as well as the minutes of the Chapter of the Diocese of Oulu that was ultimately in charge of the catechist schools of Lapland, as already discussed previously.

Still, Laura Lehtola made a reservation in her memoirs as to whether it had been the right choice to let the Sámi languages flourish in the catechist schools. Lehtola referred to an unnamed Namibian politician who had criticized the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland for supporting the local languages in its missionary activities in Namibia. According to the politician, it would have been better to use English from the very beginning. Lehtola commented: "This same church has, in our own catechist schools, favored the languages of Lapland. I wonder whether we also here have done a disservice?"[542] This quote is part of a wider discussion where Lehtola also treated the subject of the expanding standard elementary school system. She postulated that, in contrast to the catechist schools, the standard elementary schools took little consideration to "Sámi language and Sámi way of life"[543], and that "foreign culture"[544], that is, Finnish culture, gained a "crushing predominance"[545] in these schools. At the same time, Lehtola admitted that the advent of the standard elementary school had been a great advancement to the locals. In the articulation of Lehtola, Finnish culture is designated as foreign, thus pointing out that the existence of Sámi language and culture in the Sámi regions is considered as self-evident. This can be compared to Josef Guttorm in the previous chapter (see pages 141–142). The function of Sámi was the preservation of the original Sámi culture. Finnish, however, Lehtola portrayed as the language of progress and advancement.

In her memoirs, Anni Kitti describes how she ended up as a catechist. The reasoning of the Chapter when hiring Anni Kitti, then with her maiden name Anna Aikio, was already discussed earlier in this dissertation (see pages

541 "selviö, että opetan lasta sillä kielellä ja niillä keinoin, joita hän parhaiten ymmärtää.": Lehtola, *Viimeinen katekeetta*, 124.

542 "Tämä sama kirkko on omissa katekeettakouluissamme suosinut Lapin omia kieliä. Tulikohan tehtyä täälläkin karhunpalvelus?": Lehtola *Viimeinen katekeetta,* 174.

543 ""saamen kieltä ja saamelaista elämänmuotoa": Lehtola *Viimeinen katekeetta,* 173.

544 "vieras kulttuuri": Lehtola *Viimeinen katekeetta,* 173.

545 "murskaava ylivoima": Lehtola *Viimeinen katekeetta,* 173.

147–148). Before hiring Kitti, the parish of Inari had three catechists. One of them could teach in Sámi. The Inari parish school district was too wide for only three teachers to cover, and the Chapter decided that a fourth one was needed. This fourth catechist was to be able to teach in both Inari and North Sámi, be at least 18 years old and have finished elementary school. Since Kitti was qualified, she was hired and sent to the town of Hämeenlinna in southern Finland to attend a teachers' seminar for ambulating schools.[546] In Kitti's memoirs, the language question is in no way portrayed as a bone of contention. This adds to earlier testimonies of the unproblematic position of Finnish and Sámi language varieties existing as parallel languages of instruction in the catechist schools. The language of the pupils was the most natural choice since this made the teaching situation as intelligible as possible.

Karl Nickul and Petsamo: a laboratory of "How civilized nations should treat primitive peoples"[547]

Finnish Petsamo was a narrow strip of land that reached from modern-day northeastern Finland to the Arctic Ocean. The area was a part of Finland between the years 1920 and 1947, first shortly as its own province (lääni/län), then as a hundred (kihlakunta/härad) of the Province of Oulu and, since 1938, of the Province of Lapland. The majority (53 per cent in the early 1920s) of the population of Petsamo was of Orthodox denomination, setting it apart from the rest of the mainly Lutheran Finland. Among the Orthodox population of Petsamo, the Sámi counted a few hundred. [548] The Sámi of Petsamo were mainly part of a population called Skolt Sámi. The Skolt Sámi also lived on the Soviet side of the border. They were one of four Sámi groups in early twentieth century Russia/USSR[549] speaking an eastern Sámi variety. The Sámi of Petsamo lived under Russian rule for centuries, and then under Finnish rule in Finnish Petsamo until a majority of the Sámi of Petsamo was "evacuated" to Finland after WWII.[550] The Finnish Petsamo included three Sámi villages. Two of the villages were under great pressure because of Finnish agricultural colonization. The third village, that of Suonikylä (*Suõ'nnjel* in Skolt Sámi), was

546 Kitti, *Oovt sámmilii máttááttijjee eellim kuáttá,* 3–5.

547 Letter from Karl Nickul to the Division of Anthropology and Psychology, National Research Council Washington D.C, October 27, 1939, Ba:1 (KNA), (SAF).

548 Mustakallio, *Pohjoinen hiippakunta,* 424–425.

549 The Sámi varieties spoken in early twentieth century northwestern Russia/USSR were Skolt Sámi, Kildin Sámi, Akkala Sámi and Ter Sámi. Ter Sámi is nowadays moribund.

550 Tuija Saarinen and Seppo Suhonen (eds.), *Koltat, karjalaiset ja setukaiset. Pienet kansat maailmojen rajoilla* (Kuopio: Snellman-institutti, 1995), 38.

viewed by Finnish politicians and cultural authorities as a Sámi village in a very original state. Suonikylä became an object for preservationist segregation projects.[551] Discussions on elementary education were a part of this enthusiasm for preservation. Suonikylä preservation ideas and the educational parts of it are to my knowledge the clearest examples of early twentieth-century Nordic educational authorities and intellectuals actively seeking models for Sámi education outside of the borders of the nation state.

Veli-Pekka Lehtola has treated the Suonikylä protection project quite extensively, and he points out that the Suonikylä Sámi themselves were active in asking for protection for their ancient rights and lifestyle.[552] The protection plans fell through when Finland had to cede the Petsamo area to the Soviet Union after WWII.

The most active supporter of the Suonikylä project was the *Lapin Sivistysseura* society. The driving force of the protection project within the society was its secretary Karl Nickul. Nickul had a diverse upbringing in his native city of Oulu. He was the son of Estonian-Baltic German parents, and went to a Swedish-speaking school in a mainly Finnish-speaking town. Apart from German, Swedish and Finnish he later learned Russian and some Skolt Sámi.[553]

As Veli-Pekka Lehtola has shown, Nickul's ethnographic interest in Suonikylä developed somewhat accidentally, as he came into contact with Skolt Sámi culture first as a geodesist, mapping the area that in 1920 had come under Finnish rule. Nickul was a pacifist in a country that between 1917 and 1945 was at war several times. As courageously as he talked about peace in a society permeated by militarist values, writes Lehtola, he raised his voice against the hierarchical and downgrading perspective many Finnish intellectuals applied to the Sámi of Suonikylä.[554]

Lehtola's interpretation above standing, Nickul himself stated the key issue of educating the Skolt Sámi in a very clear and compact manner, which was "how civilized nations should treat primitive peoples."[555] Nickul posed this question in letters he sent to several prominent scientists and scholars, such as professors at Cambridge, the London School of Economics and Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle in Paris. Nickul also consulted the philosopher Bertrand Russell, the American Commissioner of Indian Affairs (USA), the

551 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 254.

552 Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset*, 330–331; 340.

553 Veli-Pekka Lehtola, *Nickul. Rauhan mies, rauhan kansa* (Inari: Kustannus-Puntsi, 2000), 91–13.

554 Veli-Pekka Lehtola, *Nickul. Rauhan mies, rauhan kansa*, 59.

555 Nickul to the Division of Anthropology and Psychology, National Research Council Washington D.C., October 27, 1939.

National Research Council (USA) and the Progressive Education Association (USA).[556]

Nickul was in contact with both Swedish and Norwegian intellectuals as well as Sámi school specialists. His contacts included, among others, bishop of the Diocese of Hålogaland (Norway's northernmost diocese) and later of the Diocese of Oslo Eivind Berggrav, Norwegian minister of education Just Qvigstad (earlier the principal of the northern Tromsø teachers' seminar), assistant vicar of Jokkmokk, Sweden, and researcher of Sámi culture Harald Grundström, professor of Finno-Ugric languages at Uppsala university K.B. Wiklund (author of the text book for nomad schools) and Swedish Sámi activists Gustav Park and Israel Ruong.[557]

The idea of protecting and preserving the Sámi culture resembles the idea of preserving the Swedish Sámi culture through the nomad school system in Sweden. Direct links between the Suonikylä project and the Swedish nomad school system include Nickul's correspondence with Ernst Manker, ethnographer and leader of the Lappish department of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm since 1939. In 1935, some years before his correspondence with Nickul about the Suonikylä project, Manker had expressed in a letter his hope that Sámi language could be used in the instruction of the nomad schools (see page 120).[558]

In the correspondence between Manker and Nickul, both men emphasized the national economic importance of keeping the traditional Sámi culture alive. Nickul recognized that he might have been too occupied with "the ethnological and sociological interest"[559] in Suonikylä, and thus failed to attract the attention of the Finnish government, which was all too centered on the development of agriculture.[560] "In the conflict between the farmer and the nomad"[561], Nickul positioned himself on the side of "the Lapps, at least in Suonikylä."[562] Manker answered Nickul's letters and wrote among his grateful praises that "The economic arguments are indeed paramount – as You so correctly state –, and it

556 Ba:1 (KNA), (SAF).

557 Letter from Eivind Berggrav to Karl Nickul, October 25, 1938. Ba:1 (KNA), (SAF); Letter from Karl Nickul to Gustav Park, April 28, 1939, Ba:1 (KNA), (SAF); Letter from Just Qvigstad to Lapin Sivistysseura, March 24, 1941, Ba:1, (KNA), (SAF).

558 Manker to Haglund, November 22, 1935.

559 "det etnologiska och sociologiska intresset": Letter from Karl Nickul to Ernst Manker February 27, 1938. Ba:1, (KNA), (SAF).

560 "det etnologiska och sociologiska intresset": Nickul to Manker February 27, 1938.

561 "i konflikten mellan bonden och nomaden": Letter from Karl Nickul to Ernst Manker January 21, 1938. Ba:1, (KNA), (SAF).

562 "lapparna, åtminstone i Suonikylä.": Nickul to Manker January 21, 1938.

is therefore fortunate that such [arguments] can be added to the ethnological and sociological [arguments]."[563]

To gain support for protecting Suonikylä, Nickul also exchanged letters with Eivind Berggrav, the bishop of the Diocese of Hålogaland between the years 1928 and 1937.[564] In a letter, Berggrav thanked Nickul for information concerning Suonikylä, and affirmed that similar plans about a protected Sámi area in Norway had never entered the level of implementation, nor had they caught wider attention apart from some "Lapp-lovers"[565]. Protecting Sámi culture was something that Berggrav, according to himself, had tried to encourage in the harsh language climate of northern Norway during his time as the leader of the northern diocese. In his memoirs of the Hålogaland years, the Swedish version of which Nickul happens to cite in his letters to Urho Toivola at the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Berggrav expressed his regrets that he could not guarantee such a protection of the Sámi. Had he had the possibility to affect the policies, he would have reserved an area where the Sámi could have lived their traditional life with their traditional livelihoods, "a realm of the Sámi people, which would have become an honor and a delight for both them and us."[566]

In his letter to the Sámi leader Gustav Park, the vicar of Stensele, Sweden, Karl Nickul thanked the vicar for sending him a book about the Sámi meeting of 1937 in Arvidsjaur. In his letter, Nickul was very careful to point out that the idea of a Sámi protection area in Suonikylä was not to freeze the Sámi culture in Suonikylä, or to turn it into a museum object. Rather, the idea was to let it evolve freely, while preserving the Sámi way of life and strengthening the self-esteem of the Sámi.[567] Certain paternalism is visible in the articulation that maintains that the protection of the Sámi way of life and the uplifting of the self-esteem of the Sámi had to come from the outside. Also, Nickul stated that if Finnish colonization would expand to Suonikylä, the Sámi in Suonikylä would have a hard time defending their "rightful interests"[568]. Finnish agriculture was

563 "De ekonomiska argumenten väga nog tyngst – som Ni så riktigt konstaterar –, och det är då lyckligt, att sådana kunna läggas vid sidan om de etnologiska och sociologiska.": Letter from Ernst Manker to Karl Nickul, March 16, 1938. Ba:1, (KNA), (SAF).

564 Berggrav was bishop in Hålogaland until 1937, when he was appointed bishop of the Diocese of Oslo. In Oslo, he was one of the leading figures of the Norwegian oppositon to the Nazi occupation during WWII. *Store norske leksikon* s.v. "Eivind Berggrav," accessed October 25, 2017, https://snl.no/Eivind_Berggrav.

565 "lappe-elskeren": Berggrav to Nickul, October 25, 1938.

566 "ett samefolkets rike, som skulle blivit till heder och till glädje både för dem och oss.": Eivind Berggrav, *Biskop ovan polcirkeln* (Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsens bokförlag, 1937) 6–7. Cited in: Letter from Karl Nickul to Urho Toivola, March 24, 1938, Ba:1 (KNA), (SAF).

567 Nickul to Park, April 28, 1939.

568 "berättigade intressen": Nickul to Park, April 28, 1939.

portrayed as a force much stronger than Sámi culture, in a way quite similar to the articulations on the nomad school as the arena where Sámi children were educated to become strong enough to defend the livelihood of reindeer herding.[569]

Nickul also sought inspiration for his plans outside of the Nordic countries, from the United States, France and the British colonial world. To Francis M. Foster, managing editor of the journal *Progressive Education* (published by the Progressive Education Association) he wrote that he was "interested in learning about the educational work that is carried out in America among the backward peoples"[570] and that he earnestly wished that "the new Indian policy of the United States could be applied in Finland, in arranging our relations with the Lapps."[571] In the return mail from Foster, Nickul received some recent issues of *Progressive Education*, including articles on the education of the "American Indian"[572] and an article about education in Mexico, where, as Foster notes, "they have a very real problem with their various cultural groups."[573]

Nickul's correspondence also includes letters from the Finnish school principal Laurin Zilliacus, who had studied the principles of progressive education in England. Zilliacus later moved on to become a planner of education at the United Nations. He was closely related to the organization for promoting progressive education, the New Education Fellowship (established in 1915[574] in England and in its turn closely related to the American Progressive Education Association). In 1930, the Swedish branch of the New Education Fellowship invited Zilliacus to speak about progressive education in their annual meeting in Stockholm. According to the newspaper *Svensk läraretidning* ("Swedish teachers' newspaper"), Zilliacus characterized the tasks of the "new school"[575] as follows: "it is a living knowledge that the active school gives. […] Knowledge becomes not the goal, but merely the medium"[576]. The teacher of the new school should be resolute in his faith in the "ultimate victory of culture"[577]: "The faith in culture gives him faith in person, and for the children he prepares an environment that

569 See also Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen.*

570 Letter from Karl Nickul to Francis M. Foster, March 7, 1937, Ba:1 (KNA), (SAF).

571 Nickul to Foster, March 7, 1937.

572 Letter from Francis M. Foster to Karl Nickul, March 25, 1937, Ba:1 (KNA), (SAF).

573 Foster to Nickul, March 25, 1937.

574 The name of the organization was changed from Fraternity in Education to NEF in 1921.

575 "Den nya skolan. Självständighet, inD:IVidualitet, skaparanda," (Resumée of Laurin Zilliacus presentation) *Svensk Läraretidning* 1930 4 73, accessed October 25, 2017, http://runeberg.org/svlartid/1930/0081.html.

576 "det är levande kunskap den aktiva skolan ger. […] Kunskapen blir ej mål, endast medel.": "Den nya skolan," 73.

577 "kulturens slutgiltiga seger": "Den nya skolan," 73.

is suitable for shaping the personality."[578] This is, perhaps to little surprise, very much in line with the general principles of progressive education, also known as reform pedagogy. These principles are accounted for more thoroughly on pages 77–78.

In Zilliacus' letter to Nickul about the education of the Sámi in Suonikylä, written eight years after the above-referred presentation, the former referred to "the USA's Indian school politics"[579] as well as to the progressive education projects carried out among the native peoples in New Zealand, Nigeria and the Gold Coast or "wherever a democratic and enlightened regime is in charge of the destiny of foreign and in certain ways backward populations."[580] The letter in Swedish would later be translated into Finnish. It was included in the pamphlet that *Lapin Sivistysseura* sent to the Finnish Minister of Education, arguing for the protection of the Suonikylä area.[581] Zilliacus thought that, in the case of the Suonikylä project, Finland could "give a remarkable contribution to the forming of the principles of the schooling of the nature child."[582] This schooling of the nature child should, in the spirit of progressive education, take into consideration the conditions of the Sámi culture and take these as the starting point for the instruction. Through this kind of methodology, the Suonikylä Sámi would become "independent members of the state, when they otherwise run the risk of losing their cultural roots and of succumbing to the competition of a foreign culture, as already ought to have happened in the case of their tribe relatives by the road."[583] This reference to Sámi, who were assimilating when in contact with Finnish culture, is, again, well in line with the internationalist principles of progressive education and the New Education Fellowship that held as one of its fundamental principles that education, "should help us to appreciate our own national heritage and to welcome the unique contribution

578 "Tron på kultur ger honom tro på person, och han bereder för barnen en miljö, som är lämplig för personlighetens daning.": "Den nya skolan," 73.

579 "U.S.A:s indianskolpolitik": Letter from Laurin Zilliacus to Lapin Sivistysseura, May 9, 1938, D:3 (LSSA), (SAF).

580 "varhelst en demokratisk och upplyst regime har hand om främmande och i vissa avseenden efterblivna folks öden.": Zilliacus to Lapin Sivistysseura, May 9, 1938.

581 Pamphlet from Lapin Sivistysseyra to The Finnish Minister of Education, October 31, 1938.

582 "giva ett betydelsefullt bidrag till utredandet av principerna för naturbarnets skolgång.": Zilliacus to Lapin Sivistysseura, May 9, 1938.

583 "självständiga medlemmar i staten, då de däremot i annat fall löpa fara att förlora sina kulturella rötter och duka under för konkurrensen i en främmande kultur, vilket redan torde ha skett med desar stamfränder vid landsvägen.": Zilliacus to Lapin Sivistysseura, May 9, 1938.

that every other national group can make to the culture of the world."[584] The risk was, that the "foreign culture", that is, Finnish, was suffocating the unique contribution of the Sámi of Petsamo. Zilliacus' articulation that only through remaining Sámi could Sámi individuals be "independent members of the state" resembles the ideas articulated by nomad school inspector Karnell in Sweden (see page 91). Both Nickul and Karnell thought that the Sámi, at least the Sámi living in the "original Sámi way", thus coded by these two men themselves, could only sustain themselves through their traditional livelihood.

Also, in general, the argumentation regarding the schooling of the Suonikylä Skolt Sámi bears great resemblance to the arguments of the proponents and planners of the Swedish nomad school system. The articulations include elaboration towards the ideas of progressive education, where the natural surroundings and environment of the school child stands in focus. David Sjögren has noted the similarities between reform pedagogical methodologies used in the tuition of Native Americans and those used in the Swedish nomad schools.[585] With the case of Nickul, and his extensive international correspondence, it is easy to point out direct links between international pedagogical innovations and Sámi education in the Nordic countries at least in principle if not always in practice.

Sámi teachers: a part of planned indirect rule of Skolt country

Nickul's correspondence includes letters from the Finnish elementary school teacher Anni Tattari in Suonikylä. As a teacher in the Skolt Sámi area, she was acquainted with the Suonikylä question on a very practical level. Tattari was not of Sámi origin but she was Orthodox like the majority of the Skolt Sámi, who for centuries had lived under Russian rule.[586] According to Hilkka Rahkola, she also learned Skolt Sámi, even if it is unclear whether she used it in tuition.[587]

Tattari's descriptions of the Skolts, especially of the Skolt children, ranged from maternalistically protective to moralizing and hierarchizing arguments. In a letter to Nickul, Tattari wondered whether the nature child-like Skolt Sámi should have any elementary education at all, or if they should be left alone to be

584 The New Education Fellowship, First International Report, London 1932, cited in Yvonne Larsson, *The World Education Fellowship: It's origins and development with particular emphasis on New South Wales, the first Australian section* (London: University of London, 1987), 2.

585 David Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen*, 101–102.

586 Letter from Elementary school inspector Antti Hämäläinen to the National Board of Schools (Kouluhallitus), May 2, 1936, Da:1 (PLPKKA) , (NAFO).

587 Hilkka Rahkonen, "Petsamon kansakoulut," in *Turjanmeren maa. Petsamon historia 1920–1944*, ed. Jouko Vahtola and Samuli Onnela (Rovaniemi: Petsamo-seura, 1999), 389.

educated by the wilderness they inhabit. While answering her own ponderings she formulated an idea of what she thought should be the core content of elementary education among the Sámi: "if you think of school as a fosterer, a fosterer of a steadfast, decent character, if it could leave some good principle in the heart of a Skolt child, or if it would leave some good piece of knowledge, that would help him/her in a more practical manner in the questions of his/hers life, then the school would serve a purpose even in Suonikylä, still without damaging the Skolt culture."[588] In Tattari's articulation, higher education is portrayed as damaging to the Skolt culture. The role education should play here, according to Tattari, was to help the Sámi to be more Sámi. In this way, Tattari's articulation resembles the articulations of Vitalis Karnell in Sweden, who wanted the nomad school to educate the reindeer-herding Sámi in Sweden into better and healthier reindeer herding Sámi (see pages 92–94).

The Petsamo area was in a way a condensed laboratory of the ideas the Finnish educational authorities had on educating the Sámi. Also when it comes to the discussion on the role the Church of Finland played in education, Petsamo was a special case. Clergyman F.E. Lilja had the task of organizing and coordinating the ecclesial activities and structures in the Petsamo area. In the early 1920s, Lilja combined this work with his employment as elementary school inspector of the region. In the 1920s, the Petsamo area had around 1500 inhabitants. The biggest ethnic group was Finns. Apart from Finns, Karelians[589], Sámi (mostly Skolt Sámi) and Russian groups inhabited the area. A slight majority of the population in Petsamo was of Orthodox confession, including a great number of the Skolt Sámi.[590] This means that the Lutheran Lilja did not have direct contact with the majority of the Skolt Sámi through the church. However, as the elementary school inspector, he was in charge of the education of the Sámi as a part of the totality of the population. In the 1920s, three elementary schools were running in Petsamo. All of them had Finnish as the language of tuition, as Armas Aavikko, the elementary school inspector of the area after Lilja, reported in 1922.[591] In his yearly report from 1921, Lilja himself reported to the National Board of Schools in Helsinki about problems in the schools. The tuition could not be carried out full-scale, due to the "original and undeveloped character of

588 "jos ajattelee koulun kasvattajana, lujan, siveellisen luonteen kasvattajana, jos se kykenisi jättämään jonkun hyvän periaatteen kolttalapsen sydämeen tai jos se jättäisi jonkun hyvän tiedon, joka auttaisi häntä käytännöllisemmin elämänsä kysymyksissä, niin koulu olisi silloin paikallaan mielestäni Suonikylässäkin, eikä se vielä tekisi väkivaltaa kolttakulttuurille.": Letter from Anni Tattari to Karl Nickul, December 29, 1933, Ba:5, (KNA), (SAF).

589 a population speaking a Fenno-Ugric language close to Finnish.

590 Hannu Mustakallio, *Pohjoinen hiippakunta*, 424–425.

591 Armas Aavikko, Petsamon piirin yleiskatsaus 1922 (overview of the Petsamo district), Piiritarkastajien yleiskatsaukset 1920–1923 En 9 (overviews of the district inspectors) (KKA I), (NAF).

the pupils and to the complete lack of school experience."[592] Another reason for poor learning results was the fact that a number of the pupils had poor skills in Finnish, the language of tuition. Judging by the memoirs of Hilja Vartiainen, the first teacher in Suonikylä, the solution to this problem was to use an interpreter and make the pupils work hard to learn Finnish, as well as to use some simple phrases in Sámi to make the children listen to the teacher.[593] Here, through the intelligibility function, Sámi was reserved the role of an auxiliary language of learning the contents of the curriculum, including the Finnish language.

Karl Nickul saw the intelligibility and learning problems in the schools as a significant failure, and he wanted to educate a teacher for the Skolt Sámi among the population itself. In April 1941, Nickul wrote to teacher Jaakko Pohjola, the successor of Tattari as the teacher in the Suonikylä elementary school, asking whether it would be possible to find a suitable pupil for future studies at a teachers' seminar. He had his own favorite for the task.[594] Early in 1941, Nickul also wrote to his Skolt Sámi friend Jaakko Sverloff about the issue. In the letter, Nickul stated that besides having a teacher, Skolt Sámi youngsters should be educated to other offices with societal importance. As a positive example he mentioned the Sámi teachers, and father and son, Josef and Hans Aslak Guttorm, and their work as elementary school teachers in Outakoski in Utjsoki, where they provided instruction in North Sámi.[595]

Nickul's ideas are reminiscent of the method of indirect rule applied by the British government in its colonies. Already in 1933, Nickul had been in correspondence with anthropologist Lucy Mair at the London School of Economics to inquire about the indirect rule model in British colonies and the possibilities of applying it in the case of the Sámi of Suonikylä. Mair recommended some reading on the subject, namely *The Dual Mandate* by Lord Lugard and *Principles of Native Adminstration* by Donald Cameron. According to Mair, the basic principles of the indirect rule in place in "Nigeria, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Bedhualand" was the "recognition of native political authorities [...] to the extent that by allowing native authorities to hold their own courts, subject to supervision, it gives a certain recognition to native law."[596] Mair was especially interested to hear more about a number of things, among them "the type of education which is provided for them [the

592 "alkuperäisyydestä ja kehittymättömyydestä sekä täydellisestä koulutottumuksen puutteesta": F.E. Lilja, Overview of the Petsamo district (*Petsamon piirin yleiskatsaus*) 1921, En 9 (KKA I), (NAF).

593 Hilja Vartiainen, *Koulupaikan neitinä kolttain parissa* (Jyväskylä: Gummerus, 1929), 67–80.

594 Letter from Karl Nickul to Jaakko Pohjola, 7 April, 1941, Ba:5 (KNA), (SAF).

595 Letter from Karl Nickul to Jaakko Sverloff, January 12, 1941, Ba:5 (KNA), (SAF).

596 Letter from Lucy Mair to Karl Nickul, April 24, 1937, Ba:1, (KNA), (SAF).

Skolt Sámi], in particular if any proposals have been made for adapting it to the circumstances of their life."[597] In his grateful letter to Mair, Nickul thanked her for the pieces of information on the indirect rule and especially for her interest in the Suonikylä project to "protect the Skolt culture." He ended the letter stating that it was "very encouraging for us to know that people, who are already engaged in the protection of primitive people, are in sympathy with us."[598] The correspondence between Mair and Nickul suggests a connection between ideas of progressive education, educating Sámi teachers and the principle of indirect rule.

Nickul, elementary education and the functions of language of instruction

In a manner reminiscent of the treatment of the language question in the nomad schools, the use of Skolt Sámi in tuition in Petsamo was a question that did not evoke strong emotions. As Veli-Pekka Lehtola has shown, the teachers, and especially Vartiainen, reported of the difficulties with Skolt Sámi not knowing any Finnish when they started school. However, as discussed above, the solution to these difficulties was not to include Sámi in tuition, apart from as a mere auxiliary of learning Finnish, the language of instruction. Nickul's thrive to educate and hire teachers among the Suonikylä Sámi should, however, be interpreted as a move to the direction of providing tuition in Skolt Sámi. He referred to the situation in Outakoski in his letter, which makes this even more probable. The function of Sámi language and native teachers was, for Nickul, the preservation of the Suonikylä Sámi culture he so highly admired, albeit from a social position that was clearly above the Sámi themselves.

When the USSR claimed Petsamo and Finland had to cede it after the Second World War, the region had been a part of Finland for around 20 years. Nevertheless, the great majority of the Skolt Sámi population of Petsamo was evacuated to Finland. In the eyes of Finnish authorities, although not necessarily Finnish locals, in only twenty years, then, the Sámi of Petsamo had turned into "our Sámi", who had to been evacuated away from the Russians.

Conclusions

The duality of the elementary school system in Finland is visible in the functions that the regional authorities of the standard and the ecclesial elementary schools envisioned the languages of instructions to have. Similarly to the nomad school inspectors of Sweden, the elementary school inspectors prioritized quality of

597 Mair to Nickul, April 24, 1937.

598 Letter from Karl Nickul to Lucy Mair, May 5, 1937, Ba:1, (KNA), (SAF).

education before anything else. Moreover, even if the Finnish inspectors, such as Kaarlo Kerkkonen and Alfred Salmela, portrayed themselves as positive towards Sámi language as such, they were clear about their conviction that, in the long run, the progress that elementary education was to bring about could only be reached in Finnish. The superficially positive attitude towards Sámi as a language of instruction had at least partly nationalist undertones. Finnish nationalism included an expansive element that treated the Finno-Ugric Sámi as a "sister language", in the words of Kerkkonen. This sisterhood was, however, clearly conditioned and hierarchical.

Teacher Josef Guttorm teaching in Sámi at the standard elementary school of Outakoski, Utsjoki, was of a different opinion about which language of instruction had a more progressive function. According to him, only in Sámi could the Sámi uplift their own culture and become something other than mere "Lapps", overlooked and patronized by the Finnish state.

A further example of the culture-bearing function comes from the secretary of the *Lapin Sivistysseura* Karl Nickul. Nickul, who planned a protection area for a group of Sámi in the Petsamo area that pertained to Finland between 1920 and 1947 and engaged in a wide international correspondence about his protection plans, envisioned a certain indirect rule for the Sámi in the Suonikylä village of Petsamo, including Sámi-speaking teachers. These plans fell through due to a lack of interest from Finnish politicians and the loss of Petsamo to the USSR after WWII.

The ecclesial authorities, the bishop and the clergymen of Finnish Lapland, highlighted the intelligibility function more than the quality of education. The Chapter of the Diocese of Kuopio-Oulu in fact prioritized native-level Sámi skills over formal competence among the teachers for reasons of intelligibility. The long Lutheran mission tradition in the area contributed to this idea. It was paramount that the teachers and the pupils understood each other, as this had also been one of the guiding principles of Lutheranism: the word of God was to be made intelligible for every people and individual. The ecclesial authorities, such as bishop J.R. Koskimies and Vicar of Inari Tuomo Itkonen, also considered Sámi to have a culture-bearing function, as did elementary school inspectors Kerkkonen, Hämäläinen and Frans Saarelma working within the standard elementary school system. The difference between the ecclesial and the standard elementary school authorities in this case was that the former group considered the Sámi culture both viable and worth preserving, whereas the latter group considered it a dying culture. Kerkkonen believed in the power of the "state language" among the Sámi in the North: Finnish in Finland and Norwegian in Norway. He admitted that the Sámi formed their own culture and nation, but without their own state this nation and culture was deemed to disappear under the pressure of Finnish and Norwegian state administration, including

schooling. Inspector Vihtori Lähde (in office 1912–1922) was more supportive of the use of Sámi in schools than his predecessors and successors. However, Lähde's attitude never translated into increased use of Sámi in practice.

Bishop Koskimies believed in a certain soft power function in allowing Sámi to flourish within the ecclesial elementary school system. In the northern areas of Finland bordering several states, it was important that the Sámi were happy and thus loyal and respecting towards Finnish law and authorities. This being said, Koskimies was clear that in all "wordly affairs", solid skills in Finnish were a necessity for the Sámi. Similarly to Sweden, learning Finnish seems to have been considered a useful extra resource rather than a threat in strong Sámi-speaking areas. Similarly to Sweden, many Sámi who lived in areas with a strong Sámi culture considered learning the majority language (in this case Finnish) as a useful extra resource rather than a threat. The status of Finnish was also strong since it had been in use as the church language for centuries. It was also widely in use within the Laestadian revival, the intra-church revival movement that had a strong position among the Sámi of northernmost Fennoscandia.

In comparison with earlier research, my analysis contributes to a clearer understanding of the reasons for the different views on Sámi language within the standard elementary school system and the ecclesial catechist school system. The key difference was that the ecclesial educational authorities emphasized the intelligbility function above other functions. The authorities of the standard elementary schools, for their part, similarly to the nomad school inspectors of Sweden, viewed Finnish as the language of progress and quality of education in the long run.

6. Norway

Introduction

Since a decree issued in 1898, all instruction in the Norwegian elementary schools was to be provided in Norwegian. According to the decree, dubbed "the Wexelsen decree" after the minister of church and education V.A. Wexelsen (in office 1891–1893; 1898–1903), Sámi and Kven (Finnish) could be used only as auxiliary languages in the schools, and only when absolutely necessary. 1898 marked the culmination of a longer period of gradual tightening of the regulations on the language of instruction.[599] A great part of the discussions on language of instruction in the elementary schools of northern Norway used the 1898 language decree as reference. It should therefore be highlighted that similarly to the situation in Finland, a certain legally sanctioned space for Sámi language as an auxiliary language in schools existed, even if this space was minimal.

The terms of the directors of schools of Finnmark County, Bernt Thomassen (in office 1902–1920) and Christen Brygfjeld (in office 1923–1933), were characterized by an intensification of assimilative language policies in schools. Lyder Aarseth succeeded Brygfjeld in 1933, and Lydolf Lind Meløy has noted a certain easening of the language policies since the appointment of Aarseth. Eriksen and Niemi, on the other hand, state that such easening only occurred after WWII.[600]

School laws prepared in the 1920s and implemented in the 1930s institutionalized reform pedagogical ideas that had already been in use in many places, and made the transition from elementary to higher education easier. However, the laws did not alter the status of Sámi that was continuously allowed only as an auxiliary language. In 1936, the Storting accepted the initiative by *Arbeiderpartiet* (the Labor Party) to cancel the status of Kven as an auxiliary language. In this way, the law of 1936 granted Sámi a higher status as a language of instruction than Kven.[601]

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599 Minde, "Assimilation of the Sami: Implementation and Consequences," 127–129; Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 58.

600 Lydolf Lind Meløy, *Internatliv i Finnmark: Skolepolitikk 1900–1940* (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget 1980), 108–109; Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 261.

601 Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte*, 175–176.

The elementary schools in Norway were, since 1818 and until the end of the twentieth century, administered under the same governmental department as the church, the Department of Church and Education (*Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet*). Under this national level of the department were the regional educational authorities, the *skoledirektører* (directors of schools).

The close links between the ecclesial and educational spheres were also highlighted by the fact that local clergymen automatically held a position in the boards of the elementary schools until the 1950s, even if the elementary school law of 1889 replaced an earlier law stating that the clergyman was always to be the chairman of the board.[602]

According to Knut Einar Eriksen and Einar Niemi, the educational system and the Church of Norway were important components of the multi-institutional Norwegianization[603] policies of the early twentieth century. Bishop Gustav Dietrichson (in office 1910–1918) of the Diocese of Tromsø (called the Diocese of Hålogaland since 1918) criticized Sámi opposition for being "unhealthy for the patria", even if he understood its claims to a certain degree.[604] However, there was always a strand of opposition inside the church against harsh language policies in both church and school.[605] Even before the law of 1936, the church with the bishops, notably Eivind Berggrav (bishop of the Diocese of Hålogaland 1928–1937) perceived the Kvens as foreigners and intruders, whereas the attitude towards the Sámi was paternalistic and protecting.[606] In 1899, the Department of Church and Education prescribed that clergymen were not allowed to counter Norwegianization policies. The first years of the twentieth century saw further tightening of the language policies, and even if the bishops and some of the clergymen criticized the strictest assimilation measures, the church became closely bound into the sphere of the Norwegianization policies.[607]

Earlier research has explained the strict assimilative ideology leading to the Norwegianization policies with a number of factors, mainly nationalism, security politics and social evolutionism, as discussed in the context chapter of this dissertation. In 2012, Teemu Ryymin and Jukka Nyyssönen criticized earlier research on Norwegianization as being deterministic. According to Ryymin and Nyssönen, this research portrays Sámi activism as a reaction to Norwegianization.

602 Myhre, *Den norske skoles utvikling*, 53; Kjell-Olav Masdalen, *Prestens rolle i skole- og fattigkommsijonene,* accessed August 31, 2017, http://digitalarkivet.no/sab/prestrol.htm.

603 Policies of cultural and language assimilation, including strict langauge policies in schools.

604 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare,* 122.

605 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 261.

606 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 263-264; 299.

607 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 65.

According to the authors, assimilation perspective presupposes a narrative that regards the early twentieth century as the starting point for Sámi activism, the 1940s as a phase of failure, and the 1980s as the period of finally successful Sámi activism. Ryymin and Nyyssönen claim that this narrative has impeded other historical narratives and alternatives for Sámi identity. The assimilation perspective has also fixed the Sámi and the Norwegians as homogeneous, separate entities.[608] Also Anton Hoëm has criticized the research on Norwegian assimilation policies for taking the message of the normative sources at face value. According to Hoëm, the *de facto* situation in schools allowed more Sámi and Kven languages in use than earlier research has maintained.[609] This dissertation agrees with the critique to a certain point, as will be seen in the discussion below. However, using the concept of Norwegianization is justified in a dissertation dealing with the history of the education policies. It is a concept that the educational authorities implementing the policy used to designate the assimilative language policies in schools (that were a part of the wider assimilation, or Norwegianization policy, launched through a number of societal channels). Also the Sámi teachers, who opposed the assimilative language policies, used the concept of Norwegianization.

In his overview of school policies in northern Norway, Eivind Bråstad Jensen has divided a number of Sámi teachers active in the two first decades of the twentieth century into "proponents" and "opponents" of Norwegianization policies.[610] As this chapter will argue, this division is too generalizing and does not take into account that the teachers operated in a gray zone between a clear "yes" or "no" to the policies. The analytical concept of function comes in handy when examining this gray zone.

Bernt Thomassen: Finnmark's first director of schools

In 1902, as a part of the intensifying assimilative measures, and just a few years after the Wexelsen decree of 1898, Finnmark became the first county in Norway with the office of a county director of schools. Before this date, the position of the director of schools had been tied to the main cities of the dioceses. The director of schools of the Diocese of Hålogaland (called the Diocese of Tromsø until 1918) worked in Tromsø. The task of the director was to extend and consolidate the elementary school system in this county. After 1902, the remaining Hålogaland director position in Tromsø was modified to cover the

608 Ryymin and Nyyssönen, "Fortellinger i nordnorsk minoritetshistorie," 11–15.

609 Hoëm, *Fra noaidiens verden til forskerens*, 476.

610 Eivind Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte*, 107–149.

counties of Troms and Norldand southwest of Finnmark.[611] The year 1902 also marked the discontinuation of the *friplasser* (study grants) for Sámi and Kven-speaking pupils at the Troms teachers' seminar. Also in this case, the year 1902 was a mere culmination of a longer process where study grants were, to an increasing degree, granted to Norwegian rather than Sámi or Kven pupils. After the turn of the century, the school authorities, and especially the director of schools in Finnmark, discouraged Sámi and Kven teachers from taking up employments as teachers in northern Norway.[612]

The first director of schools in Finnmark was Bernt Thomassen (in office 1902–1920). He is a well-known and well-researched person in Sámi school history in Norway, and in many cases he has had the questionable honor of epitomizing the strong assimilation policies, together with his successor Christen Brygfjeld (in office 1923–1933). According to Lydolf Lind Meløy, Wexelsen, the then Minister of Education and Church affairs and the namesake of the "Wexelsen decree" nickname for the decree of 1898, handpicked Thomassen for the role. Lind Meløy writes that Thomassen never wanted the position of director of schools in Finnmarken, but Wexelsen persuaded him to accept the appointment.[613] Thomassen, a native of Sør-Trøndelag in southern-central Norway, had graduated at the age of 18 from the Klæbu teachers' seminar of that region as the valedictorian of his class. Before his employment in Finnmark, Thomassen had traveled in England and Scotland, studying the school systems there.[614]

Thomassen was a zealous bureaucrat with the mission of extending elementary education to all parts of Finnmark. From the very beginning, he took his employment with utter seriousness and rigidness. In his first year in office, Thomassen sent a circular to the elementary school boards of his county stating that bonus salary was granted for teachers who had shown enthusiasm and competence in teaching "the children of foreign nationalities"[615] Norwegian. Thomassen designated the Sámi and the Kven as "foreign nationalities". Both "foreign" and "national" are significant since they both mark a distance from the Norwegian nation, although with very different connotations. While Thomassen acknowledged that the Sámi and the Kvens formed their own nations, these

611 "Skoledirektøren i Tromsø/Troms: Arkivkatalog," accessed January 31, 2017, http://www.arkivverket.no/arkivverket/content/download/3881/45359/version/1/file/Skoledirektoren_Troms.pdf.

612 Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte*, 56–65.

613 Lind Meløy, *Internatliv i Finnmark,* 99.

614 Hoëm, *Fra noaidiens verden til forskerens*, 468.

615 "børn av fremmed nationalitet": Circular by Bernt Thomassen 20 October, 1902. Published in *Samisk skolehistorie*, acccssed August 31, 2017, http://skuvla.info/skolehist/rundskrivelse-tn.htm.

nations were designated as foreign to Norway. For this reason, they were to be "Norwegianized". That Norwegians were the nation these foreign nations were to be assimilated into was an assumed precondition for any other arguments in the articulation. The children of these foreign nationalities were, therefore, to learn Norwegian. Fifteen years later, Thomassen expressed in a letter to the Department of Church and education his belief in Norwegian as the only possible way to progress for the Sámi and Kven minorities:

> In Norwegianization – and in its application as soon as possible – I see not only a national task but as much an issue of welfare for the majority of the Lapp and Kven population in Northern Norway. With Norwegianization, the path to development and progress is cleared even for this [part of the population].[616]

In the quote above, Thomassen presents Norwegian culture and language as having a progressive function, and being the common good of the country, including the Sámi minority. In the context of elementary education, Norwegianization meant essentially a strong language assimilation in elementary schools with Sámi pupils. For the director, the function of using Norwegian, instead of Sámi, in schools, was to bring development and progress to the Sámi who could not gain these goods otherwise. Thomassen regarded the assimilation of the minorities as a development that benefited both the Norwegian state as a collective and Sámi and Kven individuals. This is easily comparable to nomad school inspector Vitalis Karnell in Sweden, and elementary school inspector Kaarlo Kerkkonen in Finland. Both Karnell and Kerkkonen considered elementary education in the majority language of the country as the path to progress for both the Sámi and the whole country.

The Saba interview and the debate on language of instruction

In 1906, Sámi teacher Isak Saba launched a debate that triggered director Thomassen to elaborate on his attitude towards the Norwegian and Sámi languages as languages of instruction. Saba was an elementary school teacher from Finnmark, and the first Sámi member of the Norwegian parliament (for the socialist *Arbeidarpartiet* 1906–1912). Saba was a strong supporter of using Sámi in schools. At the same time, he clearly and openly acknowledged the power and

616 "I fornorskningen - og dens gjennemførelse så snart som mulig - ser jeg ikke bare en national opgave, men likemeget en velfærdssak for den allerstørste del av Nord Norges lappiske og kvænske befolkning. Gjennem fornorskningen fører veien til utvikling og fremgang også for den.": Letter from Bernt Thomassen to the Department of Church and Education, January 24, 1917, B:16, Skoledirektøren i Finnmark (SF), The Regional State Archives in Tromsø (RSAT).

benefits of the majority language of Norway. In 1906, Saba was interviewed in the Norwegian newspaper *Skolebladet*. In the interview that started a long-lived debate in the said newspaper, Saba criticized the strict assimilative language policies and the official discouragements to use Sámi in instruction. Saba stated, however, that learning perfect Norwegian was beneficial for the Sámi children.[617]

Isak Saba's interview launched a chain of reactions. School director Bernt Thomassen participated actively in the debate. In the interview, Saba called Thomassen "Bobrikov" after the Russian Governor-General of Finland, Nikolay Bobrikov, whom the Finnish nationalist Eugen Schauman murdered in 1904. The assassination followed a few years of strengthening Russian centralizing policies, called *Russification* in the Fennoman circles of the Grand Duchy of Finland. According to Saba, Bobrikov was appointed by the Tsar to Russify Finland, while Thomassen was appointed by the Minister of Education and Church Affairs V.A. Wexelsen to Norwegianize Finnmark.[618] This juxtaposition of the political situation of the Sámi and that of Finland marks a cross-national recontextualization that allowed Saba to portray the Sámi as a nation as strong and worthy as any. The recontextualization is not merely carried out to criticize Norwegian language and school policies, but also to show that just as Finland was a nation fighting for its existence under Russification policies, the Sámi also formed a nation, and this nation was suffering under Norwegianization policies. Sámi as a language of instruction had a strong culture-bearing function in Saba's view.

Thomassen's response came in a couple of weeks. He demented Saba's claim in the original interview that the use of Sámi in schools would have been prohibited. In his response late in 1906, and in another article early in 1907, Thomassen affirmed that no such prohibition existed.[619]

Isak Saba answered Thomassen's response by stating that it was no surprise that the school director would publicly deny that Sámi language in schools was prohibited altogether. Saba then bolstered his claims by stating that Norwegian-speaking teachers received extra salary for their work in the elementary schools. According to Saba, the teachers also knew that the authorities discouraged teachers from using the auxiliary languages (Sámi and Kven). This is why many

617 "Et interview med kirkesanger Isak Saba," *Skolebladet* 46 (1906). Published in *Samisk skolehistorie*, acccssed August 31, 2017, http://skuvla.info/skolehist/saba06-tn.htm.

618 "Et interview med kirkesanger Isak Saba."

619 "Et interview med kirkesanger Isak Saba."; Bernt Thomassen, "Det merkelige interview," *Skolebladet* 1 (1907). Published in *Samisk skolehistorie*, acccssed August 31, 2017, http://skuvla.info/skolehist/bernt06-tn.htm.

schools with a clear need for tuition in the native languages of the pupils only had tuition in Norwegian.[620]

School director Bernt Thomassen accused Saba of complicating the Norwegianization process in schools. Thomassen called Saba's ideas that Sámi and Norwegian could co-exist in the schools of Northern Norway ambivalent and asked: "By the way, what do our opponents [opponents of the Norwegianization policies] mean: Are we here in a Norwegian country or in some kind of a Lappish state?"[621] The rhetoric of Thomassen clearly declared that whereas "a Norwegian country" was a fully legitimate concept, "some kind of a Lappish state" was not.

Judging by the interview, Isak Saba seems to have accepted that Norwegian language had a strong position in schools with Sámi pupils. He saw Norwegian as having a strong added resource function. Saba's standpoint towards Norwegianization was that he was against the total extermination of the Sámi language through assimilation in the elementary schools. However, if Norwegianization simply meant that the Sámi children learned Norwegian, not only as a second language, but as fluently as the Norwegians, then Saba could give his support to Norwegianization. According to Saba, the children had to master Norwegian as perfectly as Norwegian children did, otherwise they would not make it in the "competition".[622] Saba did not elaborate on what kind of competition he had in mind. This articulation can be interpreted as a social evolutionist argument, but also as an argument highlighting the need for Sámi to speak the majority language in order to manage in economic and civic terms. What is evident is that Saba did not view the extermination of Sámi language as a precondition for assuming full-scale Norwegian citizenship; in fact it was quite the contrary. According to Saba, it was absurd that Sámi language was "if not persecuted, at least frowned upon"[623] in the elementary schools. Saba also criticized the 1902 legislation stating that only Norwegian speakers could purchase land, comparing it to a situation where "universal civil rights"[624] would be dependent on the mastering of the "state language"[625]. Saba wrote about the Sámi as a nation that had to adapt in certain terms to the fact that they

620 Isak Saba, "Fornorskningen i Finmarken. Svar til skoledirektør Thomassen og sogneprest Opdahl," *Skolebladet* 2 (1907). Published in *Samisk skolehistorie*, acccssed August 31, 2017, http://skuvla.info/skolehist/saba07-tn.htm.

621 "Hvad mener nu forresten vore modstandere: Befinder vi os her i et norsk land eller i et slags lappisk stat?": Bernt Thomassen, "Fornorskningen," *Skolebladet* 12 (1907). Published in *Samisk skolehistorie*, acccssed August 31, 2017, http://skuvla.info/skolehist/thomassen07-tn.htm.

622 "konkurrencen.": "Et interview med kirkesanger Isak Saba".

623 "om ikke forfølges, saa ialfald sees ned paa" "Et interview med kirkesanger Isak Saba".

624 "almindelige borgerlige rettigheder" "Et interview med kirkesanger Isak Saba".

625 "rigsmaal" "Et interview med kirkesanger Isak Saba".

lived in Norway, but that should otherwise have the same linguistic, cultural and civil rights as the Norwegians, just as every nation should, including the Finnish nation suppressed under Bobrikov. That Norwegian happened to be the state language did not, according to Saba, inhibit these rights for the Sámi. Saba's articulation that it was absurd that Sámi language was frowned upon in the elementary schools can be compared to teacher Josef Guttorm in Finland. Guttorm wrote that it felt strange that the status of Sámi language was questioned or even debated in the Sámi areas (see page 141). For these Sámi teachers, it was self-evident that Sámi pupils received instruction in Sámi.

Saba's election program: the importance of Sámi in ecclesial life

Saba was a person who took the Sámi question to the institutionalized political sphere, as the first Sámi to become a member of parliament. Through an alliance with the Norwegian Labor Party (*Arbeiderpartiet* [AP]) he was elected to the Storting (the Norwegian parliament) in 1906. Eriksen and Niemi have shown that in spite of the successful election outcome, Saba got little support for Sámi issues from his party once in the Storting.[626] In Saba's election program, especially focusing on political issues concerning the Sámi of Finnmark, Lutheran arguments for using Sámi as a language of instruction assumed an explicit institutional political expression. Saba had four main points in his program, three of which touched upon economy and the livelihoods of fishing, agriculture and reindeer herding. Saba's first point, however, was cultural and religious, and concerned the use of Sámi in schools and in church services:

> 1 a. The service shall in the future be held in Sámi to the same extent as before.
> 1 b. School books in religion and the Bible and hymnals shall also in the future be published in Sámi.[627]

Saba's program does not point towards a radical shift or new claims for more rights. Rather, it suggests that there was a risk that existing practices, such as publishing Sámi-language schoolbooks and holding services in Sámi, would disappear. This suggests that more acceptable language policies had preceded the current assimilative measures that the government had implemented or planned to implement. Saba's points as a part of the *Arbeiderpartiet* election program can be seen as expressed specifically from a Sámi perspective, since as Eriksen and

626 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 118–119.

627 "1a. Gudstjenesten må fremdeles holdes på samisk i same utstrekning som før.; 1b. Lærebøker i religion og bibelen og salmebøker må fortsatt bli utgitt på samisk": *Sagai Muittalægje*, March 1, 1906; *Finmarken*, July 11, 1906. Here as printed in Jernsletten, *Samebevegelsen i Norge*, 37.

Niemi have shown, supporting the cultural rights of the minority populations in Norway was otherwise a low priority for the *Arbeiderpartiet*.[628]

Thomassen's fears of the spreading of the opposition towards Norwegianization

In addition to Sámi teachers, other Sámi persons challenged the dominance of Norwegian in schools during the first two decades of the twentieth century. In 1917 a Sámi man, Klemet Persen Stabursnes from Kistrand in central Finnmark, complained to the local school board about the current language situation in schools and demanded that Sámi and Norwegian should be used equally in tuition. The school board conveyed the complaint to the school director, who forwarded it to the bishop. The bishop sent it to the Department of Church and Education. The director of schools could then inform the school board in Kistrand, citing the Department, that no changes in the policies were planned, "since the current school law only allows Lappish to be used as an auxiliary language"[629]. This was a reference to the decree of 1898.

In Director of Schools Thomassen's letter to the bishop, discussing Persen's complaint, the director expressed his concern of a language conflict in the making. Thomassen connected Persen's case to clergyman Jens Otterbech's activities for Sámi and Kven languages. Otterbech had worked as a clergyman both in Finnmark and in Vestlandet in the southwest of Norway. He was a strong proponent of the right of the Sámi to preserve their culture and language, also in schools. Otterbech was active in *Norske Finnemission* ("The Norwegian Lapp mission society"), a missinoray society founded in Vestlandet in the 1880s. The society organized social and religious services for Sámi, often in Sámi. In 1910 he was one of the powerhouses behind a new missionary society, *Det norske lutherske Finnemisjonsforbund* ("The Norwegian Lutheran Lapp mission society") that claimed to be more radical and democratic than *Norske Finnemission*.[630] The two societies joined together in 1925 to found *Norges Finnemisjonssellskap* (called *Norges Samemisjon* since 1966).

Otterbech received most votes among the local clergy to be elected bishop in the Diocese of Hålogaland in 1918. However, the Department of Church

628 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 118.

629 "da den gjældende skolelov kun gir adgang til at benytte lappisk som hjælpesprog": Letter from Bernt Thomassen to the elementary school board in Kistrand, May 7, 1917. The letter is dated 1917 but it is probable that it actually is from May 7, 1918, given that Thomassen's letter to the bishop, preceding the decision by the Department, is dated April 6, 1918, and also precedes the letter dated May 7, 1917 in the order of the copy book, the copy book covering the years 1918 to 1919, B:17 (SF), (RSAT).

630 "Jens Otterbech," *Norsk biografisk leksikon* https://nbl.snl.no/Jens_Otterbech, accessed May 23, 2016.

and Education appointed Johan Nicolai Støren as bishop, due to Otterbech's unconventional views, which, according to Eriksen and Niemi, included the afore discussed ideas on cultural pluralism, but also pacifism.[631] According to Thomassen, Otterbech received assistance from *Det norske lutherske finnemisjonsforbund*. As Thomassen pointed out, many of the driving forces in the society were from southern Norway, and thus, according to the director, not well acquainted with the realities up north. Thomassen was afraid that if Persen's and Otterbech's ideas would spread to wider Sámi and also Kven circles, the authorities would encounter a "battle going on throughout the line."[632] In militantly defensive terms, the school director lamented the initiatives of Otterbech and *Det norske lutherske finnemisjonsforbund* for preparing more room for Sámi language in schools. Thomassen also mentioned that he was aware of a book that Otterbech was editing in cooperation with the society, the *Fornorskningen i Finmarken*.

Teachers Larsen and Fokstad on Sámi in tuition

Fornorskningen i Finmarken (Norwegianization in Finnmark)[633] was published in 1917, 400 years after Luther published his theses for a reformed Christianity. The book was "dedicated to the memory of Dr. Martin Luther"[634]. The introduction of the book ends with a note on why the book was published to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation. It was, wrote the authors, "because one of the main principles of the reformation was this: preach the Gospel in the mother tongues of the peoples."[635] The take the book had on language assimilation was very clear from the beginning.

The writers of the book were clergymen and teachers mainly from Finnmark, and it was published by *Det norske lutherske finnemisjonsforbund*.[636] Anders Larsen was one of the authors of the book. Larsen, a teacher born in Kvænangen on the border of the Troms and Finnmark counties, was one of the main characters of the early twentieth century Sámi movement for more rights and space for

631 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 124; Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte*, 163.

632 "striden gående over hela linjen": Letter from Bernt Thomassen to the bishop of the Diocese of Tromsø (from 1918 on called Diocese of Hålogaland) April 6, 1918, B:17, (SF), (RSAT).

633 [Finnmarken spelled with a single n].

634 "Dr. Martin Luthers minde viet": Johannes Hidle and Jens Otterbech (eds.), *Fornorskningen i Finnmarken* (Kristiania 1917), Dedication.

635 "fordi en av reformationens hovedprinciper var dette: Evangeliets forkyndelse paa folkenes morsmaal.": Johannes Hidle and Jens Otterbech, "Forord," in Johannes Hidle and Jens Otterbech (eds.), *Fornorskningen i Finnmarken* (Kristiania 1917), 8.

636 Eriksen and Niemi (1981) 121.

Sámi language and culture. Apart from his work as teacher in Repparfjorden, Finnmark, Larsen published a number of books on Sámi culture and language, and was the editor of the Sámi-language newspaper *Sagai Muittalægje* that was published twice monthly between 1904–1911. According to Ivar Bjørklund, the newspaper, published in North Sámi and focusing mainly on Sámi culture, played an important part in raising awareness among the Sámi of a shared history, faith and self-esteem.[637]

Larsen highlighted the intelligibility function, believing that mother-tongue elementary education would lead to better learning results. In his chapter *Fornorskningen i de nuværende skoler i Finmarken*, he described the function with an example from religious instruction in elementary schools:

> During the first school years, when a child's mind is most open for impressions, they understand little or nothing about what the teacheress tell them about God, nothing about the moving story of the child in Bethlehem. The school devotion [assembly with religious contents] often becomes an empty ceremony and loses its constructive character.[638]

This notion by Larsen, that foreign language could only convey an empty shell instead of true religious substance, was in line with the main message of the book *Fornorskningen i Finmarken*. The book centers on the importance of religious instruction given in the native language of each population, as it was one of the main ideas of the Lutheran Reformation. "The Lapp children's school still awaits its reformation"[639], Larsen wrote at the end of his chapter, interlacing neatly the message of the chapter with the general theme of the book.

In his chapter, Larsen called for more Sámi-language instruction, but he also posed the question: "should the Sámi children then not learn Norwegian?"[640] He answered, "yes and yes again".[641] According to Larsen, the Sámi children both wanted to learn and would succeed in learning Norwegian. It was after all

637 Ivar Bjørklund, "Anders Larsen og hans samtid," 20.

638 "I de første skoleaar da barnets sind er mest mottagelig for indtryk, forstaar de litet eller intet av hvad lærerinden fortæller dem om Gud, intet av den vakre og rørende fortælling om barnet i Betlehem. Skoleandagten blir ofte bare en tom ceremoni og taper sin opbyggende karakter.": Larsen, "Fornorskningen i de nuværende skoler i Finmarken," 35.

639 "Finnebarneskolen venter endnu paa sin reformation.": Larsen, "Fornorskningen i de nuværende skoler i Finmarken," 37.

640 "skal ikke finnebarnene lære norsk da?": Larsen, "Fornorskningen i de nuværende skoler i Finmarken," 37.

641 "jo og atter jo": Larsen, "Fornorskningen i de nuværende skoler i Finmarken," 37.

the "official language of the country"[642], the mastering of which seemed to be a self-evident goal for all Sámi in Larsen's view. What Larsen argued was that a certain amount of Sámi language would result in a "truer, healthier and greater culture"[643] than was currently the case. This development towards greater culture would become the "happiness and blessing of the Lappish part of Norway's population."[644] In Larsen's articulation, the cultural progress brought about by elementary education should be carried out in Sámi rather than in Norwegian. This was contrary to director of schools Thomassen's view, portraying education in Norwegian as the only way forward for the Sámi. (see page 167)

Anders Larsen, who himself had gone through a Norwegian-only elementary education wrote that the Sámi children missed out on the tuition for the pragmatic reason that they did not understand the language of instruction.[645] "I can speak from my own experience,"[646] Larsen wrote, since he had been "both pupil and teacher in the schools for Lapp children."[647] He referred to his experiences: "I cannot remember anything of what the teacher said to me during my first school years, since I did not understand him, and I certainly was not the least gifted [pupil]. […] These years […] were wasted, so to speak, and a wasted childhood can never be reclaimed".[648] Here, the intelligibility function is introduced and enhanced with an emotional articulation about a wasted childhood in Norwegian schools.

This kind of emotional articulation comes up in another chapter of *Fornorskningen i Finmarken*, where another Sámi teacher, Per Fokstad from Finnmarken, treated the consequences that the lack of Sámi in religious instruction had. "Nothing could grow in the spiritual life; so spiritual growth never occurred"[649], Fokstad wrote. Like Larsen, Fokstad concluded that

642 "landets officielle sprog": Larsen, "Fornorskningen i de nuværende skoler i Finmarken," 37.

643 "sandere, sundere og større kultur": Larsen, "Fornorskningen i de nuværende skoler i Finmarken," 37.

644 " lykke og velsignelse for den finske del av Norges befolkning.": Larsen, "Fornorskningen i de nuværende skoler i Finmarken," 37.

645 Larsen, "Fornorskningen i de nuværende skoler i Finmarken," 34.

646 "Jeg kan her tale av egen erfaring": Larsen, "Fornorskningen i de nuværende skoler i Finmarken," 34.

647 " baade elev og lærer i finnebarneskolen.": Larsen, "Fornorskningen i de nuværende skoler i Finmarken," 34.

648 "Jeg kan ikke huske noget av hvad min lærer sa i mine første skoleaar, fordi jeg forstod ham ikke, og dog hørte jeg vistnok ikke til de mindst begavede heller.[…] Disse aarene […] blev saa at si forspildt, og en forspildt barndom kan aldrig tas tilbake.": Larsen, "Fornorskningen i de nuværende skoler i Finmarken," 34.

649 "Intet kunde gro i sjælelivet; saa den sjælelige vekst uteblev.": Per Fokstad, "Hvordan fornorskningen i barneskolen grep ind i mit liv", in *Fornorskningen i Finnmarken*, ed. Johannes Hidle and Jens Otterbech (Kristiania: Lutherstiftelsens boghandel, 1917), 40.

the tuition in Christianity was to little avail, and without Sámi language in instruction, "there could be no talk of any influence towards a Christian direction."[650] According to Fokstad, the lack of Sámi in religious instruction led to stagnation in the spiritual development of the Sámi children.

Fokstad, similarly to Larsen and Saba, was one of the foreground figures of the early twentieth century northern Norwegian Sámi movement. Dubbed "a European from Tana"[651] by Eivind Bråstad Jensen, Per Fokstad from Tana in Finnmark County had an appetite for philosophical literature and travel and studies abroad. Before writing his chapter in *Fornorskningen i Finmarken*, he had spent some time at the Askov folk high school in Denmark. Later, in the 1910s and in the 1920s, Fokstad studied in England and France, familiarizing himself among other things with the situation of the Welsh in England and the Jews in France. This, he reported, gave him increased insight into the situation of the Sámi as a minority.[652]

In his chapter in *Fornorskningen i Finmarken*, Fokstad presented a number of pragmatic arguments for why education that was provided exclusively in a foreign language was wasted education. These arguments resembled the reasoning in Anders Larsen's chapter. Fokstad wrote that the main problem with elementary education in a foreign language was that "no relation of reliance was created between the pupil and the teacher."[653] According to Fokstad, it was elementary education in Sámi rather than Norwegian that would establish this link and evoke the interest of the Sámi children to learn.[654]

Apart from this intelligibility function, Fokstad also put forward a more political idea, an argument about the intrinsic value of each people's mother tongue. On the final page of Fokstad's chapter in *Fornorskningen i Finmarken* on mother tongue education, he quoted a verse by N.F.S Grundtvig, the Danish nationalist theologian, pedagogue and philosopher. This verse by Grundtvig depicted the mother tongue as the "language of the heart"[655] that was the only force that could "awaken a people from hibernation"[656]. Fokstad also wrote that the lack of Sámi-language tuition distanced the children from their home

650 "Nogen paavirkning i kristelig retning kunde der ikke bli tale om.": Fokstad, "Hvordan fornorskningen i barneskolen grep ind i mit liv," 40.

651 Eivind Bråstad Jensen, "Per Pavelsen Fokstad – en stridsmann for samisk utdanning, språk og kultur," *Årbok for norsk utdanningshistorie 2004* (2004), 267

652 Bråstad Jensen (2004), 268–269.

653 "intet tillidsforhold blev skapt mellem elev og lærer.": Fokstad, "Hvordan fornorskningen i barneskolen grep ind i mit liv," 39.

654 Fokstad, "Hvordan fornorskningen i barneskolen grep ind i mit liv," 39.

655 "hjertesprog": Fokstad, "Hvordan fornorskningen i barneskolen grep ind i mit liv," 44.

656 "vække et folk av dvale": Fokstad, "Hvordan fornorskningen i barneskolen grep ind i mit liv," 44.

and their culture. This led to "a disdain for one's own nation"[657]. This was only logical, Fokstad wrote, since "if you disdain the mother tongue that is essentially national, you also disdain your people."[658] The culture-bearing and progressive functions are apparent. No reason exists to doubt that Fokstad actually found Grundtvig's ideas inspiring. At the same time, the fact that he closed his chapter with a reasoning on Grundtvig's words can be interpreted as a smart strategic recontextualization of elements of Nordic majority nationalisms. Quoting the words of one of the foremost Nordic nationalist idealists and pedagogues, for a cause demanding more space for Sámi language in schools, was a strategic move. In doing this, Fokstad connected the Sámi cause to the general Nordic context of nationalism. If Grundtvig's ideas applied to the Sámi, then this population could be viewed as a nation in its own right living next to other Nordic nationalities and having essentially the same cultural rights. This was, as we have seen, also what Saba stated in more straightforward terms, comparing the Sámi national struggle to that of Finland. Of course, the director of schools was in the position of crediting or disqualifying these arguments with Sámi nationalist contents with an authority granted by the Norwegian government. Christen Brygfjeld, the successor of Thomassen, used the latter option, as becomes quite clear in the comments on the school plan that Fokstad published a few years later (see pages 181–183).

In either case, Fokstad's reasoning on the value of Sámi as a language of instruction can be seen as a parallel to the reasoning of other Norwegian and Nordic intellectuals inspired by nationalism. Also, Helge Salvesen has noted that the early twentieth century Sámi movement used the same ideological contents to bolster their claims for language and national rights as the Norwegian nationalist ideologues did.[659]

Fokstad's text in *Fornorskningen i Finmarken* included, in conclusion, besides the strong Lutheran ideology that was the main message of the book, articulations about the intelligibility function, as well as on the culture-bearing and progressive functions of Sámi, when used in instruction. Norwegian, as the official language, the learning of which was self-evident in Larsen's view, had the added resource function. This learning, however, did not mean for Larsen that Sámi could not be used in tuition.

657 "foragt for sin nation.": Fokstad, "Hvordan fornorskningen i barneskolen grep ind i mit liv," 42.

658 "foragter man morsmaalet som er det væsentlig nationale, saa foragter man ogsaa sit folk.": Fokstad, "Hvordan fornorskningen i barneskolen grep ind i mit liv," 42.

659 Helge Salvesen "Sami Ædnan: Four States: One Nation?," 130–131.

The Finnefondet and Sámi as an auxiliary of assimilation

Also some non-Sámi teachers highlighted the benefits of using Sámi as a language of instruction. This is exemplified in a letter from teacher T. Eriksen in Lyngen in Troms County. Troms was the neighboring county to Finnmark. Troms County had a smaller number of Sámi and Kven inhabitants and it did not border Finland and Russia as Finnmark did.[660] Hence, the Department of Church and Education prioritized the Norwegianization policies in Finnmarken ahead of Troms. As an example, in 1910, Troms County received less than one tenth of the funding for extra salary for Norwegian teachers in areas with Sámi and Kven pupils when compared to Finnmarken.[661]

Despite the fact that the educational authorities gave lower priority to Troms County than to Finnmark County, some areas in Troms were as much mixed-language environments as most of Finnmark was. According to teacher Eriksen, his school district was the "most backward with regard to enlightenment"[662] of all the school districts in Troms. The district could, according to him, be compared to the "most problematic"[663] districts of Finnmark. The reason for the backwardness of the district was, according to teacher Eriksen, that in the homes of the district, only "Lappish language"[664] was used. Eriksen wrote that the lack of enlightenment was so severe that the parents did not even realize the advantage of their children learning Norwegian. Rather, wrote Eriksen, they viewed Norwegianzation with suspicion. In this kind of context, wrote Eriksen, the teacher was forced to learn some Sámi so that it could be used as an auxiliary language. As learning Sámi took time and work, Eriksen applied for extra salary from the *Finnefondet*, a special item in the national budget that granted extra salary to teachers successful in Norwegianization (see also pages 73–74). The function of Sámi as a language of instruction, for Eriksen, was to get the Sámi to learn Norwegian, which for him was the language of enlightenment. Here, two functios are intertwined. The function of Norwegian was, in the sociopolitical context, a cultural and material progress of the Sámi. The function of Sámi, in the institutional context of Sámi education, was the assimilative function, to speed up language assimilation through the learning of Norwegian among the children. Eriksen, then, was willing to use Sámi in order to get rid of the

660 Troms did, however, have a short border with Finland.

661 Letter from Bernt Thomassen the director of schools of Troms and Nordland Counties, May 12, 1910, Db:434, Skoledirektøren i Troms (ST), (RSAT).

662 "staar […] langst tilbake hvad oplysning angaar": Letter from T. Eriksen to the director of schools of Troms and Nordland Counties, April 18, 1914, Db:434, (ST), (RSAT).

663 "besværligste": Eriksen to the director of schools of Troms and Nordland Counties, April 18, 1914.

664 "det lappiske sprog": Eriksen to the director of schools of Troms and Nordland Counties, April 18, 1914. 434.

"backward" situation in his school district, where Sámi had a strong position in the homes of the school children.

It should be noted that Eriksen was not alone with the articulation in his application. In the early years of Norway's elementary school system, the school authorities viewed the use of Sámi and Finnish in tuition as a pragmatic means to carry out language assimilation. In a letter sent to the regional elementary school director in Tromsø Chapter in 1900 (the Chapter administrated both Finnmark and Troms County until 1902), teacher Andreas Arild from Kvalsund in northern Finnmark applied for extra salary from *Finnefondet*.[665] Arilds description of his work and the local conditions resembles the argumentation in Sweden and Finland regarding the importance of the knowledge of the local way of life. Arild, a native Norwegian speaker and native of his working district, explained that he was "fully proficient in both Lappish and Kven"[666] and knew well the local conditions.[667] As a teacher in a school district where the population was "almost exclusively of Lappish, Kven or mixed origin"[668] he had a "good basis to further Norwegianization."[669] He could also show that the average Norwegian grade of his "non-Norwegian"[670] pupils had ameliorated significantly during his years as teacher at the school.

Another application for the extra salary that was granted for a successful implementation of the principles of *Finnefondet* came from Christen Brygfjeld in 1901. Brygfjeld would later, in 1923, as Director of Schools of Finnmark County become an important figure in representation and implementation of the Norwegianization policies. In a manner very typical to the teachers applying for the extra salary, Brygfjeld attached the Norwegian grades of his pupils to show how well the Norwegianization work was progressing.[671]

Henry Minde has shown that a gradual tightening regarding what was funded by *Finnefondet* took place in the early twentieth century. In the late nineteenth century, students at Tromsø Teachers' Training Seminar could still receive funding for studying Sámi and Kven languages. The funding for Sámi and Kven teaching at the seminar was revoked around the turn of the century,

665 Letter from A.B. Arild to the director of schools of the Diocese of Tromsø, June 2, 1900, Db:434, (ST), (RSAT).

666 "fuldt dygtig baade i lappisk og kvænsk": Arild to the director of schools of the Diocese of Tromsø, June 2, 1900.

667 Arild to the director of schools of the Diocese of Tromsø, June 2, 1900.

668 "næsten udelukkende af lappisk, kvænsk eller blandet herkomst": Arild to the director of schools of the Diocese of Tromsø, June 2, 1900.

669 "gode betingelser for at fremme fornorskningen.": Arild to the director of schools of the Diocese of Tromsø, June 2, 1900.

670 "icke norske": Arild to the director of schools of the Diocese of Tromsø, June 2, 1900.

671 Letter from Christen Brygfjeld to the Diocese of Tromsø, July 13, 1901, Db:433, (ST), (RSAT).

while the decrees of 1880 and 1898 stated that Sámi and Kven were no longer to be used in schools as languages of tuition, unless absolutely necessary.[672] However, the letters of Arild and Brygfjeld go to show that the praxis did not change as suddenly. Teachers Eriksen and Arild were not positive towards supporting the minority languages as such, but sought, to put it in Arilds words, to "further Norwegianization" through using Sámi and Kven as auxiliary languages. Knowing one or both of the minority languages in the north could be a pragmatic advantage in the Norwegianization work of the teachers. Here, Sámi as a language of instruction had a function of intelligibility, similarly to Sweden and Finland. However, it also had an assimilative function, in that using Sámi in instruction was not only a pedagogical auxiliary for conveying instruction, but also an assimilatory tool for Norwegianizing the Sámi, who, in the words of Eriksen, themselves should have understood the advatanges of assimilation.

Director of schools Christen Brygfjeld, appointed to continue Thomassen's work

In 1920, Bernt Thomassen, the first director of schools of Finnmark, left his office to take up the director's office in Trøndelag in central Norway. Karl Ivarson took over the Finnmark director position in 1920. After a very short period in office, continuing the main lines of work previously carried out by Thomassen, Ivarson died in 1922. Christen Brygfjeld followed Ivarson as the director of schools of Finnmark.[673] Brygfjeld was born in Nordland, the county south of Troms. Prior to his appointment to the position of Director of Schools, he had worked as a teacher in Talvik and as the director of the boarding school of Ledesby, both in Finnmark. He was thus well informed about the educational context of his new director district.[674]

County Governor of Finnmarken Hagbarth Lund wrote to the Department of Church and Education about the appointment of Christen Brygfjeld as director of schools in Finnmarken in 1923. Lund was quite clear about where the focus of the work of the director of schools of Finnmarken should lie: "I know that director of School Brygfjeld has the same view on the work of Norwegianization as director of schools Thomassen had, why I greeted his appointment with contentment."[675] After that, Lund moved on to comment

672 Minde, "Assimilation of the Sami: Implementation and Consequences," 126–129.

673 Lind Meløy, *Internatliv i Finnmark*, 102–103.

674 Lind Meløy, *Internatliv i Finnmark*, 103.

675 "Jeg vet at skoledirektør Brygfjeld har den samme opfatning av fornorskningsarbeidet som skoledirektør Thomassen, hverfor jeg hilste hans utnevnelse med glede.": Letter from

on the language situation of Finnmarken, and the "problems" that were to be overcome.

Brygfjeld, *den parlamentariske skolekommission* and Per Fokstad's Sámi school plan

In a letter Brygfjeld wrote in 1923 to the Department of Church and Education in Kristiania, he emphasized the "enlightenment"[676] that having Norwegian as the language of instruction had brought about, using the school district where he had been a teacher as well as a neighboring school district in Finnmark as examples. The latter district had earlier had mostly Sámi speaking teachers. Before the Norwegian "enlightenment" had reached this area through Norwegian as the language of instruction, Brygfjeld wrote, "theft, adultery, drunkenness and fighting with knives"[677] had been the "order of the day"[678]. Much like Thomassen and the school inspectors of Finland and Sweden, Brygfjeld paired the majority language of the country and elementary education in his definition of the path to cultural and material progress.

Brygfjeld's letter of 1923 was written to the Department of Church and Education to refute criticism put forward by Sámi teacher Per Fokstad. As discussed by Eivind Bråstad Jensen, there was a certain difference between Isak Saba and Anders Larsen on the one hand, and Per Fokstad on the other. Saba and Larsen, who had their most active period in the earliest years of the twentieth century, were mostly reactive in their critique of the strong assimilative school policies. They articulated their claims within the general assumption that Norwegian was and should be the main language of the elementary schools even in the Sámi regions. Fokstad was considerably more radical with regard to the language question, notably in his 1924 plan for a Sámi school system. Bråstad Jensen has quite convincingly explained the radical ideas of Fokstad partly with Fokstad's own negative experiences as a Sámi in a Norwegian school, and partly with his studies and travels abroad. As shortly referred to earlier, Fokstad studied first at the Tromsø teachers' seminar (Tromsø Seminar), where Saba and Larsen had also studied. Later, he studied at the Askov folk high school in Denmark, where he, according to Bråstad Jensen, influenced by Danish-nationalist ideas,

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the Department of Church and Education to Christen Brygfjeld, July 4, 1923, copy of the County Governor's letter to the Department of Church and Education, Da:144 (SF), (RSAT).

676 "oplysningen": Letter from Christen Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education, July 3, 1923, published in *Samisk skolehistorie*, accessed August 31, 2017, http://skuvla.info/skolehist/cb-tyveri-tn.htm.

677 "Tyveri, horeri, drukkenskap og slagsmål": Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education, July 3, 1923.

678 "dagens orden": Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education, July 3, 1923.

discovered his own Sámi identity.[679] Fokstad also studied at Woodbroke College in Birmingham, England and at Institut du Pantheon and College du France in Paris. During his sojourns in England and France, he became acquainted with the situation of the Welsh minority in the UK and the Jewish minority in France, noting the parallels between these minority populations and their struggles for political and cultural rights, and those of his own Sámi people. Fokstad's frame of reference was European when he articulated his claims for Sámi rights.[680]

In Brygfjeld's letter, Fokstad is portrayed as having a radical mission of making Sámi the main language of tuition in the elementary schools in Finnmark. Fokstad indeed had rather radical ideas for his time. He wrote down these ideas in 1924 as a coherent and comprehensive school plan for a Sámi school system in Norway. Fokstad wanted this school plan to be applied in schools with Sámi pupils. According to Fokstad's plan, the teachers were to be Sámi and all other instruction apart from Norwegian classes was to be given in Sámi. The school plan stated that Norwegian as a subject should enter the curriculum only in the fifth year of elementary school. In addition to that, schools with Sámi, Kven and Norwegian pupils should have parallel classes so that the Sámi could have their own classes with Sámi as the sole language of tuition. Fokstad wrote that boarding schools could be a pragmatic solution in the sparsely populated fell Sámi areas. The boarding schools with fell Sámi (nomadic reindeer-herding Sámi) pupils should take the fell Sámi livelihood into consideration so that the children would not be "foreign to it"[681]. With regard to religious instruction, Fokstad's school plan states that all religious education was to be given in Sámi throughout elementary school. To make the instruction more vivid, teachers should take up examples of "religious everyday life of the Sámi" [682], including examples from the Laestadian movement. This reasoning shows that Fokstad was well acquainted with the ideas of progressive education that highlighted among other ideals, placing the focus of education on the children and their natural surroundings.

These latter ideas interestingly resemble parts of the fundamental ideas of the nomad school system in Sweden. It is clear, however, that Fokstad had in mind

679 Eivind Bråstad Jensen, "Per Pavelsen Fokstad. En stridsman for samisk utdanning, språk og kultur," *Årbok for norsk utdanningshistorie 2004* 21 (2004): 268.

680 Jensen, "Per Pavelsen Fokstad. En stridsman for samisk utdanning, språk og kultur," 266–271.

681 "fremmed for det": Per Fokstad, "Nogen antydninger til forslag til samisk (lappisk) skoleplan, utarbeidet for den parlamentariske skolekommisjon av lærer Per Fokstad, Bonaks, Tana 1924," printed in *Årbok for norsk utdanningshistorie 2004* 21 (2004): 285.

682 "samenes religiøse folkeliv": Fokstad, "Nogen antydninger til forslag til samisk (lappisk) skoleplan," 281.

a Sámi school that was fully as efficient and advanced as the Norwegian schools. The Sámi in Sweden, as discussed previously, criticized the nomad schools for not meeting up to the standards of the regular Swedish elementary schools.

What can also be noted here is that a parallel school system to cater to the needs of a smaller language within a nation state was not a foreign idea in the early twentieth century Nordic countries. In Finland, the elementary school system was created as a bilingual parallel system from the outset, where most of the Swedish-speaking children went to Swedish-speaking schools and most of the Finnish-speaking children to Finnish-speaking schools. As discussed above in the section about Finland, the legislation allowed some space for the use of Sámi as the main language of tuition, even if Finnish was the language of instruction in all standard elementary schools with Sámi pupils apart from the Outakoski and Utsjoki church village schools. That the Swedish-speakers in Finland were a much larger minority than the Sámi played a certain role, but they also had a high sociocultural position, being the traditional cultural and political elite of Finland, quite contrary to the social position of the Sámi.[683]

Fokstad's plan was very ambitious and presented a Sámi strand in the educational system reaching from elementary education all the way to a Sámi folk high school. Folk high school was a Nordic institution of adult education modeled on the ideas of the Danish educator N.F.S. Grundtvig[684]. Three Sámi folk high schools were opened in the 1940s and the 1950s, one in each country discussed in this dissertation. Fokstad, with his plans on a folk high school in the 1920s was much ahead of his time.

Fokstad went further than his Sámi teacher colleagues Anders Larsen and Isak Saba in his claims for use of Sámi in schools. This difference is best explained by the different functions the teachers envisioned for Sámi as a language of instruction, both in the institutional and the sociopolitical contexts. Saba and Larsen considered Sámi to be a small, yet important, part of the general Norwegian school system in Sámi areas. Norwegian was the main language that was beneficial for the Sámi as an added resource, and it also had a progressive function as it would help the Sámi children to keep up with the "competition."[685] Sámi language, however, needed to be included in the curriculum because of the culture-bearing and intelligibility functions it had, in Saba's reasoning. Fokstad, however, sketched a school system parallel to the Norwegian one. Within this school system, Sámi would not be an auxiliary language, but the main language of tuition. In a wider context, Fokstad highlighted the culture-bearing function

683 See for example Sven Tägil, "Ethnic and National Minorities in the Nordic Nation-Building Process: Theoretical and Conceptual Premises," in *Ethnicity and Nation Building in the Nordic World*, ed. Sven Tägil (London: Hurst & Company, 1995), 12, 17.

684 See context chapter page 80.

685 "konkurrencen.": "Et interview med kirkesanger Isak Saba".

of Sámi, but also the progressive function. Differently from directors Thomassen and Brygfjeld, and in a manner more radical than Saba and Larsen, Fokstad believed that Sámi language, and only Sámi, could uplift the Sámi to a new level of cultural and material welfare. Fokstad elaborated these ideas in a 1940 article in the North Sámi-language periodical *Sabmelaš*, as shall be seen in a few pages.

Per Fokstad wrote his school plan at least partly in order to influence the work of *Den parlamentariske Skolekommission*, a committee appointed by the Norwegian parliament to reform the elementary school system. The commission's work from 1922 to 1927 resulted in a number of laws in the 1930s concerning the elementary schools. Some of the changes were significant, such as the easier transition from the elementary schools to secondary education, and the institutional breakthrough for reform pedagogical ideas.[686] In the case of Sámi education and language policies, however, little changed. The committee took the conventional view on the common benefits of Norwegianization and withheld the Wexelsen decree of 1898. The committee also portrayed the governmental boarding schools in a positive light and encouraged the establishment of more boarding schools in the north.[687] The school commission also stated that a stronger assimilation policy should be applied to the Kvens than to the Sámi. Eriksen and Niemi have explained this formulation with the security politics argument that applied more strongly to the Finnish-speaking Kvens inhabiting the regions bordering Finland and Russia. Norwegian authorities were more suspicious towards the Kvens than the Sámi since the former population spoke the language of a foreign, and bordering, nation state, Finland. Nevertheless, the stance the commission took to language was clear and took no special consideration to either Sámi or Kven language: "the special task of the school [system] in Finnmark and partly in Troms is to distribute knowledge of the language of the country, which is to be common to all its inhabitants".[688] Almost needless to say, this common state language was Norwegian (in the case of Finnmark normally *riksmål*).

Brygfjeld's letter from 1923 (see page 180) criticizing the Sámi-language tuition promoted by Fokstad never gave a reason why Norwegian in schools would lead to progress and Sámi respectively to decadence. He described a development where Norwegian language and social problems were portrayed as a relationship of strong negative correlation. That Brygfjeld thought that there was something inherent in Norwegian that made it superior to Sámi is very obvious even when, or just because, it remained unmentioned, as an assumption.

686 Myhre, *Den norske skoles utvikling*, 86–90; Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare,* 256–257.

687 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare,* 256–257.

688 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare,* 256–257.

In a letter from a few days earlier on the same subject, Brygfjeld commented on the language situation in the elementary schools. He wrote that the authorities had tried to meet the requests of some Sámi for more Sámi language in churches and schools. According to Brygfjeld, allowing for more Sámi in these instances had in no way helped to uplift the Sámi from the "low stage of culture"[689] that they currently stood on. He referred to his own experience as a teacher in the northern regions, and assured that at first, he had believed that the Sámi could develop into an independent culture. However, Brygfjeld counted a number of failed attempts from the side of the Sámi to uplift their own culture. Among these failed attempts, Brygfjeld counted the newspaper *Sagai Muittalægje* (The News Reporter, 1904–1911) and the activity of Isak Saba and Anders Larsen that had withered away in lack of an interested public and readership. Brygfjeld had, after what he had seen, come to the conclusion that the Sámi had had neither "the capacity nor the will"[690] to use their language as a written language and that they had never showed any real affection to "their language or their 'culture'"[691].

As the word "culture" inside citation marks suggests, the director held a clear culturally hierarchized view on the Sámi population, when compared to the Norwegians. Since the Sámi had no real culture, Sámi as a language of instruction could have no real culture-bearing or progressive function. Later in his letter, Brygfjeld set out to describe the relationship between Norwegian and Sámi not only in terms of cultures, but also in terms of races. Brygfjeld warned the Sámi against stirring up "hatred between the races"[692] in northern Norway, since this hatred would only be for the disadvantage of the "weaker"[693]. Brygfjeld elaborated not on which of the races was the weaker one. Rather, it was assumed, reproducing this stereotype through silence.

Brygfjeld's view on religious instruction in Sámi: rigidness in principle, tolerance in practice.

In a letter from 1925, Brygfjeld was back at the subject of Fokstad's school plan. In the letter, written to Anton Ræder, an Oslo secondary school principal and chairman of *Den parlamentariske Skolekommission*, director of schools Brygfjeld

689 "lave kulturtrin": Letter from Christen Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education in Kristiania, June 29, 1923, published in *Samisk skolehistorie,* accessed August 31, 2017, http://skuvla.info/skolehist/cb-fokstad1-tn.htm.

690 "evne eller vilje": Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education, June 29, 1923.

691 "sit språk eller sin 'kultur'": Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education, June 29, 1923.

692 "fiendskap mellem rasene": Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education, June 29, 1923.

693 "svakeste": Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education, June 29, 1923.

again argued against Fokstad's school plan. The implementation of such a plan was unthinkable, wrote Brygfjeld, because the Norwegian skills of the Sámi pupils needed to be on the same level as the Norwegian pupils. According to Brygfjeld, in the school districts that had religious instruction in Sámi, teachers had to spend much extra time to teach a level of Norwegian to the pupils that was on a level with the Norwegians.[694] "This P. Fokstad's school plan"[695], stated Brygfjeld, "is essentially nothing else than some old rehash from Stockfleth's time"[696]. As the director of schools himself added, Nils Vibe Stockfleth was a Norwegian missionary and clergyman in mid-nineteenth century Northern Norway. He translated religious texts to North Sámi and argued for an increased use of Sámi language in the elementary schools, notably with Lutheran arguments.[697]

That Brygfjeld attacked Fokstad's school plan through associating it with Stockfleth's ideas points in two directions. First, it shows that Brygfjeld had little understanding of Stockfleth's language policies. In the letter to Ræder, Brygfjeld wrote that Stockfleth's initiatives towards more Sámi in schools had had no positive results. Rather, they had put the Sámi children into a disadvantageous position compared to Norwegian children, since they learned poor Norwegian and were thus "left behind in competition with the Norwegians."[698] Brygfjeld highlighted the progressive function of the majority language of the country. This articulation is also easily comparable to Finnish catechist Laura Lehtola's retrospective pondering on whether the use of Sámi in her teaching had been a disservice to the pupils (see page 150). Brygfjeld referred to Stockfleth and pointed out that the older functions of language gave way for the new, progressive function of Norwegian for a good reason. Brygfjeld discredited and disqualified Fokstad's ideas, branding them as oboslete in a contemporary Norwegian context. Norwegian was the language of progress and modernity, and Sámi a language of the past.

Interestingly, however, in a 1927 letter from Brygfjeld to the school board of Karasjok, a more allowing view on the question of language of instruction and Christianity is visible. Brygfjeld wrote that Christianity in Karasjok was taught in Sámi, and would probably be so still for "a long time". For this reason, Brygfjeld accepted the use of the Sámi-language textbook by Volrath Vogt in this school subject. If the school board, however, would at some point consider the introduction of a new textbook, then Brygfjeld recommended one written

694 Letter from Christen Brygfjeld to Anton Ræder, March 7, 1925, DbII:162 (SF), (RSAT).

695 "Denne P. Fokstads skoleplan": Brygfjeld to Ræder, March 7, 1925.

696 "er i grunnen ikke noe annet enn noe gammelt opkok fra Stockfleths tid": Brygfjeld to Ræder, March 7, 1925.

697 Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte*, 24–30.

698 "agterutseilt i konkurransen med nordmennene": Brygfjeld to Ræder, March 7, 1925.

in Norwegian.[699] Brygfjeld was not enthusiastic about the fact that Christianity was still taught in Sámi. However, probably due to the long tradition of this language as a tool to facilitate the intelligibility of the teaching situation in missionary contexts among the Sámi, Brygfjeld could spare a certain tolerance towards the continuation of such a practice in the schools of Finnmark. This leeway allowed for Sámi is something that earlier reserach has not noted. It supports Ryymin's, Nyyssönen's and Hoëm's claims (see pages 164–165) that there was a complexity and variation within the language policies that earlier research has disregarded as the focus has been on the reasons for, and not complexity within, the strong policies of language assimilation.

Brygfjeld and Finnmark, the "America" of Norway: language assimilation in schools not enough to Norwegianize the minorities

We have seen that director of schools Brygfjeld was clearly a proponent of language assimilation in schools. However, in his letter to the Department of Church and Education in 1923 he stated that the assimilation in schools was not enough. According to Brygfjeld, Norwegianization could not advance only through founding schools and employing Norwegian teachers whose task was to introduce "a crumb of knowledge in the Norwegian language" [700] to Sámi children. A more thorough Norwegianization of the cultural landscape was needed, and thus Brygfjeld supported the idea of "colonization in Finnmark"[701] through offering free farming land for Norwegian-speaking families to settle in the north. The director thought this should have been made a national priority. At the same time, offering free land might have relieved the pressure and lack of farming land that sent many Norwegians to North America as emigrants. "Stop the emigration flow to America"[702], Brygfjeld declared, "and send it northwards."[703] The idea was not Brygfjeld's, and since the beginning of the century, the government, together with an organization founded for this purpose (*Selskabet til fremme af Finmarkens Jordbrug*), had promoted agricultural colonization as a means to Norwegianize the northern areas. For instance, a law introduced in 1902 stipulated that in order to buy land, the

699 Letter from Christen Brygfjeld to the Karasjok school board, July 27, 1927. HVIII:465. SF, RSAT.

700 "en smule av kjennskap til det norske språk.": Letter from Christen Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education, July 30, 1923, B:20 (SF), (RSAT).

701 kolonisering in Finnmark": Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education, July 30, 1923.

702 "stans utvandrerstrømmen til Amerika": Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education, July 30, 1923.

703 "og diriger den nordover": Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education, July 30, 1923.

buyer had to speak Norwegian.[704] According to Eriksen and Niemi, this policy never had any great success since many of the farmers used to the milder climate and better soil of southern Norway gave up farming in the harsh and barren North after a few attempts at harvesting. The law of 1902 aimed at securing the regions bordering Finland and targeted the Finnish-speaking Kvens harder than the Sámi. As Eriksen and Niemi have shown, the law left some room for interpretation considering the language requirements and it was never strictly followed.[705] According to Eriksen and Niemi, Brygfjeld claimed in 1933 that the law was only meant to keep foreigners from Finland and Russia from buying land.[706] However, the letter from 1923 analyzed above shows without doubt that he believed that Norwegian agricultural colonization, combined with language assimilation in schools, could help to assimilate the Sámi and Kven populations. This contextualization elucidates the assimilative function that Brygfjeld envisioned Norwegian to have in schools with Sámi pupils.

Director of schools Lyder Aarseth: a shifting view?

Lydolf Lind Meløy makes the point that Lyder Aarseth's appointment to director of schools in 1933 implied a certain shift in the attitudes on Norwegianization even if the assimilation policies continued to the years following the Second World War.[707] Lind Meløy notes that Aarseth had a positive view of the use of Sámi as an auxiliary language.[708] Aarseth, who was born, raised and educated in western Norway, worked as a teacher at the Kautokeino boarding school from 1913 until his appointment to the position of director of schools of Finnmark.[709]

When interpreted within the methodological framework of functions, Aarseth's articulations both do and do not stand out in comparison with his predecessors. He highlighted the importance of Sámi as an auxiliary language more than directors Thomassen and Brygfjeld had done. At the same time, Aarseth was very clear about the function of Sámi in schools: it was an auxiliary of Norwegianization. This is apparent in the correspondence concerning the planned folk high school for the Sámi that would be run by the missionary society *Norges Finnemisjonssellskap.* In a letter to the general secretary, Sigurd Heiervagn of the *Finnemisjonssellskap,* Aarseth elaborated on his views on

704 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 126.

705 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 126, 79–81; 126–128.

706 Letter from Christen Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education, January 5, 1933, paraphrased in Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 126.

707 Lind Meløy, *Internatliv i Finnmark,* 108–109.

708 Lind Meløy, *Internatliv i Finnmark,* 108.

709 *Finnmarksarkivene*, s.v. "Lyder Aarseth," accessed August 31, 2017, http://finnmark-sarkivene.no/?p=1497.

Sámi as a language of instruction, not only in the planned folk high school, but also in the elementary schools. Aarseth saw Sámi as having a function of intelligibility. He admitted that the school policies in the elementary schools had led to situations where Sámi pupils learned little due to the language barrier between the Sámi-speaking pupils and the Norwegian-speaking teachers.[710] In a 1934 correspondence between Aarseth and the Department of Church and Education, the latter questioned why a non-Sámi speaking teacher was hired to Kautokeino, even if there was a need for a teacher with skills in Sámi.[711] In his response, Aarseth explained that there had been no adequate Sámi-speaking applicants for the teacher's vacancy. However, the teacher who had now been hired would take a course in Sámi during the upcoming winter and be thus able to use the language in tuition in the following term.[712] The correspondence shows that still in 1934, both the director of schools and the Department tolerated and even encouraged the use of Sámi as an auxiliary language.

However, there was no doubt that also for Aarseth, Sámi was an auxiliary of Norwegianization. According to Aarseth, "those Sámi that have published anything of worth have done so in Norwegian."[713] This, pondered the director, was probably due to the fact that the Sámi themselves understood that the only way for the Sámi to elevate their "spiritual and material culture" was through the Norwegian language.[714] Here the similarities to director of schools Bernt Thomassen's 1917 articulation that "with Norwegianization, the path to development and progress is cleared even for [the Sámi]"[715] are striking. Similarly to his predecessors, Aarseth fully backed the progressive function of Norwegian as a language of instruction. Aarseth was more open to the use of Sámi as an auxiliary than his predecessors were, but it was indeed an auxiliary: an auxiliary of Norwegianization in schools.

In the debate surrounding the establishent of the folk high school planned by *Norges Finnemisjonssellskap*, there had been some unclarities as to whether Sámi was to be used solely as an auxiliary language or as something more. As becomes apparent through letters between Sigurd Heiervang and Aarseth, Aarseth's support was conditional and applied only as long as Sámi was confined

710 Letter from Lyder Aarseth to Sigurd Heiervagn, September 1, 1934. DbII:168. (SF), (RSAT).

711 Letter from the Department of Church and Education to Lyder Aarseth, February 27, 1934. HVIII:469. (SF), (RSAT).

712 Letter from Lyder Aarseth to the Department of Church and Education, March 6, 1934. HVIII:469 (SF), (RSAT).

713 Aarseth to Heiervagn, September 1, 1934.

714 Aarseth to Heiervagn, September 1, 1934.

715 "Gjennem fornorskningen fører veien til utvikling og fremgang også for den.": Thomassen to the Department of Church and Education, January 24, 1917.

to being an auxiliary language. The same went for Bishop Eivind Berggrav.[716] Eriksen and Niemi write that Aarseth's views on tuition in Sámi changed after the Second World War towards a more allowing stance on the use of Sámi in schools.[717] It is outside the scope of this dissertation to discuss whether this was the case. However, during the 1930s, Aarseth's views on languages of instruction were rather well in line with the views of his predecessors. Whereas Sámi had an intelligibility and an assimilative function, Norwegian was the language of progress. Similarly to his predecessor, Brygfjeld, Aarseth considered the role of Sámi as an auxiliary language particularly important within the subject of Christianity.[718]

Clergyman Astrup and teacher Fokstad: the progressive function of Sámi

Clergyman Peter Astrup from Lyngen in Troms County wrote to director of schools Brygfjeld in April and May 1922 about the need to support the roots of Sámi culture. Astrup had applied for the position of vicar in Karasjok, Finnmark, and a condition he had stated for accepting a possible offer for the employment was that the government would aid him in funding a Sámi folk high school that would be established in Karasjok.[719] Astrup never became vicar in Karasjok and a Sámi folk high school was established only years later.[720] As accounted for previously, Brygfjeld was against the establishing of a Sámi folk high school, since he did not consider the Sámi culture as something worthy of being preserved, and he stated that the Sámi themselves had shown "neither the capacity nor the will"[721] to support their own culture.

Clergyman Astrup defended the idea of a folk high school, since he considered the folk high school to be a more economically efficient way to preserve Sámi culture than teaching Sámi language and culture in the elementary schools. The latter would have required a reorganization of the teachers' training. Astrup wrote that the current policies should be continued in the elementary schools,

716 Letter from Lyder Aarseth to Sigurd Heiervang, July 1936 (exact date missing). 235, Biskopen i Tromsø stift,/Hålogaland/Nord-Hålogaland bispedømme (BTS), RSAT; Letter from Sigurd Heiervang to Eivind Berggrav, July 1, 1936, 235 (BTS), (RSAT); Letter from Eivind Berggrav to Sigurd Heiervang, June 25, 1936, 235 (BTS), (RSAT).

717 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 261.

718 Aarseth to Heiervagn, September 1, 1934. Db: 168.

719 Letter from P. Astrup to the director of schools in Finnmark, Christen Brygfjeld, April 21, 1922 DbII:162, (SF), (RSAT).

720 Svein Lund, "Folkehøgskolen og samane," in *Samisk skolehistorie*, accessed August 31, 2017, http://skuvla.info/skolehist/fhs-n.htm.

721 "evne eller vilje": Brygfjeld to the Department of Church and Education in Kristiania, June 29, 1923.

but that the Norwegian nation had a duty to provide "this small people with a folk high school to protect their values of nationality"[722]. Astrup considered supporting Sámi culture important from various angles. Interestingly enough, the Lutheran principle of preaching the gospel in every people's mother tongue was not among clergyman Astrup's arguments. What Astrup highlighted was that the Sámi language, as the language of a nation and a culture, had an inherent value that should be preserved. However, due to the fact that the Sámi were currently living as a "rootless proletariat"[723], they should be educated about their own roots, so that they themselves could uplift the language and culture from this state of rootlessness. The preferred forum for this kind of education was the folk high school.[724] In this regard, while sharing the paternalism of Thomassen, Brygfjeld and Aarseth, Astrup's reasoning diverged substantially from the school directors, who thought that the Sámi could never be uplifted from their inferior position without the help of the Norwegians and through Norwegian language. Astrup's reasoning bears a certain resemblance to *Lapin Sivistysseura* in Finland, the society established in 1932 by Finnish intellectuals who considered it as their task to prevent Sámi culture from dying out through supporting that culture.[725]

In 1940, teacher Per Fokstad wrote about the enlightenment among the Sámi in an article in the North Sámi-language periodical *Sabmelaš*, published by *Lapin Sivistysseura* in Finland. In the article, Fokstad operated in a cross-border context, drilling into the situation of Sámi culture and language without framing it within a single nation state. Fokstad's text was not a critique towards policies imposed from the outside. Rather, it was a call for the Sámi to develop their culture. The title of the article, *Veähaš jurdagak samii čeärdalaš tilii pirra* ("Some thoughts on the national situation of the Sámi"), as well as Fokstad's use of the concept *Samieädnam* (the Sámi land, comparable with *Sápmi*), highlighted the idea of the Sámi as a nation in their own right. However, being a nation was conditional, according to Fokstad. A people had to be interested in and aware of itself in order to become a nation. Fokstad dropped a number of important names in the forefront of Sámi culture from across the Sámi areas of the northern Nordic countries. In order for the Sámi to survive as a nation, its

722 "dette lille folk en folkehøiskole til værn om dets nationalitetsværdier": Astrup to the director of schools in Finnmark, Christen Brygfjeld, April 21, 1922 DbII:162, (SF), (RSAT).

723 "rotløst proletariat": P. Astrup to Christen Brygfjeld, May 30, 1922 DbII:162, (SF), (RSAT).

724 Astrup to Brygfjeld, May 30, 1922.

725 See page 60.

"enlightenment"[726] had to be maintained and uplifted. This meant development in both cultural and political terms. Sámi language was a natural part of this enlightenment work. "Only Sámi language fits the Sámi"[727], wrote Fokstad, "it is warm and versatile, humble like the people itself. It is full of clear words. Without doubt, it is the mirror of the soul of the Sámi race[728]."[729] Fokstad added that Sámi was the language with which the Sámi people communicated with God. Fokstad assigned a great role to Sámi language in the uplifting of the Sámi enlightenment. It was the inner language of the people, both in a national and a religious sense. What was needed, according to Fokstad, was a "rehabilitation" [730] of Sámi enlightenment through Sámi language literature, music and other aspects of culture. Fokstad ended his article with an appeal to the Sámi people: "Let us try to revitalize the esteem of our race, so that our worth will rise!"[731] As before, the Grundtvigian-nationalist elements are well visible in Fokstad's text. As Fokstad had quoted already in 1917 (see page 175), Grundtvig thought that it was only the mother tongue that could "awaken a people from hibernation"[732]. Here, the culture-bearing and progressive functions reserved for Sámi language become even more apparent than in Fokstad's school plan.

Also, Norwegian-Sámi teacher Fokstad's article in a Sámi periodical published in Finland is an indication of the benfits of a cross-national study. Fokstad's portrayal of the Sámi was an active one, similarly to Hans Aslak Guttrom's article in the same periodical (see page 143). Sámi culture was portrayed as a culture in its own right. Fokstad mentioned forefront figures of Sámi culture from all across the Sámi area in a manner that described Sámi culture actively, and not reactively, that is, not primarily related to the states of northern Europe.

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726 "*čuvgitus*, in current North Sámi ortography *čuvgehus*": Per Fokstad, "Veähaš jurdagak samii čeärdalaš tilii pirra," *Sabmelaš* 25, no. 1 (1940) 2–3.

727 "Tuššefal samikiella heivi samiidi": Per Fokstad, "Veähaš jurdagak samii čeärdalaš tilii pirra," 2–3.

728 The North Sámi word "nali" (nálli in modern ortography) can mean race, descendance and family. Race is used as the most accurate translation, although it should be seen as a word with positive, rather than negative connotations, as the word race has later gained in the Nordic countries.

729 "tat leä lieggus ja sogjil, vuollegaš nuftgo tat almbug jieš, tat leä tievva čuogjilis saniiguim. Alma eäppidkeätta tat leä sami-nali sielu speägjal.": Per Fokstad, "Veähaš jurdagak samii čeärdalaš tilii pirra," 2–3.

730 "kudnipalu": Per Fokstad, "Veähaš jurdagak samii čeärdalaš tilii pirra," 2–3.

731 "Keäččalekkup mi eällatit min nali tovdu, vai min arvu pagjan!": Per Fokstad, "Veähaš jurdagak samii čeärdalaš tilii pirra," 2–3.

732 "vække et folk av dvale": Fokstad, "Hvordan fornorskningen i barneskolen grep ind i mit liv," 44.

Bishop Berggrav's Sámi romanticism and the soft power function of Sámi language

The bishop of the Diocese of Hålogaland had certain, at least consultative powers with regard to elementary education in Finnmark and Troms. Judging by the archives, both the directors of schools and the Department of Church and Education consulted the bishop often and kept him updated on topical discussions and debates regarding the language policies in schools. Bishop Eivind Berggrav was an especially important figure within the Norwegianizatin policies, as discussed by Eriksen and Niemi.[733]

Bishop Eivind Berggrav was bishop of the Diocese of Hålogaland between 1928 and 1937. Berggrav's father was a bishop and his maternal grandfather was a vicar. Berggrav was a southerner, born in Stavanger in the southwestern tip of Norway, and he was brought up in southeastern Norway in a home connected to the ecclesial and cultural elites of turn-of-the-century Norway. Leaving Hålogaland in 1937, he moved on to become the bishop of the Diocese of Oslo. During World War II, Berggrav led the ecclesial resistance to the German occupation of Norway. He was also an important figure in international Lutheran and ecumenical organizations.[734] In comparison with Olof Bergqvist in Sweden and J.R. Koskimies in Finland, who spent a major part of their careers in the northern dioceses, Berggrav's time in Hålogaland could be seen as an interval in an otherwise southern Norwegian and international professional life. As discussed by Eriksen and Niemi, Berggrav considered that the Church of Norway had an important role as a part of the state in furthering the goals of Norwegianization, even if he preferred softer methods than unconditional language assimilation. Berggrav thought it was important to create some space for the Sámi and Kven languages, in order to make the minorities feel at home in Norway. This was especially true about the Sámi, whom Berggrav viewed in a much more positive light than the Kvens.[735]

In his travel book and memoirs from his years in Hålogaland, Berggrav admitted to feeling uneasy as a southerner in the north. He wrote that at first he was worried about how to approach a "foreign people, the language of which I do not even understand."[736] However, he added that more important than knowing every sound in the language of the Sámi was respecting them as human beings and as a people. Through this respect, Berggrav reported, he could reach

733 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 261–264.

734 *Store norske leksikon* s.v. "Eivind Berggrav".

735 Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 222, 239, 263–264 ,267–268.

736 "fremmedartet folk når man ikke engang forstod deres sprog": Eivind Berggrav, *Spenningens land. Visitas-glimt fra Nord-Norge* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1938), 62.

a Christian sense of unity with the Sámi.[737] Berggrav was positive towards Sámi language and culture, but he never saw the subject important enough to learn Sámi himself during his ten-year period as bishop of northern Norway.

Eivind Berggrav criticized the Norwegianization policies in the elementary schools for being too strict. Berggrav argued that it seemed that the idea that it behooved the teachers to use Sámi as an auxiliary language had disappeared altogether while the educational authorities highlighted the assimilative side of the language policies.[738] Berggrav wanted to see more Sámi used in schools, especially in religious instruction. According to Knut Einar Eriksen and Einar Niemi, and Eivind Bråstad Jensen, this attitude stemmed from a strategic reasoning related to a soft power function: in giving the Sámi and Kven minorities more room to use their languages in schools, the risk of them being disloyal towards the government of Norway could be minimised in the border areas.[739] Berggrav's attitude towards Sámi language and culture was, however, much more positive than his attitude towards the Kvens. Berggrav viewed the Finnish-speaking Kvens, among whom the Laestadian revival was rather common, as a threat to the Church of Norway and Norwegian government alike. In a manner reminiscent of Berggrav's colleague on the Swedish side, Olof Bergqvist, the bishop of Hålogaland viewed the Sámi as a minority that posed less threat to and required a more responsible treatment from the government when compared to the Finnish-speakers (Kvens in Norway), also in the schools.[740] Interestingly, Berggrav saw Sweden as a smarter example of organization of minority language policies in schools. As an instance of these smarter policies, Berggrav mentioned religious instruction in the mother tongue of the pupils.[741] As was seen earlier regarding Sweden, however, the nomad school inspectors valued Sámi mostly as a medium to convey Lutheran instruction in the most efficient manner possible (see page 122). Portraying the situation in Sweden in this way allowed Berggrav to further his own arguments for the use of Sámi in religious instruction in Norway.

In his memoirs from the Hålogaland years, Berggrav expressed his doubts about the plans to turn Finnmark into a national park à la Yellowstone in the US. This was going too far for Berggrav, but he still wrote that had he had the power to decide, he would have reserved the mountain areas for the Sámi. He wrote that it was impossible to think that the "core"[742] of the Sámi people would

737 Berggrav, *Spenningens land*, 62.

738 Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte*, 170.

739 Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte*, 170; Eriksen and Niemi, *Den finske fare*, 222.

740 Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte*, 170.

741 Bråstad Jensen, *Skoleverket og de tre stammers møte*, 170.

742 "kjerne": Berggrav, *Spenningens land*, 10.

live any other kind of life than a nomadic life. In a letter from April 1938 to the Finnish geodesist Karl Nickul, who was interested in creating a preservation area for the Skolt Sámi of the Petsamo area, Berggrav wrote positively about Nickul's preservation plans. Berggrav, who at the time of writing the letter had recently moved to Oslo to become bishop in the capital, also answered a question assumingly posed by Nickul in stating that similar preservationist ideas in Norway had been nothing else than "an idea, supported by the Lapp-lover Carl Schøyen and others"[743]. Carl Schøyen, a Norwegian poet and author, was deeply interested in Sámi culture, publishing the book *Tre stammers møte* ("The encounter of three tribes") in 1918 and the Book *I sameland* ("In Sámi country") in 1924.[744] Apart from this group of "Lapp-lovers", Berggrav reported that preservationist plans were never much introduced or debated in Norway. His articulation about the "core" of the Sámi people that must continue to lead a nomadic life, resembles Nickul's articulations in Finland and the articulations of nomad school inspectors Calleberg and Karnell in Sweden (see pages 91, 114). Berggrav designated Sámi culture as a nature culture[745], but pointed out that there was no need to isolate this nature culture but rather to help the Sámi in whatever way could make them stronger so that they could defend theirselves when encountering Norwegian culture. In the articualtions of Berggrav, Nickul and Calleberg, the Sámi culture was to be preserved, but it could not survive without help from the Norwegians, Finns and Swedes.

According to Bishop Berggrav, the Sámi children had already gained a basic knowledge of the Lutheran faith in their homes. They were, in this respect, not inferior to other children in Norway. The bishop wrote about experiences where he had been surprised by the level of knowledge in Christianity among the Sámi children. He was offended both himself and on the behalf of the Sámi by comments made by his friends and colleagues in more southern parts of Norway. These colleagues were hard pressed to understand how Berggrav could live in the far north. According to the bishop, these comments sounded "dead and stupid"[746] in his ears. While positive towards their culture, Berggrav still acknowledged that the Sámi were very different from Norwegians. The bishop was aware of his own restrictedness in evaluating a culture that was not his own, and stated that what generated the cultural distance between "us" and "them" was that "we", that is, the Norwegians, viewed the Sámi from a Norwegian,

743 "idé, støttet av lappe-elskeren Carl Schøyen og andre": Berggrav to Nickul, October 25, 1938.

744 *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, s.v. "Carl Schøyen," accessed October 25, 2017, https://nbl.snl.no/Carl_Schøyen.

745 Berggrav, *Spenningens land*, 10.

746 "dødt og dumt": Berggrav, *Spenningens land*, 69.

rather than a Sámi perspective.[747] In a somewhat exoticizing tone he described the Sámi, who lived in the north. This north was where "life"[748] was, wrote Berggrav, whereas in southern Norway there was only "narrowness"[749] and "boundedness"[750]. Berggrav's attitude resembles the attitude of a number of Lutheran clergymen and bishops in Sweden and Finland. This attitude was positive towards the Sámi, but at the same time patronizing and at exotifying.

Conclusions

In Norway, the directors of schools of Finnmark County expressed very clearly the progressive function they considered Norwegian as language of instruction to possess. The directors Thomassen and Brygfjeld considered Sámi as a lower culture. The common benefit for both Norway and the Sámi was a full assimilation of the Sámi into Norwegians. There was a certain tolerance towards the use of Sámi as an auxiliary language, especially in the tuition of Christianity. However, Sámi was nothing but an auxiliary, an auxiliary of assimilation. Sámi was tolerated as a pedagogical auxiliary only as long as it accelerated the process of language assimilation. Earlier research has suggested that the 1933 appointment of Lyder Aarseth to the director of schools of Finnmark implied a change for less strict language policies in schools. However, as shown in this dissertation, Aarseth held the same fundamental view of the functions of Norwegian and Sámi as his predecessors: Norwegian was the language of progress, and Sámi an auxiliary of Norwegianization. The difference to Finland and Sweden and the intelligibility function is that Norwegian had not only an intelligibility function, but also an assimilative function. This function, according to the directors, was not only to render the teaching situation intelligible and thus facilitate the learning of the pupils, but also to speed up the language assimilation that was a high priority of the elementary school network of northern Norway. The examples of elementary school teachers Eriksen and Arild show that Sámi, together with Kven, was indeed used only for the assimilatory function, to speed up the language assimilation.

As the assimilative policies were most clearly formulated in Norway, so was the opposition to language policies in schools. Sámi teachers Isak Saba, Anders Larsen and Per Fokstad all opposed the strict language assimilation. Saba and Larsen admitted the added resource function and even necessity of the pupils learning perfect Norwegian. They underscored the culture-bearing and

747 Berggrav, *Spenningens land*, 63–65.
748 "livet": Berggrav, *Spenningens land*, 69.
749 "trangheten": Berggrav, *Spenningens land*, 69
750 "ufriheten": Berggrav, *Spenningens land*, 69.

intelligibility functions of Sámi and stated that because of these functions, it was to be used as language of instruction in parallel to Norwegian. Fokstad was more radical, and planned a wholly separate Sámi elementary school system, with Sámi as the main language of instruction. In Fokstad's reasoning, which included direct references to the Danish nationalist pedagogue and philosopher N.F.S. Grundtvig, the progressive function stands out. He believed, similarly to teacher Josef Guttorm in Finland, that the path to development of Sámi culture could only be found through Sámi language.

Even if the church was a part of the assimilation policies in the early twentieth century, some of the ecclesial authorities still had a more positive attitude towards Sámi than the directors of schools. This is especially true for the bishop of the Diocese of Hålogaland Eivind Berggrav. Berggrav thought that Sámi should be able to exist at some level within the school system, as it was a bearer of a culture that was original to northern Norway. However, in his reasoning, there was also an element of the soft power function. Similarly to his colleague J.R. Koskimies in northern Finland, Berggrav thought that keeping the Sámi happy ensured peaceful borders. Another example of more positive attitudes among the clergy is Peter Astrup, who, in his letter to Director of Schools Brygfjeld, referred to the progressive function of Sámi language and the need to uplift Sámi culture in Sámi.

When compared to earlier research, the conclusions of this dissertation elucidate on the one hand that, in line with Ryymin's, Nyyssönen's and Hoëm's claims, there was a complexity to the language policies that included local variations in the intensity of the assimilative policies. What is more, this chapter shows that even such eager protagonists of language assimilation as director of schools Christen Brygfjeld could tolerate the use of Sámi in religious instruction. The Lutheran mission tradition thus lived on in the minimal space it was granted in Norway, and in the articulations of the directors of schools that earlier research has designated as the most hardline supporters of language assimilation in schools. When compared to Sweden and Finland, however, the assimilative language policy in the elementary schools was more structured and zealous, since Sámi was used in schools in order to speed up language assimilation into Norwegian.

This last notion is also a reminder of the advantages of the methodology of this dissertation. That Sámi was used as an auxiliary of language assimilation is a subtlety that appears in a careful analysis of the functions of the languages.

What the focus on the functions of languages of instruction further contributes to earlier research is the complexity in the articulations of Sámi teachers Isak Saba, Anders Larsen and Per Fokstad. These teachers were not simply for or against Norwegian or Sámi as languages of instructions. It was the functions of these languages that mattered. As shown in this dissertation,

both languages had their specific functions, according to the three teachers and powerhouses of early twentieth-century Sámi culture and politics in Northern Norway.

7. Conclusions and discussion

The introduction of this dissertation presents the point that the history of education of the Sámi minority would benefit from an update from two angles: first of all, there has not been much research done on this history across national borders. Investigating the Sámi, time and again, within national frameworks fixes the Sámi as a national minority and impedes other perspectives on the history of education of this population. Secondly, the question of language of instruction in elementary schools with Sámi pupils has been discussed as a part of broader works on minority policies. With some exceptions, however, there has been no concentrated effort to investigate why Sámi, on the one hand, or the majority languages of each country on the other, were prioritized or not as languages of instruction.

As introduced at the beginning of this dissertation, the aim of the study has been to carry out the update outlined above by mapping out what institutional (educational) and sociopolitical functions of languages of instruction were prioritized by regional educational authorities and Sámi actors in all three countries. The first group includes nomad school inspectors (Sweden), elementary school inspectors (Finland), directors of schools (Norway), and bishops and clergymen active in the Sámi areas of the Nordic countries. The second group consists of Sámi teachers, Sámi political leaders and Sámi members of the nomad school boards (Sweden).

The results are discussed in the comparative framework of this dissertation, in order to underscore differences and similarities between Sámi areas in Sweden, Finland and Norway.

The functions were studied on two context levels based on the four-level context definition by Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak: on the institutional level (schools and educational policies) and the sociopolitical level (the ideological, economical, social and political context). Deriving from these context levels, the title of this dissertation, "Tools of teaching and means of managing", reflects the nature of these functions in a general sense in all three countries. On the institutional, educational level, the languages of instruction were tools, or auxiliaries of teaching. On the sociopolitical level, they were means of managing. I have carefully chosen the word 'managing', as it bears two different meanings: a top-down managing (controlling), on the one hand, and a bottom-up managing (coping, surviving) on the other.

This chapter concludes my answers on the research questions of this dissertation: What institutional (school-related) and sociopolitical functions (functions in the Nordic early twentieth century societies) did regional educational authorities and Sámi teachers[751] envisage the languages of instruction to have? Why were certain functions prioritized and how did the actors argue for these functions? In what ways can the prioritized functions contribute to our prior knowledge of the reasons why certain languages were prioritized in elementary education before others? The last question can also be reframed thus: why was Sámi language, or why was it not, prioritized in elementary education?

In this general conclusion, the analysis is elevated to a comparative, cross-national level. For more specific summaries and conclusions on each country I refer the reader to the endings of the empirical chapters.

As already discussed in the introduction, I consider the three countries as three separate sociopolitical contexts. However, the limitations of these contexts were not impermeable. The cross-national recontextualizations elucidate in what ways the actors were connected across national borders. In the following, I will compare the functions of language of instruction in the three countries and connect them to the contextual frameworks introduced in the contexts chapter of this dissertation.

Tools of teaching and means of managing: the institutional and sociopolitical contexts revisited

Earlier research in all three countries on Sámi educational history has accentuated the role of nationalism and nation building as background ideologies for the language policies in schools. To conclude that language policies were fuelled by nationalism is not enough. This dissertation has shown that the majority languages indeed had a self-evident position as the main languages of instruction in the elementary schools with Sámi pupils, with two main exceptions: the catechist schools in Finland, and Per Fokstad's school plan that, although never implemented, envisioned a school system with Sámi as the main language. Swedish, Finnish and Norwegian were the state languages. Hence, a fundamental assumption in the articulations on language of instruction, both from the side of the regional educational authorities, and Sámi teachers and Sámi members of nomad school boards, was that this status and function of state language won them the self-evident position as the main languages of instruction. It was the state, rather than the nation, that legitimated the power relations where Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish were the self-evident main languages of instruction within the standard elementary school systems in each country.

751 And, in some cases, Sámi political leaders and Sámi members of school boards.

The language of the stateless Sámi nation lacked such legitimacy. The majority languages were self-evident languages of administration and all "wordly affairs", in the words of bishop J.R. Koskimies in Finland. I think that the concept of nationalism needs to be discussed more in detail and applied more carefully in the case of Sámi education than has been done previously. This dissertation has shown that even the most eager supporters of assimilation policies designated the Sámi as their own nation, but it was the lack of a state that rendered Sámi language in a weaker position when compared to the majority languages. As an example, elementary school inspector Kaarlo Kerkkonen in Finland designated the national movement of the Sámi as a weaker force than the state ideology of the Nordic countries. The state language function was closely tied to this idea of a strong state ideology and administration that was to be carried out in a language that was, or was to be, intelligible to all inhabitants of the country.[752]

The finding of the state, rather than the nation as a marker of hierarchy, is closely connected to the culture-bearing function, a function subordinate to the assumption that the state languages were the principal languages of instruction. The culture-bearing function included the notion that the Sámi formed their own culture and nation, separate from the majority cultures. However, according to the elementary school inspectors (Sweden, Finland) and directors (Norway), this culture was hardly worth preserving, or it was branded as too weak to survive without external input. In Sweden, the nomadic Sámi culture was deemed worth reforming and modernizing. This reforming, however, was to be carried out in Swedish, since in the articulations of the educational authorities, Sámi was a language of the past, and Sámi a culture that was deemed inferior to Swedish cuture. It could have a culture-bearing function, in transmitting existing Sámi culture to future generations, but it had no progressive function: in Sámi, reindeer herding could not be developed and modernized; this could only be done in Swedish. In Norway, the directors of schools of Finnmark considered that the common good for both the Sámi and the country of Norway was a full assimilation of the Sámi. Among Sámi opposition and amid the clergy in all countries, a different view existed, underscoring that the Sámi was a culture worth preserving in its own right. According to them, Sámi as language of instruction had a progressive function: it was a key element in uplifting Sámi culture. In the arguments of Sámi teachers and opposition, and such individuals as Per Fokstad, Josef Guttorm and Sara Nutti, the function of Sámi as a language of instruction was not only culture-bearing, but also progressive.

752 In Finland, the state administration functioned in two languages: in Finnish and Swedish. In the Finnish Sámi areas, Finnish was the self-evident language of administration, as the inhabitants of this area were, apart from the Sámi population, Finnish-speaking. Also Norway had two administrative languages, the two versions of Norwegian written language, which are mutually intelligible.

Only in Sámi could Sámi culture be developed, uplifted and updated. This was contrary to the view of the directors of schools of Finnmark, the nomad school inspectors of Sweden and the Finnish elementary school inspectors in the north, who viewed the majority language as the pathway to progress and modernization for the Sámi individually (Norway and Finland) or as a collective (the nomadic reindeer herders in Sweden). In Norway and Finland, what this modernization essentially meant was the expansion of agriculture to the northern areas. In the case of the nomadic Sámi in Sweden, the nomad school inspectors envisioned a modernized efficient livelihood of reindeer herding as the ideal outcome of elementary education. In general, in the articulations on languages of instruction, the hierarchy between the majority populations and the Sámi was more often produced with cultural than biological or racial arguments. A mixing of culturally and racially hierarchizing vocabulary was common, however. As becomes clear from the discussion above, the culture-bearing function and, especially, the progressive function, also touched on issues of national economy. In the articulations on the language of instruction, this function was rarely accentuated. However, earlier research has marked clearly that national economy was one of the strongest arguments in the reasoning of the school authorities. In Sweden, this implied a rigorous segregation of the nomadic fell Sámi, since authors such as nomad school inspector Vitalis Karnell viewed their livelihood as the only way of exploiting the vast fell areas economically. In Norway, agriculture was the national economic ideal for the Norwegians and the Sámi, although it should be noted that most of the Sámi under assimilative pressures in the north made a living from fishing. The livelihood under the greatest pressure was not reindeer herding. In Finland, reindeer herding lived on but was codified as a secondary livelihood that was less important than agriculture.

In the ecclesial catechist schools in Finland, Sámi varieties were commonly in use. This was due to the positive attitude that Bishop J.R. Koskimies and a part of the clergy in northernmost Finland had towards Sámi language and culture. This positive attitude stemmed from the Lutheran missionary tradition among the Sámi. This mission used Sámi (but also Finnish in the northern Sámi areas of Sweden and Finland) to spread the Gospel. Within this tradition, Sámi and Finnish had the function of intelligibility, that is, to make tuition understandable for the pupils. A core principle of Lutheran doctrine is that each individual should be able to understand the Gospel. Another ideological background for the use of Sámi in the catechist schools was tied to the culture-bearing function. Finnish nationalism, or the part of it called Fennoman ideology, was paternalistically positive and protective towards cultures and languages related to Finnish. As Sámi language was related to Finnish, it was a "sister language" to be treated with a certain respect, even if there was a clear

hierarchy in the articulations of the educational authorities: Sámi might have been a sister language, but it was subordinate to Finnish, the state language. The articulations of elementary school inspector Kerkkonen and Antti Hämäläinen testify of a respectful and elegiac death sentence: however heart-breaking it might have been, both labeled Sámi as a dying language and a disappearing culture. Also, in Norway and Sweden, the missionary tradition was visible in that the attitude towards the use of Sámi in Christianity tuition, one of the main subjects in the elementary schools, was more allowing than in the case of other tuition. However, in Norway and Sweden, the function of Sámi in tuition was to facilitate the intelligibility of the teaching, and not the preservation of Sámi language as such. In Finland, in the catechist school system administered by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, the combination of the intelligibility and the culture-bearing functions led the leading regional church authorities to encourage the use of Sámi in tuition.

The intelligibility function, that is, using Sámi in tuition so that the teacher and the pupils understood each other, was commonly referred to in arguments for the use of Sámi in tuition in all three countries. In these articulations, Sámi was portrayed as a pedagogical tool among others. Only in the articulations of the directors of schools of Finnmark and a number of teachers in Norway did Sámi also have an assimilative function. This means that teachers using Sámi as an auxiliary language of tuition did so not only in order to render the tuition intelligible, but also in order to speed up language assimilation so that the pupils would learn Norwegian more quickly and efficiently than if only Norwegian would have been used with pupils that did not understand the language. Sámi was not only a pedagogical tool, used to convey the curriculum as efficiently as possible. It was also a tool of language assimilation. This reflects the high priority assigned to the assimilation of the Sámi and Kven minorities in northern Norway. Eriksen and Niemi have explained this strong imperative of assimilation mainly with the importance of security politics arguments. The proximity of Russia and Finland in the north rendered the presence of "foreign nationalities" a security risk. As shown in this dissertation, other functions also supported the authorities' claims for a strong language assimilation, such as the progressive function emphasizing the need to bridge the envisioned civilization and material gap between Sámi and Norwegians.

Even if Sámi as a language of instruction did not have an assimilative function in the articulations of the educational authorities of Sweden and Finland, some actors among the clergy argued that letting Sámi exist as a language of instruction secured the loyalty of the Sámi in the border areas. This soft power function was, for instance, expressed by bishops Eivind Berggrav (Norway) and J.R. Koskimies (Finland).

Calls for a citizenship and education that were equal to the majority populations' led to claims for instruction in different languages among the Sámi in Sweden and Norway. In Sweden, the Sámi theologian Gustav Park saw Swedish as the way to equal citizenship and improved education. The assumption in Gustav Park's reasoning was, however, that Sámi language and culture continued to exist alongside Swedish in a domestic setting. The Sámi teachers Isak Saba and Per Fokstad in Norway thought that the fact that the Sámi lived in Norway did not inhibit their cultural and linguistic rights. Both Saba and Fokstad also had plans for a school system with tuition in Sámi, which they believed would improve the quality of tuition. Fokstad and Saba, living in an area under greater pressure of language assimilation than Park, voiced a more radical opposition, but the underlying message was the same: Norwegian or Swedish citizenship could not exclude Sámi language and culture altogether. Also, Sámi teacher Josef Guttorm's articulations in Finland can be interpreted in this sense. For him, it was absurd that the status of Sámi language was even debated in the Sámi regions of Finland. However, even for the hardest opposition towards exclusive language policies in schools, mastering the majority language was a question of managing. The Sámi were not blind to the power that knowing the majority language held. Knowing Swedish, Finnish or Norwegian was a means of managing in the twentieth century Nordic states establishing themselves as increasingly homogenous entities, with the state administration expanding from south to north.

Changes and developments over time are not the main focus of this comparative dissertation. As a general observation, it is striking how little the prioritizations regarding the functions of the languages of instruction changed under the period studied. One reason is the continuity of language policies from the eighteenth and nineteenth century missionary school systems, highlighting the intelligibility function of Sámi as a language of instruction. This applies to Sweden and Finland in particular, but also in Norway continuity from the missionary schools can be discerned: this dissertation shows that the Sámi language had a certain role within the Norwegian school system in the case of Christianity education. The early twentieth century obviously also witnessed changes concerning the language policies. In all three countries, with the exception of the ecclesial catechist school system in Finland, the highest priority of the regional educational authorities was the quality and efficiency of education in the schools. The nomad school inspectors of Sweden, the elementary school inspectors of Finland and the directors of schools of Norway were all hired to inspect, supervise and develop the schools and education in their districts. Whether Sámi was used as a language of instruction or not was always a question of secondary importance for these authorities.

Cross-national recontextualizations: breaking the paradigm of Sámi history as national history

One of the ambitions of this dissertation, indeed a part of its aim, has been to explore the ways in which Sámi history could be elevated to a cross-national level, beyond the national histories of the Nordic countries. Due to the fact that the historiography is rather strictly limited by the national borders, and due to the fact that early twentieth century educational policies were very much planned and implemented within the national borders, this task has not been an easy one. Earlier research, studying Sámi school history within the various nation-states, is right in that the most relevant context for the school policies is the national one. However, this importance of the nation state as a research frame is a result, rather than an axiom, of this dissertation. Even if it might seem like a result of no particular value, the following is an account of what the analysis yielded, when the methodological confines of the nation-state were put aside and cross-national recontextualizations were analyzed in detail.

In the theoretical framework of institutional and sociopolitical functions, the cross-national investigation has centered on the instances where the actors referred to functions of languages of instruction across national borders. One of the most intriguing instances is the way that Sámi teacher Isak Saba recontextualized the political situation, the "Russification" and language policies of pre-independence Finland to the context of Norwegian Sámi policies. In portraying the regional educational authority, director of schools of Finnmark county Bernt Thomassen, as an analogy of the Russian Governor-General of Finland Nikolay Bobrikov allowed Saba to do two things in the Norwegian context. First of all, it allowed him to depict the Sámi as a nation in its own right, and its language as a culture bearer comparable to Finnish (and Swedish) in Finland. Secondly, he could portray the Sámi as a nation suffering under forceful assimilation policies launched by the Norwegian government. In fact, schools in Finland never experienced a "Russification" policy with regard to language of instruction that could be comparable to the one targeting the Sámi and Kven populations in northern Norway. In either case, Saba's recontextualization pointed out that Sámi, similarly to Finland, was a nation under foreign rule.

The Swedish nomad school inspector Erik Bergström also applied a cross-national recontextualization when answering critique presented by the Sámi of the nomad school board of Luokta-Mávas, Arjeplog. He referred to his visit in the Kautokeino boarding school in Norway in order to convince the board that Sámi-language tuition, comparable to that given at the Kautokeino boarding school in Norway, was also to be provided in Sweden in the future. As pointed out by Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak, in recontextualizations, what is omitted from the original context is as important as what is included from the

new context. In the case of Bergström, he completely omitted the Norwegian context and the institutional context of the Kautokeino school, where Sámi was used as a language of instruction in order to speed up the process of language assimilation. Whether Bergström was strategic or pretended to be ignorant is impossible to say. In either case, he presented an assimilative measure in the Kautokeino school as an amelioration of the language policies in the Swedish nomad schools. In the articulations of the Norwegian director of schools of Finnmark, Sámi language in the Kautokeino school had an assimilative function. Bergström, however, underscored the culture-bearing and intelligibility functions of that language.

Kaarlo Kerkkonen, the elementary school inspector of the district of Lapland, was certain that Sámi language and culture would disappear from Finland, and Sámi language in schools was for that reason superfluous. To bolster his argument, he referred to Norway and the national Sámi movement there. Even if Sámi culture was more vital in Norway, wrote Kerkkonen, it was still disappearing as the Norwegian state expanded its institutions, including the elementary school system, to the Sámi areas. If this was happening in Norway, the inspector concluded, then the Finnish Sámi stood no chance of surviving as a culture.

As for a wider international framework, Karl Nickul's letters on the Sámi in the Petsamo area in Finland show that the discussions on Sámi education were not only part of a Nordic, cross-national context, but were also connected to an even wider international context of educational ideologies. Nickul correspondended on Sámi education with a number of notable international scholarly and administrative figures, including the anthropologist Lucy Mair at the London School of Economics, the philosopher Bertrand Russell, the American Commissioner of Indian Affairs (USA), Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle in Paris and the Progressive Education Association (USA). In this correspondence, Sámi education was compared to educational initiatives in the US concerning the Native Americans, and to educational and administrative initatives in the British colonial world.

What these recontextualizations show is that there was a certain awareness about language policies across the national borders among the regional educational authorities. The recontextualizations also show that the authorities, such as Bergström and Kerkkonen, contrasted the situation in their own work field with that of Sámi education in the neighboring countries. In doing this, they revealed important differences between the countries, and also between the ways in which these differences were explained and referred to. It was these cross-national recontextualizations that, in the first place, led me to use the concept of function. It was when studying recontextualizations that I realized that the key to understanding the differing language policies in the three

countries' elementary schools with Sámi pupils was to study and compare the envisioned functions of the languages of instruction.

What also emerges in a cross-national analysis is a certain kind of active, rather than reactive, identification as Sámi that did not primarily relate to the nation states or national educational policies of Sweden, Finland and Norway. Sámi teacher Per Fokstad's newspaper article (written in his mother tongue, North Sámi), which portrayed Sámi language as the key to a cultural Sámi revitalization across the Sámi area, is an example of this, as is his colleague Josef Guttorm's articulation of Sámi as the self-evident language of the Sámi areas. These sources are of course accessible to historians studying Sámi history only in one country. However, these kinds of articulations have often fallen outside of the scope of earlier researchers, as the focus has mainly been on the national setting and the national policies. There is a considerable risk when studying the Sámi in a cross-national setting, that the Sámi area, or Sápmi, is taken as a self-evident research frame. As much of the earlier research has shown, the regional and local differences between different Sámi groups were substantial. Rather than to swap methodological nationalism for methodological pan-Sáminess, I would suggest and call for an openness towards different research frames, and the boldness and additional effort necessary to look across the national borders. This might imply some extra work for the researchers, such as becoming acquainted with a new historiographical tradition, or learning a new language. It is, as I hope this dissertation has shown, well worthwhile.

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Čoahkkáigeassu

Suomas, Norggas ja Ruotas leat dutkan sápmelaččaid skuvlahistorjjá olu. Rájáid rasttildeaddji ja veardádalli dutkan lea goittotge dahkkon unnán. Maiddái leat unnán gieđahallán sivaid iešguđet sámegielaid vealaheapmái dahje oidimii skuvllain. Dát nákkosgirji buktá ođđa dutkandieđuid oahpahusgielaid prioriserema mearkkašumiin, mat bohte oidnosii dutkanmateriálas. Dutkamuša guovddážis lea áigelinjá 1900–1940-loguid gaskkas Ruota, Suoma ja Norgga skuvllain, mat fálle oahpahusa sámemánáide. Dutkamuš válddahallá mearkkašumiid guovtti konteakstadásis: institutionála dásis (dán dutkamušas skuvlejumi dásis) ja viiddit servodatlaš (sosiálapolitihkalaš) dásis. Dát konteakstadásit leat luoikkahuvvon kritihkalaš diskursaanalysa dutkiin Martin Reisiglas ja Ruth Wodakis. Vuoruhuvvon funkšuvnnat oidnojit buot golmma riikkas. Dát dutkamuš guoská maid nuppe dáfus doaimmaid rájáidrasttildeaddji oaidninvuogis. Dán mearkkašumis guorahalan funkšuvnnaid *rájáidrasttildeaddji rekontekstualiserema* doabagihpu vehkiin. Rájáidrasttildeaddji rekontekstualiseren lea analyhtalaš doabagihppu, man lean huksen guovtti iešguđet teoriijaárbbi, kritihkalaš diskursaanalysa ja álbmogiid gaskasaš historjjá doahpagiid vuođul. Rájáidrasttildeaddji rekontekstualiseremat čujuhit earret eará dasa mo doaibmit Ruotas válde fárrui ja guđđe eret osiid Norgga (álgoálgosaškonteaksta) ja Ruota (čuozáhatkonteaksta) institutionála ja sosiopolitihkalaš konteavstta ektui go čálle oahpahusgielas Norgga skuvllain. Rájáidrasttildeaddji rekontekstualiseremat veahkehit ipmirdit dan mo institutionála ja sosiopolitihkalaš konteavsttat váikkuhedje prioriterejuvvon doaimmaide. Seammás dat čujuhit dasa ahte sámi skuvlahistorjjá suorggis lea ain olu dutkamuš dasgo dutkanrápma rahppo guoskat maiddái rájáidrasttildeaddji oaidninvugiid iige fal nationálastáhta siskkáldas dutkančuozáhagaid ja čilgenmálliid.

Dutkojuvvon doaibmit leat guovlluid álbmotskuvlaautoritehtat (Ruota nomádaskuvladárkkisteaddji, Suoma Lappi álbmotskuvladárkkisteaddji, Finnmárkku skuvlajođiheaddji), sámeoahpaheaddjit, sápmelaš politihkalaš jođiheaddjit ja Ruota dilis maiddái sámeoahppiid vánhemat. Dáid doaibmiid čállán dokumeanttat heivejit bures oahpahusgiela funkšuvnna dutkamii. Go skuvlenautoritehtat ja sápmelaš doaibmit ságastalle ja ráđđádalle sámegiela ja váldogielaid sajis oahpahusas, čujuhedje dát dávjá giela viidásut mearkkašupmái dahje funkšuvdnii skuvlejumis (konteakstadássi 3) ja servodagas (konteakstadássi 4).

Čuovvovaš siidduin ovdanbuvttán doavttirgráda barggu guovddáš bohtosiid. Vuos gieđahalan iešguđet riikka deháleamos bohtosiid veardádalli oaidninvuogis. Dán maŋŋá ságastallan sirdáša rájádrasttildeaddji dutkamuša jurddabohtosiidda.

Nákkosgirji čujuha ahte muhtin spiehkastagain riikka váldogielas lei iešalddis čielga sajádat skuvllaid oaiveáššálaš oahpahusgiellan. Dát sajádat bođii das go guovlluid skuvlenautoritehtat ja dávjá maiddái sápmelaš oahpaheaddjit ja eará doaibmit atne váldogielaid stáhtaid giela dehálažžan (*state language*), náppo váldegotti álbmoga oktasaš giela[753]. Joba giellaassimilerema áŋgireamos guottiheaddjit nuppe dáfus navde sápmelaččaid sierra álbmogin. Dán álbmogis ii goittotge lean iežas stáhta, ja nu dan gielain váillui legitimiteahtta. Nugo suopmelaš álbmotskuvladárkkisteaddji Kaarlo Kerkkonen dajai, sápmelaččain ledje gal iežaset álbmotlaš moriheamiáigodagat ja lihkadusat. Dáid doaimmaid fápmu ii goittotge moge lean veardideamis davviriikkaid stáhtaid "riikaideai", mii stáhtaid hálddahusvuogádaga ja earret eará álbmotskuvlla vehkiin leavai stáhtaid juohke oassái. Dán hierárkiija huksemis deattuhuvvui namalassii stáhta, ii nuge riikka olbmuid mearkkašupmi. Danin nationalismma doahpaga galgá sápmelaččaid skuvlahistorjjá ektui geahčadit dárkkebut go ovddit dutkan lea dahkan.

Stáhtaid gielaid funkšuvnna operationaliseren (*the state language function*) ráddjejuvvo kultuvrra guoddi funkšuvnna operationaliseremii (*the culture-bearing function*). Kultuvrra guoddi funkšuvdna lei oktavuođas dan navdui ahte stáhta giella doaimmai oaiveáššálaš oahpahusgiellan. Dán funkšuvnna deattuhedje eandalii sápmelaš oahpaheaddjit ja báhpat ja bisppat. Kultuvrra guoddi funkšuvdna mearkkašii dan ahte sámegiella galggai oažžut saji skuvllain dasgo dat lei álbmoga eatnigiella. Dakkárin das lei dehálaš mearkkašupmi álbmoga kultuvrra eallinvuoimmi dáhkideaddjin. Maiddái guovlluid skuvlenautoritehtat meroštalle sámiid leat kultuvrraset guoddit, ja ahte sii ledje sierra álbmot. Dáid autoritehtaid mielas sámekultuvra ii goittotge lean seailluheami veara, iige das lean sin mielas vejolašvuohta ja fápmu seailut ja ceavzit iehčanas kultuvran. Dán sivas váldogielat favoriserejuvvojedje skuvllaid oahpahusgiellan. Guovlluid autoritehtaid mielas beare váldogielain lei ovdánanmielalaš funkšuvdna (*the progressive function*), nappo vejolašvuohta veahkehit sápmelaččaid birget muhto maiddái ovdánit indiviidan (Suopma, Norga) ja servožin (Ruoŧta) lei guovddáš áigumuš. Máŋggat sámeoahpaheaddjit ja báhpat háste dán oainnu buot golmma

753 Norggas ja Suomas váldegotti gielat ledje goappaš riikkas guokte, Norggas boaredárogiella ja ođđadárogiella, ja Suomas suoma- ja ruoŧagiella. Sámiid skuvlejumi Norgga ja Suoma giellaságastallamat ja –digaštallamat eai goittotge guoskan. Dát lei dan sivas ahte sámiid lassin Suoma davviosiin orro lagamusat dušše beare suomagielagat. Norgga davviosiin fas sámiid dáruiduhttin loktanii dehálot ulbmilin dan sadjái go ságastallan dan birra, goappá dárogielain oahpahusa galggašii fállat. Dábáleamosit oahpahusa lágidedje boaresdárogielain.

riikkas. Dáid unnitlogu jienaid mielas beare sámegiela vehkiin sáhtii ovddidit ja doalvut ovddosguvlui sápmelaš kultuvrra. Dasgo dušše sámegielas lei sápmelaš oahpaheddjiid nugo Per Fokstad (Norga), Josef Guttorm (Suopma) ja Sara Nutti (Ruoŧta) mielas kultuvrra guoddi ja ovddideaddji funkšuvdna, gáibidedje sii lasi saji sámegillii skuvllain.

Suomas Kuopio-Oulu bismagottiid hálddašan katekehtaskuvllain oahpaheaddjit geavahedje sámegiela oahpahusas viehka dábálaččat. Dát positiiva guoddu čilgejuvvo oassin vuolggahusbarggu árbbiin. 1600-logu rájes girku geavahii sámegiela (ja suomagiela) vuolggahusbarggus sápmelaččaid gaskkas Ruoŧas ja Suomas. Dát geavadat joatkašuvai Suoma katekehtaskuvllain, main lei váldoovddasvástádus davimus Suoma vuođđooahpahusas álo 1950-logu rádjái. Positiivvalaš guoddu sámegiela hárrái nannejuvvui velá suopmelaš nationalismma bokte. Fennománalaš kulturnationalismma vuođul sámegiella lei fuolkegiellan prinsihpas suodjaleami veara, vaikke hierárkiija "čuvgejuvvon" suopmelaččaid ja sápmelaččaid gaskkas leige čielggas. Dát doaladupmi oidnui Suoma davimus bismagotti bismmá J.R. Koskimies teavsttain. Kulturguoddi funkšuvnna lassin Koskimies ja máŋgasat earát jođiheaddji girkolaš autoritehtat gehčče ahte sámegielas lea dehálaš doaibma oahpahusa ipmirdahttivuođa dáfus (*the intelligibility function*). Eandalii katekehtaskuvllain hálddašii dihtolágan pragmatisma oahpahusgiela hárrái. Ovdamearkan katekeahtta Laura Lehtola gávnnahii muittašančállosiin álo oahpahan dainna gielain, man mánát buoremusat áddejedje.

Oahpahusa ipmirdahttivuođa funkšuvdnii čujuhedje oskkolaččat maiddái Ruoŧas ja Norggas. Máŋggain dáhpáhusain sápmelaččat ieža fuopmášahtte ahte mánáid oahpaheapmi gielain man mánát eai ipmir lea áiggi ja resurssaid boastut geavaheapmi. Ruoŧas Erik Bergströmis ja Axel Callebergis gávdnui prinsihpas dihtolágan ipmárdus dán funkšuvdnii ja nu maiddái sámegiela geavaheapmái skuvllain. Geavatlaččat sámegiela sadji lei goittotge headju nugo olles dutkanáigodaga čađa sápmelaččain boahtán cuiggodeamit duođaštit. Ruoŧas ja Suomas sápmelaččain lei nappo dihto ipmirdahttivuođa funkšuvdna. Norggas čujuhedje dán funkšuvnna lassin maiddái sámegiela assimilerejeaddji funkšuvdnii (*the assimilative function*). Dát sáhttá orrut paradoksálan, muhto Norgga skuvlaeiseválddit (nugo Suomas ja Ruoŧas álbmotskuvladárkkisteaddjit) ja oassi oahpaheaddjiin gehčče oahpahusa galgat doaibmat gielalaš assimilerema ovddideami dihtii. Dán dáhpáhusas oahppiid eatnigiella oaffaruššui oahppiid dáruiduhttima dihtii pedagogalaš doaibmabijuid vehkiin. Ovddit dutkamuš lea čilgen Norgga čavga assimilerema duogážis váikkuhit eandalii dorvvolašvuođa politihka (Suoma ja Ruošša lagašvuohta davvin dagahii sápmelaččaid ja kveanaid čatnasit čavga nationálastáhtii). Mu dutkamuš nyansere dán gova čujuhemiin ahte maiddái eará funkšuvnnat čilgejit assimilerenpolitihka.

Oahpahusgiela funkšuvdnii laktásii maiddái jearaldat álbmolahttovuođas ja dan sisdoalus (*the citizenship function*). Ruotas politihkalaččat aktiivvalaš sámebáhppa Gustav Park anii ruotagiela oahpahusgiellan, mii oažžu áigái alladásat oahpahusa ja ovttaveardásaš stáhtaborgárvuođa. Norggas sámeoahpaheaddjit Isak Saba ja Per Fokstad dan sajes aniiga dehálažžan asahit sámegiela oahpahusgiellan. Sutno mielas dat duohtavuohta ahte sápmelaččat orro Norggas ii heaittihan sin vuđolaš álbmotrivttiid gillii ja kultuvrii. Maiddái Park vuđoštalai ruotagiela sajádaga oahpahusgiellan dainna ákkain vai sámegiella seaillošii mánáid ruoktobirrasis.

Maiddái dat sápmelaččat guđet kritiserejedje skuvllaid giellapolitihka oidne váldogiela máhttimis dihto ovdduid. Váldogielas ledje sin mielas máŋggat ávkkálaš funkšuvnnat. Dasa lassin ahte váldogielat ledje riikagielat, dat ledje maiddái resurssat gávppašeamis. Váldogielaid máhttin mearkkaša dán nákkosgirjji bajilčállaga vuođul hálddašeami (*managing*) guovtti oaidninvuogis: skuvlaeiseválddiid oaidninvuogis sámiid váldogielaid máhttin dagai álkibun kontrollerema ja hálddašeami (*managing*). Sámeoahpaheaddjiid ja eará doaibmiid guovdu *managing* fas dárkkuhii birgema ja dili hálddašeami. Nugo skuvlalaččat dán beaivve davviriikkain lohket eŋgelasgiela almmá stuorit vuostálastima haga, sápmelaččat gehčče riikka váldogiela máhttima leat ávkkalaš ja vealtameahttun áššin vai sáhttá birget stáhtas, mii ásahii hálddahuslaš ja ekonomalaš huksehusaidis ain davvelii sámiid ássanguovlluide.

Oppalaš dásis lea mearkkašahtti dat man unnán funkšuvnnaid prioriseremat rivde dutkanáigodaga siskkobealde. Áigodat 1900–1940 sisttisdoalai earret eará Suoma ja Norgga iehčanasvuođa ja mearkkašahtti infrastrukturprošeavttaid buot golmma riikka davimus guovlluin. Dáin dáhpáhusain eai jur leat báhcán luottat sápmelaččaid skuvlema ja oahpahusgiela guoskevaš dokumeanttaide. Livčči hohkahus dadjat ahte dása lea sivvan sámemánáid oahpahusa periferalaš luondu veardidettiin váldegotti dási politihka dehálot jearaldagaide. Nuppe dáfus sámeoahpahusas oidnui eandalii Suoma katekehtaskuvllaid ja Ruota nomádaskuvllaid oktavuođas dihto miššuvdnaskuvllaid rájes jahkečuđiid bistán joatkka. Váikke terminologiija oassin rievddai kultuvrralaš ja oskku hierárkiijain modearna ja dieđalaš tearpmaide (omd. kultuvrralašhierárkiijain nállehierárkiijan ja oskku earuin álbmogiid gaskasaš erohusaide), lei oahpahusgiela válljema ákkastallan loahpas eanetge joatkka bistevaš árbái go das spiehkasteapmái. Maiddái Norggas guhkes linnját oidnojedje. Muđui garra dáruiduhttinvuogi váldán skuvlaeiseválddit gávnnahedje sámegielas leat dihtolágan funkšuvnna ja sajádaga oskku oahpahusas. Nubbi sivva unna rievdadusaide lei dat ahte ságastallan oahpahusgiela birra guoskkai guovllu autoritehtaid artikuleremis álo oahpahusa kvalitehttii ja beaktilvuhtii. Ruota nomádaskuvlla dárkkisteaddji, Suoma Lappi álbmoskuvladárkkisteaddji ja Davvi-Norgga skuvlajođiheaddjit ledje buohkat bálkáhuvvon gohcit ja ovddidit kvalitehta ja beaktilis oahpahusa.

Vaikke oassi dáin guovlluid autoritehtain Ruotas ja Suomas dorjoge sámegiela oahpahusgiellan prinsihpas, jearaldat sámegiela oahpahusas ii goassige lean prioriserenlisttu alimusas.

Rájáid rasttildeaddji rekontekstualiseren ja metodologalaš nationalismma paradigmma cuvken: sámi historjá rájáidrasttildeaddji historján

Dán dutkamuša okta guovddáš ulbmiliin lea leamaš čielggadit mo sámi skuvlahistorjjás sáhttá čállit rájáidrasttildeaddji vugiin. In čuoččut ahte iigo nationálastáhtain ja daid ráján livčči stuorra mearkkašupmi sámi historjjá dutkanrápman. Ovddit dutkamiin spiehkkasemiin dát oaidnu lea goittotge dutkamuša boađus iige dan vuolggasadji. Dutkanboađusin nationálastáhta mearkkašupmi sáhttá váikkuhit leat ieščielga ja unna ášŝeolli. Čuovvovaččat čilgen makkár jurddabohtosiid gávdnen go nationálastáhta oaččui addit saji rájáidrasttildeaddji rekontekstualiseremiid dutkamii.

Dutkamušastan lean eandalii leamaš beroštuvvon dáhpáhusain main doaibmit čujuhit oahpahusgiela institutionála dahje sosiopolitihkalaš funkšuvnnaide nuppi riikkas. Okta eanemus beroštahtti ovdamearkan lea Isak Saba čálus mas son rekontekstualisere Suoma ruoššaiduhttipolitihka dáža-sápmelaš skuvlenpolitihkalaš kontekstii. Saba veardidii Finnmárkku skuvlaeiseválddi Suoma generálakuvernor Bobrikovii. Dán veardideami vehkiin Saba lihkostuvai hukset analogiijja autonomiija bealušteaddji Suoma ja Norgga sápmelaččaid gaskii. Saba čujuhii suopmelaččaid leat sordojuvvon ruoššaiduhttin doaimmaid vuolde, ja sápmelaččatges ledje sordojuvvon Davvi-Norgga skuvlapolitihka dihtii.

Nubbi ovdamearka rájáidrasttildeaddji rekontekstualiseremis lea ruottelaš nomádaskuvladárkkisteaddji Bergström čálus dan birra go son lei guossis Norgga Guovdageaidnnu internáhtaskuvllas. Bergström vástidii čoahkkimis vánhemiidda (guđet ledje nomádaskuvlastivrra miellahtut). Stivra sávai lasi oahpahusa sámegillii, masa Bergström vástidii cealkimiin ahte sámegiela oahpahusa viiddideami plánejedje Norgga Guovdageainnu málle mielde. Nugo Norman Fairclough ja Ruth Wodak leat gávnnahan, rekontekstualiserema dáhpáhusas lea seamma dehálaš fuomášit dan mii álgokonteavsttas guđđo máinnaškeahtta nugo dat mii máinnašuvvo. Bergström guđii máinnaškeahttá sámegiela fukšuvnna Guovdageainnu internáhtaskuvllas. Nugo Norgga skuvlaeiseválddiid teavsttain boahtá ovdan, sámegiella geavahuvvui Guovdageainnus (goittotge autoritehtaid idealismma vuođul) dušše ovtta ulbmila dihtii: dáruiduhttima beavttilmahttimii, nappo giela lonuheapmái sámegielas dárogillii. Lea váttis dadjat leigo Bergström strategalaš vai diehtemeahttun, muhto son ovdanbuvttii Guovdageainnu

dáhpáhusa positiivvalaš ovdamearkan sámegiela geavaheamis oahpahusas. Giela funkšuvnna Guovdageainnus lei dan sajis sámegillii negatiivvalaš: sámegiela galggai lonuhit dárogillii.

Helssetlaš Lappi čuvgehuslihtu (vuođđuduvvon 1932) čálli Karl Nickul viiddis riikkaidgaskasaš reivvestallan Beahcán sápmelaččain čujuha davviriikkaid viiddit sápmelaččat skuvlahistorjái. Nickul čálašii sámiid skuvlejumi birra máŋggain riikkaidgaskasaččat mearkkašahtti diehtaga ja hálddahussuorggi guovddášnamaiguin. Dáid joavkkus sáhttit máinnašit Bertrand Russell, USA "Commissioner of Indian Affairs", the Progressive Education Association – searvi USA:s ja Pariissa Muséum national d'histoire naturelle. Reivvestallamis Beahcáma sápmelaččaid skuvlen veardiduvvui earret eará USA álgoálbmogiid skuvlejupmái guoskevaš álgagiidda ja Brihtalaš imperiuma skuvlen- ja hálddašanmálliide.

Rájáidrasttildeapmái rabas dutkamušas fuomášupmi giddejuvvo maiddái aktiivvalaš,iige dušše reaktiivvalaš (oktavuođas Ruttii, Supmii ja Norgii meroštallon) sápmelaš iešidentifiserema olggosbuktojumiide. Per Fokstad davvisámegielat áviisačálus sámekultuvrra ealáskahttima eavttuin olles sámeguovllus lea ovdamearka dan birra. Suoma bealde Fokstad kollega Josef Guttorm čujuhii sámegiela leat ieščielga giella sámiid ruovttuguovllus. Dákkáraš gáldut leat dieđusge olaheamis maiddái dušše fál ovtta stáhta historjjá guorahalli historjádutkái. Mu govven dajaldagat leat goittotge guhkás báhcán ovddit dutkamušain fuomáškeahttá dan sivas ahte daid fokus lea leamaš ovtta stáhta politihkas.

Go sámi historjjá dutká rájáidrasttildeaddji oaidninvuogis lea riskan ahte sápmelašvuohta ipmirduvvo ieščielggasin ja nu hukset ođđa metodologalaš paradigmma dahje eastaga. Metodologalaš nationalismma sajis huksetge ođđa essentialiseremiid. Ovddit dutkamušat leat čujuhan báikkálaš ja guovlluid gaskasaš erohusaid leat sámekultuvrra siste mearkkašahttit. Dan sajis ahte lonuhan metodologalaš nationalismma pan-sámivuhtii, háliidan deattuhit leat dárbbu iešguđetlágan dutkanrámmaide ja roahkkatvuođa geahččat dán beaivve riikarájáid rastá ja don beallái. Dát dagaha dutkái lassebarggu ja gáibida ovdamearkan ođđa giela oahpahallama dahje ođđa histogáfalaš árbái oahpásmuvvama. Mu sávaldat lea, ahte dát doavttirgráda čujuha ahte bargu lea áŋgiruššama veara.

Jorgalus: Pigga Keskitalo

Sammanfattning

Det finns mycket forskning om samisk utbildningshistoria i Sverige, Finland och Norge. Däremot finns väldigt lite komparativ och nationsöverskridande forskning. Skolspråken diskuteras i flera studier som en del av statens utbildningspolitik gentemot samerna. Frågan varför samiska varieteter var eller inte var prioriterade undervisningsspråk har emellertid inte studerats ingående. För att bidra med ny kunskap i förhållande till tidigare forskning studerar denna avhandling funktionerna av undervisningsspråken i skolor med samiska elever i Sverige, Finland och Norge 1900–1940. Dessa funktioner analyseras på två kontextnivåer: den institutionella (skola och utbildningspolitik) och den sociopolitiska (samhälleliga) kontexten. Dessa kontextnivåer är hämtade ur Martin Reisigls och Ruth Wodaks teori. Funktionerna kastar ljus över kontexterna i alla tre länder. Samtidigt är de utmärkta fall för en komparativ och nationsöverskridande studie. I avhandlingen studeras nationsöverskridande rekontextualiseringar av funktioner. Nationsöverskridande rekontextualisering är ett analytiskt begrepp som jag har konstruerat med hjälp av två teoritraditioner: cross-national history och kritisk diskursanalys. Nationsöverskridande rekontextualiseringar hjälper oss att förstå hur kontexterna påverkade funktionerna. Samtidigt indikerar de att det fortfarande finns mycket att forska om inom samisk utbildningshistoria då forskningsramarna öppnas upp för att inkludera gränsöverskridande forskningsobjekt och förklaringsmodeller.

Aktörerna som denna avhandling studerar är regionala utbildningsauktoriteter, samiska lärare, politiska ledare och i Sveriges fall samiska föräldrar till skolbarn. De källor som dessa aktörer efterlämnat lämpar sig väl för en analys av undervisningsspråkens prioriterade funktioner. Då utbildningsauktoriteterna och samiska aktörer diskuterade varför samiska eller majoritetsspråket skulle eller inte skulle användas i undervisningen, hänvisade dessa ofta till den vidare betydelse språken hade både inom utbildningen och i det omgivande samhället.

Nedan kommer jag att sammanfatta avhandlingen. Först behandlas de landsspecifika kapitlen i en komparativ sammanfattning. Därefter sammanfattas avhandlingens nationsöverskridande analysdelar.

Denna avhandling visar att majoritetsspråket i varje land hade en självklar ställning som det huvudsakliga undervisningsspråket i skolor med samiska elever.[754] Språken hade denna position eftersom både utbildningsauktoriteter,

754 Med undantag för Finlands kateketskolor som diskuteras längre fram.

samiska lärare och andra samiska aktörer ansåg att majoritetsspråken hade en funktion som rikspråk, det vill säga som det mest allmänt talade språket och det administrativa språket i varje land.[755] Till och med de ivrigaste förespråkarna av språkassimilering ansåg att samerna utgjorde sin egen nation, men denna nation hade ingen stat, och därmed inte någon legitimitet för sitt eget rikspråk. Som folkskoleinspektör Kaarlo Kerkkonen uttryckte det i Finland, hade samerna visserligen en viss nationell kulturell rörelse, men kraften i denna rörelse var inte jämförbar med de nordiska staternas "statsideologi" som spred sig till rikenas alla hörn genom administrativa strukturer, såsom folkskolor. Det var alltså stat, och inte nation, som var markören inom hierarkin mellan majoritetsbefolkningar och samer. Begreppet nationalism bör därför utmanas, och tillämpas på ett mer precist sätt i forskningen om samisk utbildning än tidigare gjorts.

Operationaliseringen av rikspråksfunktionen (*the state language function*) angränsar till operationaliseringen av den kulturbärande funktionen (*the culture-bearing function*). Den kulturbärande funktionen var underordnad antagandet (*assumption*) att rikspråken var prioriterade som undervisningsspråk. Denna funktion underströks framför allt av samiska lärare och av präster och biskopar. Funktionen innebar att samiskan skulle få utrymme i skolorna eftersom det var ett folks modersmål och hade en viktig uppgift som en garanti för överlevnaden av detta folks kultur. Också de regionala folkskoleauktoriteterna definierade samerna som en egen kultur, som var separat från majoritetsbefolkningens kultur. Enligt dessa auktoriteter var samernas kultur emellertid inte värd att bevara, och i alla fall inte tillräckligt stark för att klara sig på egen hand. Som en följd av dessa resonemang ansåg de regionala utbildningsauktoriteterna att majoritetsspråket i varje land skulle vara det primära undervisningsspråket i skolorna. Enligt dessa auktoriteter var det enbart majoritetsspråken som kunde ha en progressiv funktion (*the progressive function*), alltså att hjälpa samerna överleva och utvecklas som individer och som kollektiv. Denna syn utmanades av ett antal samiska lärare, och av många präster i alla tre länder. Enligt dessa aktörer var det enbart det samiska språket som kunde förstärka den samiska kulturen. Enligt samiska lärare som Per Fokstad (Norge), Josef Guttorm (Finland) och Sara Nutti (Sverige) hade samiska både en kulturbärande och en progressiv funktion, och språket skulle därför få mera utrymme i skolorna.

I Finlands kateketskolor, ambulerande skolor som administrerades av Kuopio-Uleåborgs stift, var det vanligt att lärarna använde samiska i undervisningen. Den

755 Finland hade två administrativa språk, svenska och finska. Den på det nationella planet stundom väldigt livliga debatten om finskans och svenskans ställning var inte aktuell i det samiska språkområdet där finska var det administrativa språket. Norge hade två skriftspråk, riksmål och landsmål. I Nordnorge hade riksmål en stark position, och i källmaterialet hänvisades oftast enbart till "norska" som det språk som administrationen och skolorna använde.

positiva inställningen till samiskan förklaras delvis med missionstraditionen. Sedan 1600-talet hade kyrkan använt samiska (och finska) i missionsarbete bland samerna i norra Sverige (inklusive Finland). Denna praxis fortsatte i Finlands kateketskolor som hade delansvaret för elementärutbildningen i nordligaste Finland fram till 1950-talet. Den positiva inställningen gentemot samiskan stärktes av finsk nationalism, som innehöll en tanke om skyddandet av andra finsk-ugriska folk, såsom samer. I resonemang av J.R. Koskimies, biskop i nordligaste Finland 1900–1936, var denna tanke synlig. Hierarkin mellan de "utvecklade" finnarna och de "lägrestående" samerna var emellertid tydlig. Enligt Koskimies och andra ledande kyrkliga auktoriteter i norr hade samiskan också en begripliggörande funktion (*the intelligibility function*); den gjorde undervisningssituationen förståelig. Inom kateketskolsystemet existerade en viss pedagogisk pragmatism gällande denna funktion, exemplifierad av kateketen Laura Lehtola, som i sina memoarer skrev om att det för henne alltid hade varit självklart att undervisa barnen på det språk de bäst förstod.

Den begripliggörande funktionen åberopades även i Sverige och Norge. Här var det ofta samerna själva som påpekade att det var slöseri med tid och resurser att undervisa barn som inte kunde ett ord norska eller svenska på just dessa språk. I Sverige hade nomadskolinspektörerna Erik Bergström och Axel Calleberg en viss förståelse för denna funktion. De stödde användningen av samiska i princip men inte i praktiken. En del av samerna fortsatte påpeka avsaknaden av samiska som undervisningsspråk som ett tillkortakommande inom nomadskolsystemet under hela forskningsperioden. Medan samiskan hade en begripliggörande funktion i Finland och Sverige, hade den i Norge också en assimilativ funktion (*the assimilative function*). Av skoldirektörernas och lärarnas uttalanden framgår det tydligt att samiskan i vissa fall kunde användas som hjälpspråk för att främja skolans primära mål i Nordnorge: att assimilera samerna och de finskspråkiga kvänerna till norsktalande norska medborgare. Modersmålets pedagogiska nytta togs till vara, men enbart för att assimilera barnen till att tala norska.

Undervisningsspråkets funktioner var också relaterade till frågor om medborgarskap (*the citizenship function*). I Sverige såg den samepolitiskt aktiva samiska prästen Gustav Park svenska som det språk som skulle leda till kvalitativ undervisning och ett jämlikt medborgarskap. I Norge ansåg de samiska lärarna Isak Saba och Per Fokstad istället att samiskan skulle få existera inom det norska skolväsendet och att det faktum att samerna bodde i Norge inte uteslöt deras grundläggande kulturella och språkliga rättigheter. Också Park i Sverige utgick ifrån att även om svenskan skulle vara undervisningsspråket, skulle samiskan överleva eftersom det talades i barnens hemmiljö.

Även de samer som opponerade sig mot språkpolitiken i skolorna såg många fördelar med undervisning på majoritetsspråket. Förutom att svenska, finska och norska var rikssspråk, var de också resurser inom till exempel handel.

Att kunna majoritetsspråket var en fråga om *managing* ur två perspektiv: ur utbildningsauktoriteternas synvinkel var det *managing* i betydelsen kontrollera. För samer var det däremot fråga om *managing* i bemärkelsen överleva eller bemästra livssituationen. Samerna ansåg att kunskaper i majoritetsspråket var nödvändiga för att klara sig inom de tre nordiska nationalstaterna som sträckte sina administrativa och ekonomiska strukturer allt längre norrut.

Förändring över tid är inte det huvudsakliga fokuset i denna komparativa avhandling. Överlag går det att konstatera att prioriteringarna gällande utbildningsspråkens funktioner var förvånansvärt lika under hela undersökningsperioden. En förklaring är den kontinuitet från tidigare missionsskolsystem som präglade prioriteringarna av undervisningsspråken under tidigt 1900-tal. Inom denna tradition framhävdes samiskans begripliggörande funktion. Detta stämmer framför allt för Finlands och Sveriges del. Missionstraditionen levde vidare också i Norges fall i den meningen att till och med de ivrigaste assimileringsanhängarna fortfarande i slutet av 1920-talet kunde tolerera användningen av samiskan i kristendomsundervisningen.

1900-talet kom också med förändringar, och en viktig utveckling var det allt mer intensiva fokuset på undervisningens kvalitet och effektivitet. Nomadskolinspektörerna i Sverige, folkskoleinspektörerna i Finland, och skoldirektörerna i Norge var anställda för att inspektera, övervaka och utveckla utbildningens kvalitet. Frågan om samiskans användning i undervisningen var alltid underordnad dessa primära mål. De kyrkligt administrerade kateketskolorna i Finland var ett undantag från den ovannämnda prioritetsordningen. Biskop Koskimies och många av de lokala prästerna prioriterade lärarnas kännedom av de lokala förhållandena och deras kunnighet i samiska framför formell kompetens.

Nationsöverskridande rekontextualiseringar. Att bryta med paradigmet om samisk historia som nationell historia

Ett av avhandlingens viktigaste mål har varit att undersöka på vilka sätt en nationsöverskridande historieskrivning om samisk utbildning är möjlig. Jag medger att nationalstaten spelar en viktig roll som forskningsram inom samisk utbildningshistoria. Till skillnad från tidigare forskning är denna insikt emellertid ett resultat av, och inte en utgångspunkt för, min studie. Som resultat kan nationalstatens betydelse te sig obetydlig. Nedan redogör jag emellertid för vad jag kom fram till då nationalstaten fick ge vika för en noggrann analys av nationsöverskridande rekontextualiseringar.

Jag har framför allt intresserat mig för fall där aktörer refererar till undervisningsspråkens institutionella eller samhälleliga funktioner i ett annat land. Ett av de mest givande exemplen är Isak Sabas rekontextualisering av språkpolitiken i storfurstendömet Finland i en norsk-samisk utbildningspolitisk kontext. Saba jämförde skoldirektören i Finnmark Bernt Thomassen med den ryska generalguvernören Nikolaj Bobrikov i Finland, som blev mördad av en finländsk nationalistisk aktivist. I och med denna jämförelse lyckades Saba skapa en analogi mellan ett Finland som kämpade för sin autonomi eller till och med självständighet, och samerna i Norge. Medan finländarna, enligt Saba, var förtryckta under förryskningsåtgärder, var samerna förtryckta i Nordnorges skolor.

Ett annat exempel på nationsöverskridande rekontextualisering är den svenska nomadskolinspektören Erik Bergströms hänvisning till sin resa till internatskolan i Kautokeino i Norge. Bergström berättade om sin resa under ett möte med samiska elevers föräldrar (som var medlemmar i nomadskolfullmäktige). Dessa föräldrar efterlyste mera undervisning på samiska, varpå Bergström svarade att en ökning av undervisning på samiska var planerad, enligt modell från Kautokeino. Norman Fairclough och Ruth Wodak har påpekat att när man studerar rekontextualiseringar, är det lika viktigt att studera det som exkluderas ur den gamla kontexten som det som bevaras. Bergström exkluderade helt samiskans funktion i Kautokeino. Som det tydligt framgår av de norska auktoriteternas texter, användes samiskan i Kautokeino, åtminstone enligt auktoriteternas ideal, enbart i ett syfte: att främja förnorskningen, alltså språkassimileringen, från samiska till norskt riksmål. Det är svårt att säga om Bergström var strategisk eller ignorant, men han framställde situationen i Kautokeino som ett positivt exempel på bruket av samiska inom undervisningen. Samiskans funktion i Kautokeino var däremot att underlätta övergången till undervisning enbart på norska.

Karl Nickul var sekreterare för det Helsingforsbaserade sällskapet *Lapin Sivistysseura*. Hans brevväxling med ett antal framstående akademiska och administrativa personer visar att samernas utbildning var en del av en bred internationell referensram. Nickul skrev om samerna i finska Petsamo till bland annat antropologen Lucy Mair, filosofen Bertrand Russell, USAs ”Commissioner of Indian Affairs”, det amerikanska sällskapet the Progressive Education Association och Muséum national d’Histoire naturelle i Paris. I Nickuls korrespondens jämfördes samernas utbildning med utbildningen av USAs urfolk och med utbildnings- och administrationsinitiativ i Brittiska imperiet.

Ett ytterligare resultat av en öppenhet för nationsöverskridande rekontextualiseringar är upptäckten av aktiva, snarare än reaktiva, uttryck för samisk identifikation, som inte var kopplade till nationalstaterna Sverige,

Finland eller Norge. Per Fokstads tidningsartikel (på nordsamiska) innehöll en vädjan om en samisk kulturell revitalisering inom hela det samiska området. Fokstads kollega Josef Guttorm på finska sidan skrev om samiskan som det självklara språket i det samiska området. Nationsöverskridande uttryck som dessa har fallit utanför tidigare forskares fokusområde eftersom deras intresse primärt har riktat in sig på den nationella kontexten och nationella policys.

När samisk historia studeras ur ett nationsöverskridande perspektiv finns en risk att man tar det samiska för givet och skapar ett nytt metodologiskt paradigm eller hinder. Istället för metodologisk nationalism skapar man nya essentialiseringar. Tidigare forskning har påpekat att de regionala och lokala skillnaderna mellan olika samiska grupper var och är markanta. Istället för att byta ut metodologisk nationalism mot ”metodologisk samiskhet” vill jag föreslå en öppenhet för olika forskningsramar och mod att våga se bortom dagens nationsgränser. Detta medför extra arbete för forskare; man måste kanske lära sig ett nytt språk eller bekanta sig med en ny historiografisk tradition. Min förhoppning är att denna avhandling visar att allt detta är mödan värt.

Tiivistelmä

Saamelaisten kouluhistoriaa on tutkittu paljon Suomen, Ruotsin ja Norjan sisällä. Ylirajaista ja vertailevaa tutkimusta on sitä vastoin vähän. Syitä saamen kielen syrjimiseen tai suosimiseen kouluissa on niin ikään käsitelty vain vähän. Väitöskirjani tuottaa uutta tutkimustietoa tutkimalla lähdeaineistosta esiin nousevia opetuskielten funktioita. Tutkimuksen keskiössä on ajanjakso 1900–1940 ja ne Ruotsin, Suomen ja Norjan koulut, jotka tarjosivat opetusta saamelaislapsille. Funktioita tutkimus käsittelee kahdella kontekstitasolla: institutionaalisella tasolla (tämän tutkimuksen tapauksessa koulutuksen tasolla) ja laajemmalla yhteiskunnallisella (sosiaalipoliittisella) tasolla. Nämä kontekstitasot ovat lainattu kriittisen diskurssianalyysin parissa työskenteleviltä tutkijoilta Martin Reisigliltä ja Ruth Wodakilta. Funktiot valaisevat kontekseja kaikissa kolmessa maassa. Tutkimukseni koskee toisaalta myös funktioita ylirajaisina kohteina. Tässä tapauksessa tarkastelen funktioita *ylirajaisen rekontekstualisoinnin* käsitteen kautta. Ylirajainen rekontekstualisointi on analyyttinen käsite, jonka olen rakentanut kahden eri teoriaperinteen, kriittisen diskurssianalyysin ja *cross-national historyn*, käsitteistön pohjalta. Ylirajaiset rekontekstualisoinnit auttavat ymmärtämään millä tavoin institutionaaliset ja sosiopoliittiset kontekstit vaikuttivat funktioihin. Samalla ne osoittavat että saamelaisen kouluhistorian saralla riittää vielä paljon tutkittavaa, kun tutkimuskehys avataan käsittämään myös ylirajaisia eikä vain kansallisvaltion sisäisiä tutkimuskohteita ja selitysmalleja.

Tutkittavat toimijat ovat seudullisia koulutusauktoriteetteja (Ruotsin nomadikouluntarkastaja, Suomen Lapin kansakouluntarkastaja, Finnmarkin koulujohtaja), saamelaisia opettajia, saamelaisia poliittisia johtajia ja Ruotsin tapauksessa myös saamelaisten koululaisten vanhempia. Näiden toimijoiden jälkeensä jättämät lähteet sopivat hyvin opetuskielen funktioiden tutkimiseen. Kun koulutusauktoriteetit ja saamelaiset toimijat keskustelivat ja neuvottelivat saamen ja enemmistökielten roolista opetuksessa, he viittasivat usein kielten laajempaan funktioon koulutuksessa ja yhteiskunnassa.

Seuraavilla sivuilla esittelen väitöskirjani tärkeimmät tulokset. Ensin käsittelen kunkin maakohtaisen luvun tärkeimpiä johtopäätöksiä vertailevasta näkökulmasta. Tämän jälkeen keskustelu siirtyy ylirajaisen tutkimuksen tuottamiin johtopäätöksiin.

Väitöskirjani osoittaa, että muutamin poikkeuksin joka maan enemmistökielellä oli itsestään selvä asema koulujen ensisijaisena opetuskielenä.

Tämä asema kielillä oli, koska seudulliset koulutusauktoriteetit ja useimmissa tapauksissa myös saamelaiset opettajat ja muut toimijat katsoivat enemmistökielillä olevan tietyn funktion valtion kielenä (*state language*), eli valtakunnan väestön yhteisenä kielenä.[756] Toisaalta jopa kieliassimilaation innokkaimmat kannattajat katsoivat saamelaisten muodostavan oman kansakuntansa. Tällä kansakunnalla ei kuitenkaan ollut omaa valtiota, ja täten sen kieleltä puuttui legitimiteetti. Kuten suomalainen kansakouluntarkastaja Kaarlo Kerkkonen asian ilmaisi, saamelaisilla oli kylläkin oma kansallinen heräämisensä ja liikehdintänsä. Tämän liikkeen voima ei kuitenkaan mitenkään vetänyt vertoja Pohjolan valtioiden "valtioaatteelle", joka valtion hallintokoneiston ja muun muassa kansakoulujen kautta levisi valtioiden kaikkiin osiin. Valtaväestön ja saamelaisten välisen hierarkian tuottamisessa korostui siis nimenomaan valtion, eikä niinkään kansakunnan käsitteen merkitys. Tästä syystä nationalismin käsitettä pitää saamelaisten kouluhistorian tapauksessa soveltaa tarkemmin ja vähemmän ylimalkaisesti kuin aikaisempi tutkimus on tehnyt.

Valtion kielen funktion operationalisointi (*the state language function*) rajautuu kulttuuria kantavan funktion operationalisointiin (*the culture-bearing function*). Kulttuuria kantava funktio oli alisteinen olettamukselle että valtion kieli oli pääasiallisena opetuskielenä. Tätä funktiota painottivat erityisesti saamelaiset opettajat sekä papit ja piispat. Kulttuuria kantava funktio tarkoitti että saamen tulisi saada tilaa kouluissa koska se oli kansan äidinkieli. Sellaisena sillä oli tärkeä tehtävä kansan kulttuurin elinvoiman takaajana. Myös seudulliset koulutusauktoriteetit määrittelivät saamelaiset omaksi kulttuurikseen, joka oli erillään valtakulttuureista. Näiden auktoriteettien mielestä saamelaiskulttuuri ei kuitenkaan ollut säilyttämisen arvoinen, eikä sillä heidän mielestään ollut mahdollisuutta ja voimaa säilyä ja selviytyä itsenäisenä kulttuurina. Tästä syystä valtakieliä suosittiin koulujen opetuskielinä. Seudullisten auktoriteettien mukaan vain valtakielillä oli edistyksellinen funktio (*the progressive function*), eli kyky auttaa saamelaisia selviytymään mutta myös kehittymään yksilöinä ja yhteisönä. Useat saamelaisopettajat ja monet papit haastoivat tämän näkemyksen kaikissa kolmessa maassa. Tämän opposition mukaan vain saamen kieli saattoi kehittää ja nostaa saamelaiskulttuuria. Koska ainoastaan saamella oli saamelaisopettajien, kuten Per Fokstadin (Norja), Josef Guttormin (Suomi)

756 Norjan ja Suomen tapauksessa valtion kieliä oli kummassakin maassa kaksi, Norjassa riksmål (kirjanorja) ja landsmål (uusnorja), ja Suomessa suomi ja ruotsi. Saamelaisen koulutuksen tapauksessa Norjan ja Suomen edellä mainittuihin kieliin liittyvät kielikeskustelut ja -kiistat eivät kuitenkaan olleet esillä. Tämä johtui siitä, että saamen lisäksi Suomen Lapissa asui lähinnä suomenkielistä väestöä. Norjan pohjoisosissa taas saamelaisten norjalaistaminen nousi tärkeämmäksi prioriteetiksi kuin kysymys siitä, millä norjan versiolla opetusta tuli tarjota. Useimmissa tapauksessa opetusta annettiin kirjanorjaksi.

sekä Sara Nuttin (Ruotsi) mukaan sekä kulttuuria kantava että edistyksellinen funktio, he vaativat sille lisää tilaa ja huomiota kouluissa.

Suomessa Kuopion-Oulun[757] hiippakunnan hallinnoimissa katekeettakouluissa opettajat käyttivät saamea opetuksessa varsin yleisesti. Tämä positiivinen asenne selittyy osin lähetystyön perinteellä. 1600-luvulta lähtien kirkko käytti saamea (ja suomea) lähetystyössä saamelaisten parissa Ruotsissa ja Suomessa. Tämä käytäntö jatkui Suomen katekeettakouluissa, joilla oli osavastuu pohjoisimman Suomen alkeisopetuksesta aina 1950-luvulle asti. Positiivinen asenne saamen kieltä kohtaan vahvistui vielä suomalaisen kansallisaatteen myötä. Fennomaanisen kulttuurinationalismin mukaan saame oli sukulaiskielenä periaatteessa suojelemisen arvoinen, vaikka hierarkia ”kehittyneiden” suomalaisten ja saamelaisten välillä olikin selkeä. Tämä asenne oli selvästi näkyvillä Suomen pohjoisimman hiippakunnan piispan J.R. Koskimiehen teksteissä. Kulttuuria kantavan funktion lisäksi Koskimies ja monet muut johtavat kirkolliset auktoriteetit katsoivat saamella olevan tärkeän funktion opetuksen ymmärrettävyyden kannalta (*the intelligibility function*). Etenkin katekeettakouluissa oli vallalla tietynlainen pragmatismi opetuskielen suhteen. Esimerkiksi katekeetta Laura Lehtola totesi muistelmissaan aina opettaneensa sillä kielellä, jota lapset parhaiten ymmärsivät.

Opetuksen ymmärrettävyyden funktioon viitattiin ahkerasti myös Ruotsissa ja Norjassa. Monessa tapauksessa saamelaiset itse huomauttivat, että lasten opettaminen kielellä, jota lapset eivät ymmärtäneet, oli ajan ja resurssien haaskausta. Ruotsissa nomadikouluntarkastajilta Erik Bergströmiltä ja Axel Callebergiltä löytyi periaatteessa ymmärrystä tälle funktiolle ja siten saamen käytölle kouluissa. Käytännössä saamen asema oli kuitenkin heikko, kuten koko tutkimusajanjakson läpi jatkuneet saamelaisilta tulleet huomautukset todistavat. Ruotsissa ja Suomessa saamella oli siis opetuksen ymmärrettävyyden funktio. Norjassa viitattiin tämän funktion lisäksi myös saamen assimilatiiviseen funktioon (*the assimilative function*). Norjan koulunjohtajat (vastaa suurin piirtein Suomen ja Ruotsin kansakouluntarkastajia) sekä osa opettajistosta näki saamen funktion opetuksessa olevan kieliassimilaation edistäminen. Tässä tapauksessa oppilaiden äidinkielen pedagoginen etu hyödynnettiin norjalaistamisen nimissä.

Opetuskielen funktiot liittyivät myös kysymykseen kansalaisuudesta ja sen sisällöstä (*the citizenship function*). Ruotsissa poliittisesti aktiivinen saamelainen pappi Gustav Park piti ruotsia opetuskielenä, joka johtaisi laadukkaaseen opetukseen ja tasa-arvoiseen kansalaisuuteen. Norjassa saamelaisopettajat Isak Saba ja Per Fokstad sen sijaan pitivät tärkeänä saamen nostamista opetuskieleksi.

757 Oulun hiippakunnan nimi oli vuoteen 1923 asti Kuopion hiippakunta, vaikka piispanistuin sijaitsi vuodesta 1900 lähtien Oulussa. Väitöskirjassani käytän hiippakunnasta kaksoisnimeä Kuopion-Oulun hiippakunta.

Heidän mukaansa se tosiasia, että saamelaiset asuivat Norjassa ei estänyt heidän perustavanlaatuisia kansalaisoikeuksiaan kieleen ja kulttuuriin. Myös Park perusti mielipiteensä ruotsista opetuskielenä olettamukseen, että saamen kieli säilyisi lasten kotiympäristössä.

Myös ne saamelaiset, jotka kritisoivat koulujen kielipolitiikkaa, näkivät enemmistökielen osaamisessa tiettyjä etuja. Enemmistökielellä oli heidän mukaansa monia hyödyllisiä funktioita. Sen lisäksi, että enemmistökielet olivat valtion kieliä, ne olivat myös resursseja muun muassa kaupankäynnissä. Valtakielen osaaminen oli tämän väitöskirjan otsikon mukaisesti *managing* kahdesta näkökulmasta: Koulutusauktoriteettien näkökulmasta saamelaisten enemmistökielen osaaminen helpotti kontrolloimista ja hallinnoimista (*managing*). Saamelaisten opettajien ja muiden toimijoiden kohdalla *managing* taas tarkoitti enemmän selviytymistä tai tilanteen hallitsemista. Saamelaiset katsoivat valtion enemmistökielen osaamisen olevan hyödyllinen ja välttämätön asia pärjäämiseksi valtioissa, jotka ulottivat hallinnolliset ja taloudelliset rakenteensa yhä edemmäs saamelaisten asuinseuduille.

Yleisellä tasolla on merkillepantavaa, kuinka vähän funktioiden priorisoinnit muuttuivat tutkimani jakson aikana. Ajanjakso 1900–1940 käsitti muun muassa Suomen ja Norjan itsenäistymisen sekä merkittäviä infrastruktuuriprojekteja kaikkien kolmen maan pohjoisilla alueilla. Näistä tapahtumista ei ole juurikaan jäänyt jälkiä saamelaisten koulutusta ja opetuskieltä koskeviin dokumentteihin. Houkutuksena olisi todeta, että tämä selittyy saamelaislasten opetuksen perifeerisyydellä suhteessa valtakunnan tason politiikan tärkeimpiin kysymyksiin. Toisaalta koulutus- ja kielipolitiikassa näkyi, etenkin suomen katekeettakoulujen ja Ruotsin nomadikoulujen tapauksessa tietty vuosisatainen, lähetyskouluista alkanut jatkumo. Saamen kielellä katsottiin luterilaisesta opetuksesta periytyvän ymmärrettävyyden funktion takia ainakin periaatteessa olevan paikkansa opetuksessa. Toisaalta laajemmin saame oli käytössä opetuskielenä vain Suomen kirkollisissa katekeettakouluissa. Myös Norjassa muuten kovan norjalaistamislinjan ottaneet koulujohtajat katsoivat saamella olevan tietyn funktion ja paikkansa uskonnonopetuksessa. Toinen syy muutoksen vähäisyydelle on se, että kysymys saamesta opetuskielenä oli, Suomen katekeettakouluja lukuun ottamatta, seudullisten auktoriteettien artikuloinneissa aina alisteinen opetuksen laadulle ja tehokkuudelle. Ruotsin nomadikouluntarkastaja, Suomen Lapin kansakouluntarkastaja ja Pohjois-Norjan koulujohtajat olivat kaikki palkattuja laadun ja tehokkaan opetuksen valvontaan ja kehittämiseen. Vaikka osa näistä seudullisista auktoriteeteista Ruotsissa ja Suomessa tukivatkin saamea opetuskielenä periaatteessa, kysymys saamen kielen opetuksesta ei koskaan noussut merkittäväksi prioriteetiksi.

Ylirajainen rekontekstualisointi ja metodologisen nationalismin paradgiman murtaminen: saamelainen historia ylirajaisena historiana

Yksi tutkimukseni tärkeimmistä tavoitteista on ollut selvittää, millä tavoin saamelaisten kouluhistoriasta voi kirjoittaa ylirajaisesti. En väitä, etteikö kansallisvaltiolla ja sen rajoilla olisi suurta merkitystä saamelaisen historian tutkimuskehyksenä. Aikaisemmasta tutkimuksesta poiketen tämä näkemys on kuitenkin tutkimuksen tulos eikä sen lähtökohta. Tutkimustuloksena kansallisvaltion merkitys voi vaikuttaa itsestään selvältä ja vähäiseltä. Seuraavassa selvitän mihin johtopäätöksin tulin kun kansallisvaltio hetkeksi sai antaa tilaa ylirajaisten rekontekstualisointien tutkimiselle.

Tutkimuksessani olen ennen kaikkea nostanut esiin tapauksia, joissa toimijat viittaavat opetuskielen institutionaalisiin tai sosiopoliittisiin funktioihin toisessa maassa. Eräs mielenkiintoisimmista esimerkeistä on Isak Saban kirjoitus, jossa hän rekontekstualisoi Suomen venäläistämispolitiikan norjalais-saamelaiseen koulutuspoliittiseen kontekstiin. Saba vertasi Finnmarkin koulujohtajaa Suomen kenraalikuvernööri Bobrikoviin. Tämän vertauksen avulla Saban onnistui tuottaa analogia autonomian puolesta taistelevan Suomen ja Norjan saamelaisten välille. Suomalaisten ollessa Saban mukaan sorrettuja venäläistämistoimien alla olivat saamelaiset puolestaan sorrettuja Pohjois-Norjan koulupolitiikan vuoksi.

Toinen esimerkki ylirajaisesta rekontekstualisoinnista on ruotsalaisen nomadikouluntarkastajan Erik Bergströmin viittaus matkaansa Norjan Kautokeinon sisäoppilaitokseen. Bergström kertoi matkastaan kokouksessa nomadikoulun oppilaiden vanhempien kanssa (jotka olivat jäseniä nomadikouluvaltuustossa). Valtuusto toivoi lisää saamenkielistä opetusta. Bergström vastasi toiveeseen toteamalla että laajennus saamen kielen opetukseen oli suunnitteilla Norjan Kautokeinon mallin mukaisesti. Kuten Norman Fairclough ja Ruth Wodak ovat todenneet, rekontekstualisoinnin tapauksessa on tärkeätä huomioida yhtälailla se mitä lähtökontekstista jätetään mainitsematta kuin se, mitä mainitaan. Bergström jätti täysin mainitsematta saamen funktion Kautokeinon sisäoppilaitoksessa. Kuten norjalaisten auktoriteettien teksteistä selvästi ilmenee, saamea käytettiin Kautokeinossa (ainakin auktoriteettien ihanteissa) ainoastaan yhteen tarkoitukseen: norjalaistamisen tehostamiseen,

eli kielen vaihtamiseen saamesta norjaksi. On vaikea sanoa oliko Bergström laskelmoiva vai tietämätön, mutta hän esitti Kautokeinon tapauksen positiivisena esimerkkinä saamen käytöstä opetuksessa. Kielen funktio Kautokeinossa oli sitä vastoin saamen kielelle negatiivinen: saamen kielen vaihtaminen norjaksi.

Helsinkiläisen Lapin Sivistysseuran (perustettu 1932) sihteerin Karl Nickulin laaja Petsamon saamelaisia koskeva kansainvälinen kirjeenvaihto on osoitus Pohjoismaita laajemmasta saamelaisen kouluhistorian viitekehyksestä. Nickul kävi kirjeenvaihtoa saamelaisten koulutuksesta monien kansainvälisesti merkittävien tieteen ja hallinnon huippunimien kanssa. Näiden joukosta voidaan mainita antropologi Lucy Mair, filosofi Bertrand Russell, USA:n ”Commissioner of Indian Affairs”, yhdysvaltalainen the Progressive Education Association -seura sekä Pariisin Muséum national d’histoire naturelle. Kirjeenvaihdossa Petsamon saamelaisten koulutusta verrattiin muun muassa USA:n alkuperäisväestöjen koulutusta koskeviin aloitteisiin sekä Brittiläisen imperiumin koulutus- ja hallintomalleihin.

Ylirajaisuudelle avoimessa tutkimuksessa huomio kiinnittyy myös aktiivisiin, eikä vain reaktiivisiin (suhteessa Ruotsiin, Suomeen ja Norjaan määrittyviin) saamelaisen identifikaation ilmauksiin. Per Fokstadin pohjoissaamenkielinen lehtiartikkeli saamelaiskulttuurin elpymisen ehdoista koko saamelaisalueella on esimerkki tästä. Suomen puolella Fokstadin kollega Josef Guttorm kirjoitti saamesta itsestään selvänä kielenä saamelaisalueella. Tällaiset lähteet ovat tietenkin myös vain yhden valtion historiaa tutkivien historioitsijoiden saavutettavissa. Kuvaamani ilmaisut ovat kuitenkin pitkälti jääneet aikaisemmassa tutkimuksessa huomiotta sen fokuksen ollessa nimenomaan yhden valtion politiikassa

Kun saamelaista historiaa tutkitaan ylirajaisesta näkökulmasta on olemassa riski, että saamelaisuus käsitetään itsestäänselvyytenä ja täten luodaan uusi metodologinen paradigma tai este. Metodologisen nationalismin sijaan luodaankin uusia essentialisointeja. Aiempi tutkimus on osoittanut paikallisten ja seudullisten erojen saamelaiskulttuurin sisällä olevan merkittäviä. Sen sijaan, että vaihtaisin metodologisen nationalismin ”metodologiseen saamelaisuuteen”, peräänkuulutan avoimuutta erilaisille tutkimuskehyksille ja rohkeutta katsoa tämän päivän valtionrajojen yli ja tuolle puolen. Tämä tuottaa tutkijalle lisätyötä ja saattaa vaatia esimerkiksi uuden kielen opettelemista tai uuteen historiografiseen perinteeseen tutustumista. Toivon väitöskirjani osoittavan, että se työ on vaivan arvoinen.

Libelli iucundi historicorum Holmiensium

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1. Otso Kortekangas. *Tools of teaching and means of managing: Educational and sociopolitical functions of languages of instruction in elementary schools with Sámi pupils in Sweden, Finland and Norway 1900–1940 in a cross-national perspective.* 2017.