Skolt Sámi Language and Cultural Revitalization: A case study of a Skolt Sámi language nest

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

The topic of this study is the role of language nests in the language and culture revitalization of Skolt Sámi. Language nests are used for revitalizing a threatened indigenous language and/or culture using a language bath method in a so-called perfect language environment with the help of everyday interaction and care in a culturally sensitive way. Using the Skolt Sámi language nest Pe´sser in Ivalo as an example, the study discusses the operational environment of language nests at a practical level as well as at the levels of local Sámi community and the Finnish society. It is also the first ethnographic study on the Skolt Sámi language nests.

The data was gathered through ethnographic participant observation, interviews, and discourse analysis combined with methods from authoethnographic reflexivity and indigenous studies. The language nest activities and their meaning for the community were observed within the contexts of language learning and socialization as well as postmodern identity.

Based on the study, it can be said that the children gain linguistic capabilities and familiarize themselves with the Sámi culture in the language nest. As in other language nest studies, it was noted that the language nests are not sufficient for achieving revitalization by themselves, but also other domains are needed where the indigenous people can use their language and promote and practice their culture.

The changing life and work situations were problematic for the continuity and the language community of the language nest. Attitudes towards the language and culture also affect the participation in the nests and the support for them. The discrimination against the Skolts and the stigma for using the language are still visible in the community, affecting the language and culture revitalization.

The roles of the society and the Sámi community were pronounced in the way in which the language nest funding is decided and in the regulations concerning the nests. The role of (social) media is also increasingly important for understanding the role and the meaning of the language nests and also for creating modern Sámi identities. The language nests have an important role as symbols of hope as well as places where the community members can participate in the language and culture revitalization.

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language nest, Skolt Sámi, language revitalization, socialization, language community, indigenous identity

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

Tutkielman aiheena on kielipesätoiminnan merkitys koltansaamen kielen ja kulttuurin revitalisaatiolle ja kielipesien toimintaympäristö kielipesän, saamelaisyhteisön ja suomalaisen yhteiskunnan tasolla. Tutkimus on ensimmäinen koltansaamen kielipesän toimintaa etnografisesti tarkasteleva tutkimus. Tapausesimerkkinä käytetään Ivalon koltansaamen kielipesää Pe´sseriä. Kielipesällä tarkoitetaan kielikylpypäivähoitotoimintaa, jossa tarkoituksena on elvyttää alkuperäiskansan uhanalaista kieltä ja kulttuuria päivittäisten hoitotoimenpiteiden ja heidän kulttuuriinsa pohjautuvien toimintojen avulla ns. täydellisessä kieliympäristössä.

Metodeina käytettiin etnografista tutkimusta, haastatteluja ja diskurssianalyysia yhdistettynä autoetnografiseen refleksiivisyyteen ja alkuperäiskansatutkimukseen. Kielipesän toimintaa ja merkitystä tarkasteltiin kielen oppimisen ja revitalisaation sekä sosialisaation kautta postmodernin identiteetin viitekehyksessä.

Aineiston perusteella voidaan sanoa, että kielipesän lapset tutustuvat saamelaiseen kulttuuriin ja saavat kielellisiä valmiuksia kielipesässä. Kuten muissa kielipesä-tutkimuksissa on todettu, kielipesä itsessään ei kuitenkaan riitä kielen ja kulttuurin jatkuvuuden takaamiseen, vaan vaaditaan myös muita domeeneita, joissa alkuperäis-kansan jäsenet voivat käyttää kieltään ja edistää kulttuuriaan.

Perheiden vaihtuvat työ- ja asumistilanteet aiheuttivat vaikeuksia kielipesän jatkuvuuden ja kieliyhteisön syntymisen kannalta. Asenteet kieltä ja kulttuuria kohtaan vaikuttavat kuitenkin vahvasti yhteisön tukeen ja osallistumiseen kielipesässä. Kolttasaamelaisten kokema syrjintä ja stigma kieltä ja sen puhumista kohtaan näkyvät jossain määrin yhteisössä edelleen hankaloittaen kielen ja kulttuurin elvyttämistoimia.

Yhteiskunnan ja saamelaisyhteisön merkitys korostuu kielipesän toiminnassa etenkin rahoituksen ja toimintaa ohjaavien säädösten kautta. Lisäksi (sosiaalisen) median rooli korostuu kielipesien merkitystä arvioitaessa ja toisaalta modernin saamelaisen identiteetin luomisessa. Kielipesien merkitys korostuu kielen ja kulttuurin elvytyksen kentällä toivoa antavana symbolina ja toisaalta konkreettisena kielen ja kulttuurin elvytyksen tilana, jossa yhteisön jäsenet voivat osallistua toimintaan.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords

Kielipesä, kielen revitalisaatio, sosialisaatio, kolttasaamelaiset, kieliyhteisö, alkuperäiskansaidentiteetti

i. Acknowledgements

Like the river Ivalo flowing from the fjells, through the town of Ivalo, eventually reaching the lake Inari lapping the shores of Inari village and flowing to the wider world, this thesis started small and kept gaining momentum over time. The process has been long and meandering, starting already in early 2013, though the topic had interested me for a long time even before starting this work. Throughout the process I have had the privilege of advice and support from various people both in and out of academia, people whose knowledge and experience have greatly enriched this work, and in the spirit of acknowledging the indigenous perspective, I wish to give my thanks. All mistakes (and things left out) are naturally my own fault.

My greatest thanks go naturally to "Maa´ren" and "Liizz" who allowed me to follow them in their work for weeks at a time and gave me invaluable input and support throughout the whole process, as well as the children and the families of the language nest. Without them this work could never have been done and I wish them and the whole Skolt Sámi community all the best. I hope that in the future I can keep contributing in some small ways and give back at least a fragment of what they have given me. I regret that I did not have the chance to translate the abstract into Skolt Sámi for this version, but my hope is to remedy that in the future.

Many people helped me along the way with practical and theoretical contributions. Annika Pasanen gave me useful advice on finding the right topic and was a very helpful informant and interviewee, in addition to her research giving me an important point for comparison. Pirkko Saarela helped me to contact the language nest in Ivalo and Pia Pasanen in the Sámi Parliament offered useful insight on the situation of the language nests in Finland at both societal and Sámi community level. All the Sámi people I came across during the study helped me tremendously with their interested and understanding attitude, especially the language nest workers and other people I interviewed or had a chance to talk to about my project. I also wish to thank all the people who hosted me throughout the fieldwork, both in Ivalo and Inari, and gave me shelter from the nightless nights of Northern Lapland.

Over the course of writing this I ended up traveling from Helsinki to Ivalo to Tromsø and back and forth to Helsinki again (not unlike many of the Sámi families involved in the study). My fellow students and teachers in the anthropology department in Helsinki and in the indigenous studies master's program in Tromsø were extremely helpful with their comments, questions, and remarks on the topic and contents of this thesis. Paula Virtala and Daryl Weir helped me with the language as well as lent a helpful ear when I needed to process my thoughts aloud. Daryl also helped me recover the interview recordings that I almost lost when switching computers, and for that I am very grateful. An assortment of other friends and family offered support and advice throughout the process, and I thank them all for their contributions.

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Thank you, kiitos, *spä´sseb*!

This study is dedicated to the wonderful, joyous children of Pe´sser. They never ceased to inspire me with their endless curiosity, willingness to involve me in whatever they were doing, and straightforward attitude towards me, and all the people in the nest. The past may be silent, but the future is theirs for the taking.

> *"In the recent time when a great silence befell on Sápmi;*
> *It is remembered how many new people arrived to Sápmi,*
> *It is remembered how these people wanted more and more of the things that are in Sápmi,*
> *It is remembered how their borders divided Sápmi and the Sámi had to change,*
> *It is remembered how many people came to Sápmi to take Sámi things and lands away,*
> *It is remembered how war came to Sápmi and a brother was against a brother, a sister against a sister,*
> *It is remembered how Skolts had to go to Finland and others stayed in the lands of the Russians*
> *It is remembered how the Finns ignored the Sámi in their need,*
> *It is remembered how a great silence befell on Sápmi.*
> *All of these things and many more are remembered of the recent time when a great silence befell on Sápmi."*
>
> – From Mustonen, Tero & Mustonen, Kaisu 2013. The Six Times of the Eastern Sámi. *Eastern Sami Atlas*. Vaasa, Finland: Snowchange. Pp. 22-23

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1 Introduction

This thesis is a study of Skolt Sámi[1] language and culture revitalization with a focus on language nests as a method and a place for language and cultural socialization, using the Skolt Sámi language nest Pe´sser ("pearls" in Skolt Sámi) in Ivalo as an example. A language nest is a full-immersion daycare program for children with no previous knowledge of the desired language. They have often been used as a method in language revitalization to create new language speaking generations in indigenous and/or endangered language communities where the language transference has been disrupted due to state discrimination and negative language attitudes. In addition to the practical aspect of providing families with childcare, language nests also have the dual purpose of teaching children the desired language as well as introducing them to the endangered and/or indigenous culture through language and activities.

Among the Sámi, language nests have been used for revitalization purposes since early 1990s, but they have only been well established since late 1990s. In recent years the Sámi community has been able to see some of the children who learned the basics of the language and culture in language nests during their first years in operation returning to the community as teachers, journalists, writers, artisans etc. working in and with the Sámi language in their everyday lives. Especially the Inari Sámi language nests are recognized as being highly successful in revitalizing Inari Sámi (Pasanen 2003; 2015; Olthuis et al. 2013).

Skolt Sámi is one of the smallest and most endangered of Sámi languages in the Fenno-Ugric language family, with around 300 speakers (Sanila-Aikio 2016). Despite the relative success of the language nests in Finland, the Skolts continue to face many challenges in revitalizing their language and culture. The removal of the Skolts from the traditional homeland in the Petsamo area in the aftermath of the Second World War still affect the health and the identity of the community members among those few who still

[1] There are several spellings for the Sámi in English – Sami and Saami are both widely used, but Sámi seems to be the most widely used. I also could have used the Skolt Sámi term *sää´m*, but as that is hardly used at all in academic context, I considered Sámi to be the most appropriate choice.

[2] Many of the Skolt Sámi were forcibly evacuated from their homelands in the WWII and relocated to a number of remote areas in the north-eastern Finnish Lapland (see Itkonen 2012, 29; Pasanen 2015, 378).

[3] Even though I talk about "community" and the Sámi "as a whole", these terms are relatively

are living and their descendants.[2] Many of these Skolts have lost the natural connection to their language and culture, having grown up and lived in overwhelmingly Finnish society. The situation is not much better among the Inari Sámi, and both of these Sámi minority groups have faced discrimination and marginalization.

The focus of this study is in how the Skolt Sámi use the language nest as a symbol, a method, and a place of language revitalization as well as a place to understand and explore the Skolt Sámi culture and identity. Rather than analyzing the children's language skills and competence with linguistic methods, the aim is to show the everyday life of the people in and around the language nest, and how that relates to the larger purpose of language and culture revitalization. I also explore the societal and communal context in which the language nests operate as it pertains to the language and culture revitalization.

In this chapter I present the research questions and discuss the anthropological relevance of these questions, as well as a brief overview of previous research concerning the Sámi, language nests, and language and culture revitalization among indigenous peoples. Then I will present some of the existing theory concerning the study of language socialization in anthropology, the indigenous identity, and the concepts of place and space in relation to studying language and children in a Sámi context.

1.1 Research question(s) and the structure and scope of the study

After a long-lasting interest in Sámi and indigenous peoples, I became interested in language nests when I realized that even among the Sámi there are still many children who never have the chance to learn the language of their heritage. I wanted to learn more about the different methods of revitalization and the role of language nests in the process. This is what I set out to do, though the project ended up being something more: in the end I gained some insight into the complex project that is the language and culture revitalization of the indigenous peoples around the world. In this study I focus

[2] Many of the Skolt Sámi were forcibly evacuated from their homelands in the WWII and relocated to a number of remote areas in the north-eastern Finnish Lapland (see Itkonen 2012, 29; Pasanen 2015, 378).

on the Skolt Sámi language and culture revitalization as it happens in the Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest Pe´sser.

As the focus of this study expanded, my research questions ended up manifold: I wanted to understand the scope of the language nests and the Skolt Sámi revitalization not only on a local, practical, language learning level, but also on a bigger, communal and societal level. Thus I ended up with the following questions:

- How do the Sámi build their and the language nest children's identities and awareness of the language and culture in the context of the language nest and in relation to it?
- What kind of a role does the language nest as a method and a place of socialization play in the Skolt Sámi efforts to revitalize their language and culture, and how is this affected by language attitudes and prejudice?
- How do the practical, social, and societal matters influence the Skolt Sámi language nest, and what kind of meanings does the language nest hold in these contexts?

Through answering these questions I attempt to analyze the conditions the language nests (and especially the Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest) operate in, as well as to highlight some of the most pressing issues that have an impact on the success of the revitalization of the Skolt Sámi language and culture. As a conclusion I argue that language nests are meaningful spheres of linguistic and cultural action and identity, as well as important points of connection for revitalization actors in the Sámi revitalization process.

Structurally the study moves from the practical, language nest floor level to discuss the relationships between the language nest, the parents, and the Sámi community, culminating in a discussion of the actors at a societal level and their influence in the everyday life of the Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest. Throughout the thesis I attempt to illustrate the main points of the Skolt Sámi revitalization process in relation to other Sámi language nests in Finland, especially the Inari Sámi language nests as presented by Pasanen (2003; 2015). I argue firstly that in the language nest the Sámi identity is gained through language learning and cultural elements learned at the language nests and through interaction with the surrounding Sámi community, and secondly that at the same time, strong parental and societal support is required in the form of positive

language attitudes and resources (including time and money) to support the socialization process. A part of the discussion is also discussing the reasons for the language loss and the need for revitalization – based on the discussions I had in the language nest and with the Sámi parents it became apparent that the need for revitalization has its roots in the community trauma and state discrimination. Indeed, with negative language attitudes and prejudices affecting people's willingness to learn Sámi and support the culture, it is harder to recruit new speakers and include more people in the revitalization process.

One of the main arguments in this study is that Sámi language nests reflect many of the issues and arguments that are also relevant to the Sámi community as a whole, rather than being insulated from the societal or communal influences.[3] The attitudes and interests of the families, Sámi community (including the Sámi parliament), municipalities, and the Finnish government and parliament all influence the way the revitalization process takes place and how well it succeeds. Many of the issues and problems language nests face are relevant to all language nests and affect revitalization efforts among all the Finnish Sámi, but there are also some issues that are relevant only to the Skolt Sámi or the Skolt Sámi language nest (and families involved) in Ivalo.

This research is important, as it is one of the few studies on language nests and especially Sámi language nests from an anthropological perspective. Unlike the previous linguistic and sociolinguistic studies, this thesis analyzes the role of the language nest in relation to the society and community. It also adds to the larger discussion of language and culture revitalization and the study of children in language nest context. Additionally I attempt a small contribution to the understanding of (post)modern indigenous identities as they are built in the language nests. It is also the first ethnographic study of the Skolt Sámi language nest(s).

Originally I set out to study the language and the motivations within the nest, but the culture and the surrounding society "interfered" – I never expected the very small children of the language nest and their families to be so affected by the history and its "burden" (as discussed in 5.4). In the end this was a discussion I could not completely ignore, though the study undoubtedly hardly does justice to the complexity of the

[3] Even though I talk about "community" and the Sámi "as a whole", these terms are relatively problematic, as they take the Sámi as a group and an ethnic identity for granted and the Skolt Sámi as a defined group when in truth no such thing exists.

situation and the historical patterns of discrimination and ignorance towards the Sámi. When looking for understanding of the whole, I may have overlooked some of the dissenting or conflicting voices in the community. Not all Skolts or Sámi would agree with my analysis here, though I have tried to do justice to the people I interviewed and/or interacted with.

In the end the scope of the study ended up quite expansive, as the study covers such topics as culture, socialization, language, identity, and collective history and trauma. To do justice to these topics and their interrelatedness, and also to explain the methodological choices fully, this study is possibly longer than is regular. As there are only a few studies on language nests and especially the Skolt Sámi language nests, a thorough description of the phenomenon seemed appropriate considering possible future research. The many layers of the topic combined with an extended methodological discussion stretched the boundaries of what is considered conventional in a thesis, but in the end I considered this necessary in order to acknowledge the debt I have to the indigenous approach that strongly influenced this work. Before going deeper into the methodologies, however, I will discuss some of the previous research on the Sámi and the language nests, as well as some of the theoretical discussions that most informed this work.

1.2 Background for the study and previous research

1.2.1 The Sámi as an Indigenous People

Currently there are about 75 000 Sámi in all, living in Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia, but the number varies according to the estimates (Sámediggi 2014). In Finland there are about 9 000 Sámi, of which only about 1 000 are Skolts. Only a minority of the Sámi actually speak the language(s), as for example only about a third of the Skolts consider themselves to be Skolt Sámi speakers. Language is also one of the most important ways to define the ethnicity: according to the law a Sámi is a person who considers themselves to be a Sámi with the stipulation that they or one of their parents or grandparents has learned Sámi as their first language (Laki saamelaiskäräjistä 974/1995). The definition of a Sámi varies across the countries, but in most cases it is tied to the linguistic proficiency. This makes the fact that most of the Sámi languages (including Skolt Sámi) are severely endangered all the more worrying. To battle the

cultural and linguistic assimilation there has been an increasing interest in preserving and revitalizing the language, the primary means being enabling the study of the languages at all education levels as well as the right to study in Sámi in elementary and high schools (in the Sámi Homeland Region) and the right to participate in Sámi daycare.

These days Skolt Sámi language is the most severely endangered of Sámi languages in Finland with only some 300 speakers, though there are almost as few Inari Sámi speakers as well. The situation with Inari Sámi is considered to be better than previously as the Inari Sámi language nests and other revitalization efforts have made the continuation of the language to the younger generation possible (Pasanen 2003; 2005; 2015). For various reasons, despite all the efforts, the Skolt Sámi have not managed to reach the same level of reversal of language shift from Skolt Sámi to other languages. There is a considerable "generational gap" between the elders, who learned the language at home in their childhood, and the young people who learn the language at language nests and at school, with the majority of the people, who never learned the language, in between. These are most often called the middle generation or even "the lost generation" (Grenoble & Whaley 2006, 57, 90). The situation of discontinued language transference is as dire in both Inari and Skolt Sámi communities, and the lack of opportunities for language transference makes language nests crucial for keeping the language alive.

Most of the research on the Sámi has been either linguistic or related to the beliefs and practices of the Sámi culture (such as yoiks and leu´dds, the traditional songs and performances), but there is a definite lack of ethnographic research on the Sámi in the recent years. One of the most important ethnographies on the Skolt Sámi is Tim Ingold's *The Skolt Lapps Today* (1976), but the main focus of that study is the modes of occupation and reindeer herding at a time when the situation of the language looked very different from today. Since Ingold's ethnography, there have been only a few ethnographies specifically on the Skolt Sámi, though the political situation and the Skolt society has changed considerably since its publication. More recently, Panu Itkonen studied the Skolt Sámi reindeer herding (Itkonen 2012), but both Itkonen and Ingold's studies have focused more on the traditional livelihood of reindeer herding and the social organization of the Sevettijärvi community of the Skolt Sámi rather than the cultural or linguistic aspects of the society.

In the past few years most of the studies done on the Sámi issues are reports on various matters, the most noteworthy here being reports on Sámi language revitalization efforts (OKM 2012), the educational needs of Sámi language and culture (Rasmus 2010), the use of Sámi in Utsjoki municipality (Länsman & Tervaniemi 2012), and the Skolt Sámi revitalization needs (Moshnikoff & Moshnikoff 2006). These reports are more political than scientific in nature but provide a fairly good picture of the general state of Sámi language and social matters. Even so, most of the academic research on the Sámi has focused on linguistic and socio-linguistic aspects of the society, ignoring the ways the language and culture is learned and used in practice.

The other tangent of recent Sámi research has been the questions of political activity and identity politics. This research has mostly been done by scholars who are Sámi themselves (see for example Seurujärvi-Kari 2011; 2012; 2013; Sarivaara 2012; Valkonen 2009). The majority of this discussion has centered on the language and its preservation as well, but with varying conclusions depending on the author. With language being a decisive factor in defining the identity and the rights of the Sámi, it is no wonder it has created a multifaceted discussion around itself. Another facet of this discussion has also been the rise of the Sámi and indigenous pedagogy, to better adapt the educational systems and the understanding of them to the Sámi worldview and cultural practices (see Äärelä 2016; Kuokkanen 2007; 2009, for example).

1.2.2 Language nests

A language nest is an early full-immersion based language program in which children below school age are socialized into the (usually minority or indigenous) language and culture. This often requires active participation and full-time language use by the elders of the community. Language nests as a method of revitalization are historically part of a larger global influence of ideas pertaining to revitalization (Toivanen & Saarikivi 20116, 10). The origins of the language nest are in the Māori language revival movement, which coined the term “Te Kōhanga Reo” (literally ‘language nest’) to mean the transmission of Māori language, knowledge and culture from the elders of the society to the pre-school aged children in a culturally sensitive way (Fishman 1991, 238-239). Language nests are often compared to language bath programs as their methods and aims are very similar, in that usually the caretakers speak only in the

desired language while the children starting in either nests or baths have no previous knowledge of the language but learn the language intuitively in the language bath or nest (see Laurén 2000 for discussion on language bath vs. language nest; also Äärelä 2016, chapter 2). As Pasanen (2015, 207-208) notes, this comparison can also be problematic, as language nest and language bath terms are used in a variety of ways and often interchangeably. Language nest should be reserved to threatened, minority groups and languages, to highlight the power relations and language attitudes at play behind the need for the language nest and their revitalization efforts (Olthuis et al. 2013, 130).

An important difference in language nests (vs. language bath programs which often start at preschool or school age) is that children are preferably placed there as early as possible when they start in daycare. The group is also often more heterogeneous than a regular daycare or preschool group, with children of various ages and language competence (both in their mother tongue and the target language) (Pasanen 2015, 207-208).[4] In most cases the parents are also required to agree to keeping the child in a language nest a certain number of hours per week and preferably throughout the child's daycare time until school or preschool. This is to give the child the chance to fully benefit from the exposure to the language in the language nest.

In Finland, the first language nest was the Skolt Sámi language nest in 1993 in Sevettijärvi, but the trial lasted only about 6 months until it was closed down due to a lack of funding. This language nest was established again in 1997 and it is still in function today. Around that time there also emerged a strong interest in Inari Sámi revitalization, and in 2013-2014 when this study was conducted there were three Inari Sámi language nests (two in Inari and one in Ivalo), two Skolt Sámi language nests (in Sevettijärvi and Ivalo) as well as one North Sámi language nest in Vuotso (a village in Sodankylä) and another opened in Helsinki. According to sociolinguist Annika Pasanen, who has studied the Inari Sámi language nests, the language nest (as a method) has improved the children's linguistic skills considerably and contributed to the increased use of Inari Sámi in other domains as well (Pasanen 2003, 108). In Norway, the

[4] Since there are so few children speaking Sámi at a native level, language nests are in some cases put on parallel with Sámi daycare and children whose active mother tongue is Sámi are placed in language nest. This can be problematic as these children may not get the daycare in their mother tongue they are entitled to according to the Law on Early Childhood Education (Varhaiskasvatuslaki 1973/36 §11), instead they are asked to participate in the language nest though it does not meet the requirements for the daycare language environment in mother tongue, since most of the children speak Finnish (Tiina Sanila-Aikio, spoken communication in August 2014; Pasanen 2015, 208).

language nest method has also been used for revitalizing the Lule Sámi language. Kristine Tjåland Braut studied the language nest in Tysfjord, Norway, in her Master's thesis (Braut 2010), and found out that the Lule Sámi community's language revitalization has faced many of the same challenges as the Finnish Sámi community.

In the original Te Kōhanga Reo ideology the purpose of the nest is the revitalization of the language and culture in the context of the family, and bringing together all generations of the endangered language culture community, especially the eldest and the youngest (King 2001, 119). This enables them to get to know each other as well as for the eldest to transfer their mother tongue to the youngest children in a natural and culturally sensitive environment, something these elders were maybe never able to provide for their own children due to language attitudes and regulations. Te Kōhanga Reo also stresses the importance of the commitment by the parents and the community to the goals of the language nest and language revitalization, and expects parents to contribute to providing their children a Māori-speaking environment also at home (King 2001, 123).

Besides these Māori and Sámi revitalization efforts, the language nest method has inspired revitalization efforts for lost or disappearing languages for example in Hawaii (Wilson & Kāmana 2001) and Fenno-Ugric languages in several areas in Russia (Pasanen 2003; 2015, 218-219). Similarly to the Sámi language nests, the problem with many of these efforts is that the language learning rarely has a natural progression after the language nest, instead the schools are almost entirely in the majority language and the minority languages are at best taught as a foreign languages (Pasanen 2015, 220). Andersen and Johns (2005, 198-199) also report that in Labrador Inuttitut language nests the results have been mixed, mostly because of the difficulties with recruiting qualified staff as well as the problems with the state regulations. Despite these issues, language nests have garnered interest around the world as an efficient and successful method for language revitalization. Rauni Äärelä (2016, 21) points out that the trust in the benefits of the language nest method is prevalent in the Sámi revitalization movement though so far there are relatively few studies on the actualized benefits and results of the Sámi language nests.

These days Sámi daycares and language nests are possibly the only places where Sámi children have access to Sámi language and culture and the opportunity to use Sámi in

their everyday lives – especially in the families where none of the Sámi variants are spoken at home. Their importance is especially notable in the cities, though outside the Sámi homeland area the language in question of the language nests and daycare groups is without exception North Sámi. In 2016 there were (North) Sámi daycare groups and/or language nests in all municipalities of the Sámi homeland area as well as in Rovaniemi, Oulu, and Helsinki, with 105 children in Sámi daycare and 73 children in language nests (all three languages included) (Lehtola & Ruotsala 2017, 17). For the moment Inari municipality is the only municipality with either Inari or Skolt Sámi language nests.

1.2.3 Language and culture revitalization

Language maintenance and revitalization are fundamentally fields of practice as well as fields of research, and as such much of the research has been done in the fields of applied linguistics and education (Cowell 2015, 420). Language revitalization is most often defined as a process in which steps are taken to slow down or to turn around the process of language assimilation of an indigenous people or other groups of minority language speakers (Tsunoda 2005, 168). The definition usually also includes the revival processes of already extinct languages as well as language maintenance. Fishman (1991) refers to this as *reversing language shift*, meaning the reversal of the process in which one language is abandoned in favor of a more dominant one, usually concluding in both language and cultural assimilation to the detriment of the abandoned language. Leena Huss (1999, 24) defines revitalization as "positive language change" or as the opposite action of language assimilation. This means at a personal level that a person who has experienced language change chooses to relearn or return to the language they or their parents have lost. At a societal level the process can be described the way a minority language starts to be used in variable domains, such as education, and becomes a vital component of the community (Äärelä 2016, 24-25).

While the purpose and the goal of revitalization is usually to keep and encourage the revitalized language in use in all domains of life, in practice the more realistic goal is bilingualism. The problem with endangered languages (i.e. languages in need of revitalization) is that often many of the domains and thus the vocabulary and other areas of language are already lost by the time the revitalization process is started. Considering this, the term revitalization may be somewhat misleading, as in most cases if ever there

is no going back to the way the language was used in the past. The situation is the same with *any* language; there will be needs for new vocabulary as the culture and the surrounding environment change to reflect the time.

There are many different ways of evaluating endangerment of a language, such as Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale as proposed by Fishman (1991, 87-111) or the 0 to 5 scale in nine different factors suggested by UNESCO (2003). The problem with all these scales is that the assimilation process or the loss of a language is rarely a linear process, but rather something that can occur in some domains or populations (such as age-groups) of language use and not in others. That makes putting all the endangered languages in the world on the same scale almost impossible, as the situations the languages and the cultures are in are so variable and thus very difficult to compare.

Another aspect of the revitalization discussion is the relationship between language revitalization and culture revitalization. In the case of Sámi and many other indigenous languages, they seem to be very closely related or even tied together, but there are also cases in which the language revitalization does not seem as urgent a matter as preserving some of the aspects of the culture (see for example Harkin (2004) for some noteworthy cases of cultural revitalization). Usually in these cases the language is already "lost" (i.e. there are no living speakers) or the language is still quite alive and it is only the cultural aspects that are in danger of assimilation.[5] On the other hand, as Don Kulick (1990) notes in his doctoral dissertation on the language shift in Gapun, Papua New Guinea, the changes in the culture are also reflected in the use and the patterns of the language.

Baker (2001, 51) lists several reasons for why keeping languages alive is of such importance, namely that languages are linked to ecological diversity (see also Nettle & Romaine 2000), they function as expression of identity as well as repositories of history, and most importantly, they contain the sum of human knowledge. Barrena et al. (2006, 19) list several possible reasons for a language decline, from physical danger and population movements caused by war and migration to economic or cultural subordination, including direct linguistic discrimination and negative attitudes towards

[5] Harkin (2004, xxii) also points out that the term "revitalization" is inherently a colonial construction, i.e. the concept of something in need of being revitalized as agreed by the colonizer and the colonized.

the language. Many of these reasons are also applicable for the loss of cultural practices and the need for cultural revitalization. Among the Skolt Sámi the time during and after the Winter and Continuation Wars with forced migration from Petsamo to the new settlements was a radical transformation from the old *sijdd*-system[6], and caused many changes to the Skolt language and culture (SIIDA 2003; see also 5.4 below). With the increasing contact with the Finnish society and state, the role of Finnish language has increased and the prospects for the traditional livelihoods have diminished.

Some of the most notable language and cultural revitalization studies among the Sámi in Finland have been conducted by Huss (1999), Aikio (1988), Pasanen (2003; 2015), Olthuis et al (2013), and Äärelä (2016) for example. Huss (1999) and Aikio (1988) both studied the historical process of language change from Sámi to Finnish, and discuss the reasons and opportunities for language revitalization in Northern Sámi Homeland Area. Pasanen's work concerns mostly the Inari Sámi revitalization (2015) and the Inari Sámi language nests (2003) more specifically.[7] Olthuis et al. (2013) present a compelling case for Inari Sámi revitalization, showcasing in detail the practical measures the Inari Sámi as a community have taken in order to revitalize their language and culture. Äärelä's (2016) thesis on a North Sámi language nest discusses the revitalization of the language and culture from a pedagogical perspective. In addition to these, I use some comparative examples from Norway (Braut 2012), Hawaii (Wilson & Kamanā 2001; King 2001), and Canadian Inuit (Andersen & Johns 2005), among others.

1.3 Theoretical approaches and anthropological relevance

Here I will discuss briefly some of the major theoretic themes of this study. Though there is a limited space to go very deeply into details in all of these major discussions, here I attempt to bring to light some of the discussions concerning language and children, (indigenous) ethnicity and identity, ending with a small section on the

[6] Sijdd ["village" in Skolt Sámi] -system, the Sámi system of winter and summer habitation (see more on the Skolt winter and summer villages/siidas in Mustonen & Mustonen 2011, 26-29, 221-223).

[7] Throughout the study I compare the Skolt Sámi situation to that of Inari Sámi because as Sámi minorities in the area, they both have approximately a similar number of active speakers (<500), they are both the most active in the same areas (namely in the municipality of Inari) and have faced many of the same challenges and also triumphs in revitalizing their language and culture. I draw heavily on the sociolinguistic works of Pasanen as her work shows many similarities with the observations and conclusions drawn in this work but also shows notable differences, especially on the success of the language revitalization efforts between the two Sámi minority groups.

relationship of space and place in anthropology as well as the relationship of resettlement and trauma as pertains to the topic of the study and the Sámi in general.

1.3.1 Anthropology of language and children

Linguistic anthropology is the field of anthropology that most concerns itself with language and all that using, learning and creating meanings with languages entail. In anthropology there is a strong tradition in studying the relationship between language and culture, as shown by Duranti (2001; 2004). One of the main questions in this study is the relationship between language acquisition and children's socialization into the caregivers' culture. When studying languages and especially language choices, the long-term ethnographic fieldwork is often the most sensible approach methodologically. The ways languages are used often depend on the situation and the people involved. For these reasons linguistic anthropology has been remarkably successful in charting the changes and the patterns in language use. As Duranti (1997, 83) points out, in linguistic anthropology this is often linked to the study of language ideologies and the ways language is used as a human resource, and seen as a historical product and a process.

In parallel to linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics is also a field interested in understanding the ways in which language is used socially and in social situations. Baker (2001, 44) defines sociolinguistics as the study of language in relation to "social groups, social class, ethnicity and other interpersonal factors in communication". These "interpersonal" factors are also of interest in this study, namely in the ways Sámi people and families relate to each other and to other groups in the area and in the society. Äärelä (2016, 38) positions her study on the North Sámi language nest to the sociocultural theory that is nested under the sociolinguistics, using the paradigm that language is a crucial element for thinking as well as the process of building and transferring culture from one generation to another. This paradigm of language learning as a holistic process combining actors, interaction, and material and symbolic world has also influenced the theoretical approaches in this study.

Compared to sociolinguistic studies, however, in this study the focus is on ethnographic analysis of social, cultural, and language practices in the community on a practical, social, and political level. Instead of discussing linguistic skills, or analyzing the ways the language is used in a detailed manner, or the ways in which the children speak in the

language nest, my interest is in understanding the meaning the language has for the (cultural) revitalization process and the Sámi as a people. Tied to this discussion are the issues of learning and transferring the language and culture to the new generations, i.e. language and cultural socialization.

Schieffelin & Ochs (1986a) point out the two areas of language socialization: socialization (to culture) through a language and socialization to use language. This is an interactive process between the child (or the novice) and the more experienced members of the community. As a field of study language socialization sees language as a socializing tool or medium as well as part of the process of acquiring social competence. The pioneers of this field are Bambi B. Schieffelin and Elinor Ochs who have written together and separately on many occasions to cover many of the discussions in language socialization (for some examples see Schieffelin & Ochs 1986a; 1986b; Ochs & Schieffelin 1984, Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin 2012).

Debra A. Friedman has written on language socialization and language revitalization with the emphasis on micro-level interaction and the importance of ethnography in finding out the links between the language learning and the positions the people involved are given and take (Friedman 2011). This is a position that informed my methodological choices and confirmed that ethnography is a valuable method for studying language nests. Friedman also writes about language nests, pointing out how the children in language nests are socialized *through* the language as active participants instead of just being taught the language using the more traditional methods (ibid. 640).

An important aspect of studying languages is to find out what kind of ideologies are behind the language use. These ideologies are even more important when it comes to language socialization, as they "influence the sociocultural contexts that shape language socialization, and language ideologies are also among the many cultural values socialized through language use" (Riley 2012, 493). Language ideologies also shape the political environment through their influence on identities and identity politics, as in the case of the Sámi (see Sarivaara 2012). As Woolard & Schieffelin (1994, 60-61) note, often the movements that aim to save minority languages are structured around similar notions of language that have led to their oppression and/or suppression. In parallel, local ideologies of language inform and organize the ways in which people use the language(s), engendering linguistic and sociocultural practices that may go

unrecognized or misrecognized by the people whose actions are bringing them about, and as such language is a site and a resource for "the constitution, reproduction, and contestation of power relations" (Garrett 2011, 515). These language ideologies also inform the ways language choices are made, and also the relative status of a language, as discussed in chapter 4.

In anthropology, the successful socialization of children has been seen as an essential aspect of the continued existence of the culture and social structures. While this importance in the generational order has been acknowledged, children's own perspectives and experiences of their socialization have received relatively little attention. Anthropologists Karen Fog Olwig and Eva Gulløv (2003) have studied children's experiences of childhood and paid attention to the ways in which children (and the adults around them) have created meanings and relations of and with places. For them children's places can refer to a physical place that is allocated to children or, even more importantly, their place and status in the "generational order of socio-cultural transmission" (ibid. 2003, 2). For this transmission to happen, attention needs to be paid to kinship systems and the ways in which children are incorporated as members of their societies (ibid. 2003, 6). This view of childhood as a meaningful stage for the society is of course more and more recognized in anthropology, with an increased interest in childhood ethnographies (see for example Lappalainen 2007). Language nests are considered sites of both language and cultural socialization, and as such are important locations for the socio-cultural transmission to happen.

1.3.2 Indigenous identity and ethnicity

At certain points of this study I also discuss the relationship between the Sámi identity and the importance of the successful revitalization of the language for the community.[8] For this discussion I have found it useful to briefly consider some perspectives on ethnicity and identity, namely from anthropology and social psychology. Fredrik Barth's '*Ethnic Groups and Boundaries'* (1969) has influenced many of these authors and studies on indigenous groups. In this work he focuses on the borders of the groups rather than the cultural center of the organizations, arguing that it is in the borders and

[8] In this study I use terms such as ethnicity, (non)ethnic, and identity in relatively nonspecific ways, mostly in reference to the sources and/or my informants and the way they have used these terms.

distinctions that the ethnicities and groups are made (Barth 1994, 12). Furthermore, the way people experience, relate, and ascribe to an ethnic identity – or not – matters in the way ethnicities gain agency in the population. Thus identity is above all about classification and categorization (as opposed to personal qualities etc.).

The discussions on the relationship of (post)modern conceptions of identity, ethnicity, and political agency are well represented in social scientific and anthropological discussions (see Barth 1969; 1994; Hall 1999, Verkuyten 2014). Thus relevant for this study are the concept of postmodern subject and identity, and the relationship of the concepts of place and space to that of identity. Barth notes that ethnic boundaries are usually not about strangers and "others", but rather about the adjacent and familiar in relation to us, leading us to question how "we" are distinct from "them" (Barth 1994, 13). Social psychologist Maykel Verkuyten's (2014, 32) argument is that as people's identities can contain multitudes of identities, in the same way identities can be considered plural as well as social. People define themselves in relation to the categories and groups they belong to in a process that emphasizes similarity over differences, and recognizability over individuality (Verkuyten 2014, 31). Verkuyten argues that ethnic identities, for example, are not necessarily the central principle around which people build their lives and social identities, but rather the categories of identity are multidimensional and dependent on the circumstances. In this study I discuss the way in which the language nest is used to build the language nest children's identity, but also how they are in that process similarly socialized into the Finnish society. Thus the multiple, simultaneous categories of identity are also present in the everyday experience of the language nest.

In a similar way the concept of culture is continuous and in flux, as Barth (1994, 14) observes. Though culture is learned in relation to and in interaction with others, our own experiences also shape the way we interpret and accumulate cultural ideas. This social, interactive accumulation is especially true for identity, and as Barth notes, for an anthropologist to understand a person's identity, they must also pay attention to the experiences that shaped identity, rather than just inventorying the manifestations of it (ibid.). Stuart Hall (1999, 72) claims that hybrid identities are created in the postcolonial and postmodern world as people have moved to and from various places. In this context hybridity can be understood as a process of mixing cultural practices and traditions to

create something new, not unlike the (Skolt) Sámi families moving back and forth from the Sámi homeland area, as will be discussed below.

In his treatise on nationality, Anderson (1983) calls nations ”imagined communities”, claiming that though all the members of a nation have never met, they still live in the minds of each other as fellow members of a shared community. As he points out, it is not only nations that are imagined, but rather *all communities*. The ties tying people together are imagined nets of connection, be it in the realm of society, kinship, or business (Anderson 1983, 6). Scott (2009, xii) continues this argument, pointing out that all *identities* are socially constructed, and minority identities possibly even more so. In his opinion, these imagined (and sometimes imposed) identities often take one or another trait around which to build itself, such as language, race, means of subsistence etc., and may even take the form of ethno-nationalism (ibid., xiii). This discussion is relevant for understanding of the Sámi identities as they are built in the media and in the identity discourse over the definition of the Sámi, as discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

Eriksen (2010 [1995], 303) notes that ethnic identities become especially important in those moments when they are threatened or grounds for discrimination. In accordance with Barth’s (1969) point of ethnic identities being built by contact rather than isolation, and Anderson’s (1983) argument of media’s role on nationality, Eriksen also points out that nationalism and identity politics are intensified by modernity and modern technology. The role of modern technology is also important in creating new connections and domains for the community to interact and thus create a stronger bond to the ”imagined” community (Eriksen 2010 [1995], 291-292). The problem with the “Barthian notion of ethnicity” is that it risks emphasizing groupness or ethnic boundaries over the multiple and contradictory processes of identification by indigenous political actors (Rappaport 2008, 19-20). Joanne Rappaport calls for a move away from the identity paradigm, as the focus of the anthropological treatments of identity has often been on how individuals negotiate ethnic boundaries rather than on how political organizations create and maintain them (ibid. 20). In this study I discuss both of these axes of analysis, as my argument centers around the idea that the language nest is both a tool for negotiating ethnic boundaries *as well as* a symbol for the political organizations to understand the Sámi language and culture revitalization as a process.

In chapter 4 I discuss the meaning and the role of the local (language) community, and how it affects the language nest and its aims. Maykel Verkuyten points out that speaking a particular language, for example, is not enough to create a community as such, rather it has to be recognized and validated by the wider society and turned into a social identity (2014, 38). As Irja Seurujärvi-Kari claims, when ethnic identity and language are discussed, the concepts of ethnicity and identity must first be analyzed in order to understand why minority languages are not valued (2011, 41-42; see also May 2001, 19). Language and identity are thus connected especially in language communities (see 4.2.). Leanne Hinton points out that as the loss of indigenous languages is closely tied to the appropriation of indigenous lands, and the involuntary corporation of indigenous peoples into the larger society, minority language rights have become a human rights struggle (Hinton 2001, 3; see also Nettle & Romaine 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Thus language is an important but also a problematic concept for creating and analyzing the concept of identity.

The concept of ethnicity as a building block for identity has faced criticism as well. Sociologist Robert Brubaker has argued against "groupism" and the tendency to treat ethnic groups and other categories of identity as substantial entities to which interests and agency can be attributed (Brubaker 2002, 164). He also criticizes the use of terms such as "ethnicity" and "race" to be essentializing and naturalizing, and argues that though these can be meaningful as ethnopolitical terms, they are too vague to be useful as categories for social analysis (ibid., 166). Rather, these categories are better understood in terms of action, for mobilizing and justifying certain actions, and meant to invoke and perform a certain character by people who often benefit from the use of these categories.

What is the alternative then? Brubaker (2002) recommends thinking of ethnicization, racialization, and nationalization as political, social, cultural and psychological *processes*. Thus rather than considering "groups" as a basic analytical category, it is worthwhile to pay attention to the ways "groupness" is produced as a "contextually fluctuating variable" (ibid., 167-168). In this process, group-making is an event, a project organized by certain people or organizations within a group of people affiliated by ethnic, racial, or national identity, and Brubaker claims that it is often these organizations that are the *protagonists* of conflict rather than the objects or targets of it (2002, 173). Following Anderson, Barth etc., Brubaker (2002, 175) argues that the

concepts of ethnicity, race, and nationhood exist in and through our perceptions, representations, and identifications. They are perspectives *on* the world (rather than something existing in it) and include systems of classifications, categorization, and identification, knowledge that we take for granted as well as routines and practices embodied in persons and embedded in institutions to marks things ethnically, racially, or nationally meaningful. This perspective informed my understanding of identity especially as a category or a tool for discussing the indigenous methodology, as I found Brubaker's argument corresponding well to the idea of prioritizing perceptions, representations, and processes rather than taking the categories and practices as given.

Brubaker and Cooper (2000) also criticize the concept of identity as an analytical tool, claiming that the analytical work would better be served by replacing the term in more specific, less ambiguous terms depending on the group in question. Furthermore, they argue that constructs such as ”race”, ”ethnicity”; and ”nationality” would also be better understood, if they were not under the umbrella term of ”identity” (ibid. 9). As Rappaport (2008, 21-22) points out, their argument is that of criticizing the antiessentialism of so many identity thinkers, and they call for a need for distinguishing between categories of practice (as in the case of identity politics as done by identity activists and politicians) versus categories of analysis (as used in social analysis). Though Brubaker and Cooper also acknowledge the late modern discourse on situational, fragmented senses of selves being constructed and reconstructed in a variety of ways and discourses, they argue that many identity analysts easily adopt positions of identity protagonists as well as that of analysts (Brubaker & Cooper 2000, 6).

Not forgetting Brubaker and Cooper's argument, my aim is to understand something about the Sámi identity in the scope of this study. As shown in chapter 2, my aim is not to take the position of an innocent outsider, but rather a collaborative participant in the discussion of language nests and creating Sámi identity. Though my original research questions were not very focused on the questions of identity and especially identity politics, as the topic of the study covers issues of socialization, language, and politics, and the role of history in these matters, the questions of identity came under the spotlight in the discussions I had with parents and in the political discourse over the

definition of Sáminess.[9] One purpose of Sámi language nests is to create and strengthen the Sámi identities of the children and the families who participate in language nests. One of the preliminary interests I had was to find out more about the relationship between the Sámi language politics and the "identity building" of the young Sámi children. An important aspect of this is the position of the Skolts and the Skolt Sámi language as compared to the other Sámi groups and languages in the area and naturally the majority language Finnish as well.

1.3.3 Place and space, resettlement and trauma

Lastly, as a related issue to indigenous, postmodern identities, I discuss the relationship of place and space to the language nest and their dual purpose of socializing the children into the Sámi community and revitalizing the Sámi language and culture. In this discussion it is important to understand the way the multiple localities occupied by the present day Sámi are meaningful to them. As increasingly the Sámi live in the spaces and places that are not their "traditional" habitats or designated to them by the State (as in the case of the Skolt Sámi resettlements or the concept of the Sámi Homeland Area), so is their sphere of influence and interests also spread to new domains.

In this context, place and space can be seen as methodological concepts, defining the field and the action, as well as defining where the power relations and history play out. As Olvig & Gulløv (2003) point out, children's places and their agency in relation to them have often gone unexamined, unquestioned, and even unnoticed. Here in this study, too, the relationship of places to power can be observed, especially in the relationship the caretakers have to the language nest and its children, and also the relationship the Sámi have with the state and its institutions.

Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson discuss the meaning of the relation of the concepts of place and space to that of identity within the anthropological discourse, claiming that "conventional accounts of ethnicity […] rely on an unproblematic link between identity

[9] What I mean with "Sámi" and "Sáminess" is the people connected to the language nest and in a larger context people who identify themselves as Sámi and acknowledge the purpose of the language nests – whether or not these people are actually registered as Sámi and able to vote in the election is a trivial matter to the discussion. I did not specifically ask my informants whether or not they identified as Sámi, neither have I specifically discussed at length the concept of Finnishness in relation to Sáminess, as this would be beyond the scope of this study.

and place" (1992, 7). In anthropology there is a long history of studying places and spaces of all kinds, though often the importance of these axes of analysis have been taken for granted. For example, Arjun Appadurai (1986) criticizes the anthropological practice of tying theory to certain places – and places having a claim on certain theoretical concepts – claiming that this practice risks limiting our vision and distorting the phenomena studied in certain locales by focusing our attention to the theory conceptualized in that specific locale. Thus places become meaningful for the analysis of the theory of the place and phenomena studied there, rather than these phenomena being independent of the "complicated compound of local realities and the contingencies" (Appadurai 1986, 360). At worst, this makes it all too easy to resort to generalizing arguments based on certain locales, but through understanding the relationships people have to places – such as the Sámi to Sámi homeland or the Skolts to the lands they used to occupy – it is possible to understand the complex tangles of meaning attached to these places.

Ulf Hannerz (1986) discusses the role of place in anthropology using the concepts of "microanthropologies" and "macroanthropologies" to explain the various levels of analysis in anthropological discourse; anthropologies that concern themselves with personal, local experiences as opposed to analyses that cover whole social and cultural systems. This of course is a simplified view of the field, which Hannerz himself acknowledges, as he recommends (and warns about the possible dangers of) coupling macroanthropological conceptualizations with micro-level phenomena (ibid., 366). Following Hannerz's advice, in this study I attempt a collision of sorts, by giving an in-depth description of the microlevel, everyday practices of the language nest and also aiming to understand how it all fits in the bigger, societal picture.

The question of place and space in the Skolt Sámi context can hardly ignore the impacts of the resettlements from the Skolt homelands to new settlements on the Finnish side of the border during and after the World War II. Many of my informants brought up the relationship and memories the Skolts (especially the older generations) still had of the old villages and reindeer pastures they occupied in historical times. The resettlement is considered to have caused a cultural or a collective trauma (see more in 5.4), and many of the Sámi I interviewed saw the social effects of the resettlement combined with discrimination and negative language attitudes as the main reason for the poor state of the Skolt language and culture.

In the discussion on the resettlements I will also use the definition of collective trauma by sociologist Jeffrey C. Alexander, who describes collective or cultural trauma as culturally constructed process in which a group or collectivity of people feel they have been collectively affected by a traumatic event, causing a change in the identity or consciousness of the group (2001, 1). According to Alexander, the term has mostly an academic importance, as a concept for analyzing relationships of previously unrelated events, structures, and actions, but also as a concept for understanding and engaging in social responsibility and political action. It is in this latter meaning that the Skolt Sámi have found the term meaningful, as a way to analyze their historical past and the experiences related to it, and to mobilize the local Sámi community as well as the Finnish society to recognize the harm done by the resettlements.

Because of the Skolt resettlement after the wars, the Skolt lifestyle met with many changes and challenges to its continuance. Karen Armstrong has studied the changes to the social systems in the Karelian families after the resettlements in the Finnish areas after the World Wars, and notes how the memory of a place continues to define the place as something belonging to ”us” even if it is outside the boundaries and inaccessible to us at the time (2004, 115-116). This marking of territory through memory is true of refugees and migrants of all kinds, and among the Skolt Sámi the memories of the old ways of life continued to be present even in the resettlements. Antze and Lambek (1996) consider memories ”interpretative reconstructions” conveying narrative conventions and assumptions, social contexts and discursive practices. Furthermore, according to them, memories of violence can often take on a performative meaning within certain contested moral and political fields as they operate as emblems of victimized identity or indictments (ibid., vii).

James C. Scott (2008) notes that following the Enlightenment the idea of national citizenship – a national community with shared laws, measures, customs, and beliefs – came to transform the idea of community and people, and also granted the people inalienable rights as citizens. This was in opposition to “incommensurable small communities, familiar to their inhabitants but mystifying to outsiders” (pp. 32), in a process aiming at state-centered legibility and uniformity. Scott traces the nation power to the high-modernist project of the nation-states, with its roots traced from the Enlightenment and the 19th century modernist beliefs in the evolutionary and

technological progress of the society (Scott 2008, 90). Later, during and after the colonial times, an ideology of ”welfare colonialism” has been especially powerful in drawing ambitious plans to remake native – and indigenous – societies (ibid. 97). This too, is a recognizable pattern among the Skolt Sámi, as will be discussed below in chapter 5, as the state control and interests have informed and continue to inform the way the Skolts arrange their lives.

There, too, Scott’s (2008) concept of state control using “high-modernist”, authoritarian development projects to attempt legibility and simplification help us understand the ways in which power, identity, place and space are intertwined. As Scott notes, many of the twentieth century’s political tragedies were conducted with progress and emancipation in mind (2008, 343). Though the development projects of the states (metropoles) were motivated by a genuine desire to improve the human condition (in the peripheries), more often than not the results were destructive. The problem with these projects and the values behind them is that they often look down on the local and/or indigenous knowledge, institutions, and social order, as we will see below.

2. Methodology and the indigenous approach

In this chapter I will discuss the methodological choices I have made and the ways the research was conducted. I will also discuss what kind of data my chosen methods produced and how the data was analyzed. First, I will describe the fieldwork and the practical matters. Then, considering the subject and the scope of this study, describing the approaches from indigenous studies seemed appropriate to better convey the meanings and the interests of the people involved. While fully embracing the indigenous perspective was all but impossible considering the nature of this work, one aim of the work became to consider the ethical implications of conducting ethnographic research among an indigenous people like the Skolt Sámi, and the position I as the researcher had throughout the process. In the end, the autoethnographic method enabled me to take into account the indigenous paradigm, particularly the collaborative approach. It also allowed me to better acknowledge the informants' perspective, as I will explain below when I discuss how my understanding of the methodologies and their limitations evolved throughout the research project.

Studying small children is somewhat different from studying adults or even teenagers, as the usefulness of the usual methods of qualitative research is in most cases rather limited. Studying language acquisition of small children is best done through ethnographic methods, as one needs to build trust with the informants and using methods such as queries and tests is often difficult (Pasanen 2003, 58). The important benefit of ethnography as presented by the literature on linguistic anthropology is that long-term ethnography allows the researcher fully observe the context in which the language is used (see for example Newman & Ratcliff 2001, Ahearn 2012). This is especially important considering children's language acquisition, since their language skills and competence change over time.

In order to study the connections between the language learning and the positions the people involved are given and take in the context of a language nest, I considered case study as a research strategy and ethnographic participant observation as a method to be the most practical choice. In addition to the data I gathered by participant observation and writing fieldnotes, my research material consists also of interviews of caretakers, parents, and Sámi language nest activists (chapters 3 and 4), as well as letters to the editor gathered from media concerning language nests, their funding, and the

importance of the work for the community and language revitalization work (in chapter 5).

Case studies are often characterized by their approach of collecting various kinds of data on a phenomenon or an organization that is of a relatively limited scope contextually (Eriksson & Koistinen, 2014, 5-6). The research process consists of the attempt to understand the case in its own context, with an analysis of the several layers of understanding and context (ibid., 7-8). In this study, the case is the language nest, and the contextual layers are the local community, the Sámi community and organizations, and the state and its role in the past and present of the Skolt Sámi. My approach here thus is a rather holistic one, approaching the ethnographies of the old days, trying to explain the phenomenon in an intensive, descriptive way (Eriksson & Koistinen 2014, 12, 18-19).

2.1 Fieldwork - back and forth by the sandbox

In the Western world and the Nordic countries especially, most children spend a large part of their day in daycare institutions while their parents are working or otherwise occupied. These places – kindergartens, daycare institutions, schools, and clubs – are "set aside" for children but also limit their agency to within that sphere (Olvig & Gulløv 2003, 6-7). This kind of approach often extends to the study of children, as these institutions offer ready places for observation. They also underline the concept of childhood as a separate stage of life and may make it easier for research to ignore many places and interests the children themselves have outside these institutions (ibid., 7).

As it will be presented in this chapter, the motivation for this study was to a great extent shaped throughout the study, and in the first stage I set out to study the socialization of the children in the language nest (appendix 2). I wanted to find out how the language nest affected the children's view of themselves and their Sámi/Finnish identity. Traces of this are still visible in the study, especially in chapters 3 and 6, but the fieldwork also expanded my understanding of the language nests. In the end I felt that in order to see them (and especially the Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest) as organizations in and of themselves as well as places of meaning I had to analyze the nests and their multiple intersections and find the connections within and without the Skolt Sámi language nest.

However, it all started in the language nest, in observing and being present in the everyday life.

I did my fieldwork in the Skolt Sámi language nest in Ivalo, Inari in Northern Finland.[10] The data was collected over several trips to Ivalo, ranging in duration from some days to several weeks. I first visited the language nest in Ivalo on Easter 2013, and then again for almost two weeks in June 2013. During the term 2013-2014 I studied at the UiT The Arctic University of Norway (former University of Tromsø) in Tromsø, Norway, where I studied mainly in the indigenous studies master program. In the summer 2014 I returned to Ivalo to spend once again first three weeks at the language nest in June and four weeks in August. Altogether I spent approximately nine weeks at the language nest, in addition to staying in contact through email and Skype throughout the time I was in Norway. In addition to participant observation done in the language nest, I also interviewed parents (4 interviews in all), the two primary caretakers[11], as well as some other interested parties such as Sámi Parliament representative Pia Ruotsala and Tiina Sanila-Aikio, then the vice-president of the Sámi Parliament and a Skolt Sámi activist herself.[12] Each interview was approximately one hour long and was based on semi-structured interview questions concerning the language nest(s) and the children's language use while in the nest and outside of it. I also visited the three Inari Sámi language nests in Inari and Ivalo as well as the North Sámi language nest in Helsinki and did some informal interviews in these as well. As a result, most of the fieldwork material quoted here is either from the parental interviews or my personal fieldwork notes, and the informal interviews helped me to get a fuller picture of the context and the relations between the nest(s) and the surrounding community but served more for my personal benefit for reasons of practicality and consent.

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[10] Ivalo is the administrational center of the municipality of Inari, a village with about 4000 habitants out of some 6800 in all of Inari municipality. Inari village lies in north-west of Ivalo on the shore of the Lake Inari, with about 900 inhabitants. Inari village is also a central location for the Sámi as the Sámi Parliament and the Sámi Education Institute among others are both located there.

[11] I have chosen to use the term "caretaker" to mean a person who takes care of the children in the language nest over the term nurse or nursemaid so as not to be confused with people in healthcare professions. See ch. 5 for a more thorough discussion of the requirements for working in a daycare facility in Finland.

[12] Tiina Sanila-Aikio was elected the president of the Sámi Parliament in the fall 2015. The Sámi Parliament (Sámediggi) is the self-governing body of the Sámi, and its main purpose is to plan and implement the cultural self-government guaranteed by the law to the Sámi as an indigenous people (Sámediggi 2017).

Compared to other kinds of interviews, using ethnographic interviews as a method reflects an emphasis on (long-term) presence and context. Familiarity with the field and informants is reflected in the interview questions, which were shaped by not only the previous understanding based on the research literature but also in relation to the field and the context. The researcher's understanding of the field grows and develops through the conversations and in every interview, and this often results in the evolution of framework and content of interview questions throughout the fieldwork (Tolonen & Palmu 2007, 92). This is also reflected in my own fieldwork. While most of the recorded, more formal interviews took place in the last part of the fieldwork when I already had gained some familiarity with the field and the people there, the more casual conversations that took place daily in the language nest and also the consecutive interviews themselves kept changing and clarifying and expanding my understanding of the issues faced by my informants.

According to Tolonen & Palmu (2007, 102) the environment of the interview affects the way interviews are conducted and their content. To minimize this effect the environment may have had on the answers and the attitudes, interviews of the parents took place at the language nest with one exception, when I went to visit a family's home to interview the parents. These interviews were arranged to coincide with a yearly parental meeting so as to inconvenience the parents as little as possible. Conducting the interviews at the nest had the benefit of it being a relatively neutral and still a familiar place to both parents and the researcher. It also limited the scope of the study to observing the interaction and behavior only within the nest instead of also extending it to include the domain of home and family. Thus the only interaction between the parents and their children was at the language nest (including the family I interviewed at home). However, it is possible that at least for some parents it would have been easier to bring up more personal matters at some other, more informal setting. The interviews were an important source of information, as they allowed me to confirm my observations with the families and caretakers, instead of having to rely only on my own perception, especially when it comes to children as research subjects (see Tolonen & Palmu 2007).

The other interviews happened wherever it was the most convenient for the interviewee, usually at the language nest (in the case of language nest workers) or the Sámi Parliament etc. For the most part everyone I interviewed seemed to take my interest

positively and readily accepted the interview request and answered the interview questions. While I was very much a stranger to most of the interviewees, the fact that I had already spent a considerable time in the language nest possibly made the interview situation strange for Maa´ren, one of the caretakers. I interviewed her as a parent though she also worked in the language nest and I saw her on a daily basis when at the fieldwork site. The many observations or insights I gained from her were often more naturally gathered through the everyday conversations we had throughout the day. This personal connection made our interview slightly different from the others even if I still remained an outsider from the caretakers' daily lives as an occasional visitor to the nest. As Tolonen and Palmu bring up (2007, 101), sometimes it can be easier for an interviewee to discuss their very personal matters with a stranger than with a person of their own group.

I first contacted the Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest in spring 2013, on the advice of Pirkko Saarela, the director of daycare services in Inari municipality. Fortunately, the two caretakers (Maa´ren and Liizz, Skolt Sámi pseudonyms for relative anonymity) at the language nest were enthusiastic about my project from the start and happy to welcome me there. During the visit in summer 2013 I mostly observed, wrote pages and pages of notes and participated in the activities as much as I was able, but my very limited knowledge of the language somewhat restricted my understanding of the happenings in the nest. During the fall 2013 I participated in a virtual Skolt Sámi language course organized by the Sámi Education Institute where I learned the basics of the language (and I had studied North Sámi for about a year at university a few years earlier). This I found to be very helpful over the course of the fieldwork for observation and in terms of understanding the culture and the people better even when they spoke Finnish to me or to each other.

Not understanding the language had one additional benefit, however, in the way it allowed me as an outsider to empathize with the children as I was on par when it came to language skills with the youngest of the children when they first come to language nest. The feelings of confusion and disorientation that the children go through when they first start at a new daycare institution and do not even understand the language of interaction followed me throughout the fieldwork. In fact, as I came back in summer 2014 to resume my fieldwork, I was delighted to notice how much the children's language skills had improved. Nevertheless my lack of fluency in Skolt Sámi was a

hindrance in the fieldwork process; though Maa´ren and Liizz who work at the language nest appreciated the efforts I made in learning the language and occasionally started speaking to me in Skolt Sámi too.

Considering the ideals of the language nest as a method for language transference and revitalization, the fact that most of the discussions I had with both the children and the caretakers were in Finnish raised some issues. Since ideally all interaction in the nest should be in the desired language (i.e. Skolt Sámi), I tried to be especially careful and participate in the activities as much as possible with my limited language skills and attempted to not ask for translations unless absolutely necessary. In this way the language nest worked as a language bath environment for myself as well. By the time my fieldwork was drawing to an end, I discussed this issue with the caretakers (as well as the parents) when the occasion presented itself, and they assured me that it was not as much of a problem as I worried as my presence in the nest was only temporary. According to them the children were quite used to having all kinds of visitors and "outsiders" who did not speak the language spending time in the nest. The conclusion I drew from this is that they (especially Maa´ren) saw my presence and the fact that I was doing research on language nest more beneficial than the possible (but not very likely) setbacks it may have had on the children's language development. Äärelä (2016, 33) points out, however, that for her the fluent knowledge of Sámi was crucial for engaging in fieldwork in a Sámi language nest, as she did not want to endanger the children's language learning process.

2.2 Problematizing the research process

> *"Maa´ren comes to the kitchen and we talk about who I still plan to interview. She criticizes the fact that the fieldwork time is so short and not even during the fall/winter term. I try to explain that this is how it has to go and it's still more time than some other similar research projects. But I'm glad we talked about this."* (fieldwork notes, 16.6.2014)[13]

Language was only one of many issues that needed to be addressed during the process. As shown in the quote above, the realities of the timing were somewhat problematic as well. During the summer (which was the only time possible for me because of my work

[13] All translations from Finnish by the author.

and studies in Helsinki and Tromsø) the language nest is closed for about a month because of the funding gaps and summer vacations. This limited the actual time I was able to spend in the language nest. Additionally, according to Maa´ren, during the summer the activities of the nest are somewhat different from those of other times of the year (see chapter 3 for a more thorough discussion of the activities in the nest and the yearly cycle). This allowed me to get a glimpse of only one aspect of the activities, and had I done my participation observation at some other times or for longer periods, the results might have been different in some aspects. However, while the timing of the fieldwork presented a practical challenge, the daily and yearly cycles of the language nest were present in the everyday life and in discussions and interviews I had with the caretakers throughout the time I spent in the nest (and even beyond, in emails etc.).

To ensure that the parents were aware of the research process, they were sent a consent form with information about the research and my contact information (Appendix 2).[14] Parents were also asked about filming and photographing the children as well as if they were interested in being interviewed for the project. Out of five families, four showed interest and one family declined from being interviewed, but all families gave their consent for their child(ren) to be included in the study. Since the community is so small and the scope of this work is so specific, it is almost impossible to hide the identities of the people included in the study. In order to protect the identities of the children involved, pseudonyms of traditional Skolt names will be used of the children throughout the work if a specific person needs to be singled out, and their family members are referred in relation to them as opposed to using their names either (appendix 1).[15]

Since the children in the study for the most part were well below school age, it is questionable how well they understood the focus and the aims of the study, and the point of my presence at the language nest. As Sirpa Lappalainen points out in her article on daycare ethnography, there is always a differentiating balance of power when it comes to researching children, and that the position of a researcher (especially when

[14] I also applied and received a permission for the study from the Inari municipality education committee and the director of the daycare services Pirkko Suomela before starting the fieldwork.

[15] The obvious exception to this is Maa´ren and her daughter, as she has the double role of a caretaker and a mother. Though Maa´ren is a relatively visible person in the community, I have given them both a pseudonym for identity protection. Also, in the consent form I asked for permission to use initials for the children instead of pseudonyms, I hope none of the families mind that I changed them to pseudonyms for legibility reasons.

studying daycare groups) is to be a “different kind of adult”, someone and something quite separate from the caretakers (Lappalainen 2007, 66-67). While taking that kind of a “powerless” position was quite challenging, I often discussed with the children about the reasons as to why I was there in the nest and what they thought about my presence, taking into consideration the children’s capabilities to understand and discuss these kinds of questions.

Children often showed some curiosity about my notetaking, but became used to it very quickly. Occasionally one of the older children would ask me to read aloud something I had written (which I then would do), but they rarely showed any interest once they found out that I was indeed just chronicling the activities of the language nest. Many of the children liked to draw and they would ask me for paper and pencils for their own purposes, and they would fill my notebook pages with scribbles of their own trying to ”help” me with my notetaking. Altogether children hardly ever questioned my presence or activities in the nest. I also asked about this in the parental interviews: usually a few questions about the research process and the children’s possible reactions to it. According to parents, their children had not really paid any attention to my presence, or at least commented on it in any way at home (even when asked by their parents). This seems to suggest that the children were used to visitors in the nest (as seems likely) and not paying any special attention to my presence. They did not ignore me altogether, however, as I was often asked to participate in their play and other activities and children usually asked after me when I was away doing interviews in the other language nest etc. Hirsch and Gellner (2001, 5) note that access and the ethical aspects of research should not be something that is negotiated once and then forgotten about; rather they should be negotiated throughout the fieldwork and scrutinized for the way they affect the research. Consequently, it is not enough to just ask for permission on paper, but it should instead be done in a constant dialogue with the informants and interviewees. This point of view also informed the way I conducted interviews, and my decision to primarily use the data from only those children whose parents I had been able to interview.

Originally I had planned to involve the children more in the research process, but since the questions of consent and research ethics created such a dilemma, the eventual research questions ended up veering away from focusing on the children’s point of view. I have still tried to include some of that in my discussion of the everyday

workings in the language nest in chapter 3. Children's point of view has usually been researched using performative methods and through empathizing, but Lappalainen for example is doubtful if it even is possible for an adult to grasp the ways children experience the world (Lappalainen 2007, 75-77). For this reason and the fact that the discussions with the caretakers and parents were so fruitful, it made sense to focus in this study more on the adult points of view and the aspects of language nest they brought up. Even if the experiences of the children remained somewhat inscrutable, they did remain an inspiration and the reason for this study. However, considering that while the focus is in the relationships within and of the language nest, and the ways in which the people (including the children, of course) in the nest, around the nest and in the community are affected by the nest, this study can hardly be called an ethnography of childhood or children.

Despite this, having an expansive view of methodology helped me to try to imagine the children's point of view and try to pay attention to things that mattered to them. Experiencing the language nest from their perspective and participating in their play gave me an appreciation of their unique experience and point of view into language and culture. Combining that with the indigenous methodological practice of including the community, especially the parents and caretakers, hopefully has made this project meaningful for the language nest and revitalization workers as well.

2.3 Indigenous and feminist methodologies and research ethics

> *"It is no longer possible for the human disciplines to research the native, the indigenous other, in a spirit of value-free inquiry. Today researchers struggle to develop situational and transsituational ethics that apply to all forms of research act and its human-to-human relationships. We no longer have the option of deferring the decolonization project."*
> – Denzin & Lincoln (2011b, 12).

When it comes to the fieldwork and the research as a process, Tomaselli et al. (2008, 369) call for further decolonization of ethnographic narratives, claiming that academic authority should not be taken for granted, rather the expertize of the subjects in their own lives should be better recognized and brought to light. In a similar vein, research should not end with an article, thesis or a book, but continue beyond the text and engage with the subject community even after the fieldwork.

The questions of participation, representation, ethics, and empowering followed me around during and after my fieldwork. Not only did I want to do my best to collect a representative and comprehensive picture of the language nest, I also did not want to regenerate the "value-free inquiry" Denzin and Lincoln criticize. In many ways the journey and the whole process has been transformative also to my personal understanding of methodology, ethics, and politics, as I will discuss below. Here I will also open some of the main theoretical discussions on the methodology concerning indigenous paradigm that informed this study.

So far the few studies concentrating on the language nests in Finland have mostly concentrated on the language learning aspects of the language nest (Pasanen 2003), with the exception of Annika Pasanen's doctoral thesis (2015) that also includes a wider scope in the Inari Sámi revitalization. While for the Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest's purposes a more thorough analysis of the children's language would be important, doing a more thorough linguistic analysis would have required better language skills and more familiarity with linguistic theory and methodology (both of which I lacked). Because of this, the scope of the study ended up including more of the analysis of the language attitudes and expectations than I initially had planned. Considering the interviews, and especially the interaction I observed in the nest, this seemed like a valuable point of view. Not only did the children, their parents, and the language nest workers interact with each other according to their language attitudes and expectations, they also projected some of these attitudes towards me as a researcher, in that I was assumed to be interested and wanting to report on the children's language learning and capabilities rather than just wanting to observe the use and the interaction around the language and culture. For example, when one of the children seemed hesitant to show me her skills in Skolt Sámi, the caretaker chided the child in a frustrated manner, as if she wanted to give me a good impression of the language outcomes of the language nest:

> *"E´ll didn't want to read aloud to Maa´ren after all, at least not while I was sitting there writing my notes. Maa´ren then reprimands her saying that she knows E´ll could do it and tries to encourage her by pointing out that I was there to find out what the children learn in the nest."* (fieldnotes 13.6.2014)

While in Chapter 3 I do point out some of my main observations as to the children's language learning and aptitude, it ended up not being very relevant for the purposes of the study. Instead, as I learned more about the language nest, its situation and the

context it operated in, the more clear it became that the language nest as a symbol and as a locus of language and culture revitalization was the key to understanding the importance of the language nests – quite aside from the language learning outcomes. Of course for the language and cultural revitalization to happen, the revitalization efforts of the language nest are crucial. But as pointed out in the chapters below, the outcomes of the language nest and the revitalization efforts are dependent on many, often quite conflicting, matters. Instead, as the study progressed I became increasingly aware of both the ethical as well as the more theoretical issues brought up by my research strategies. Thus, instead of just concentrating in this chapter on my research methods and the data, I also want to bring some insight to certain research practices, such as indigenous and feminist paradigms, and auto-ethnographic choices, so as to "implement and anchor paradigms [...] in specific methodological practices" (Denzin & Lincoln 2011b, 14). These paradigms and the practices they reflect also influenced the ways in which I related to the subjects and the topics of the study.

Anthropological methodology and especially ethical concerns were and became increasingly important for me as I was conducting my fieldwork. The University of Helsinki anthropology department guidelines and American Anthropological Association Ethics Statement (AAA 2012) worked as a foundation especially for the research plan, the parental consent form, and permit applications. In the past decades anthropology as a field of study has moved from its colonial and evolutionary roots to consider the point of view of its subjects as well as other ethical considerations of social sciences, and these aforementioned ethical guidelines reflect this quite well.

Though in anthropology there still can be found the history of the ideology of the ethnographer studying the "exotic Other", there is an increasing awareness of the political and ethical dilemma this has created. More and more indigenous and native peoples have researchers, artists, and politicians paying attention to the ways of knowing and the production of knowledge and discourses from an indigenous perspective. This historical relationship with knowledge and power is difficult but compulsory to understand, if the indigenous people are to be heard in research and academia. Linda Tuhiwai Smith – an indigenous researcher herself – calls for "understanding the complex ways in which the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices" (1999, 2), in order to identify research as a site of struggle and power relations in the production of the

ways of knowing of the West and the interests and resistance of the Other. As Ortner (2016, 49) argues, historically anthropology has had to start paying attention to issues of power and inequality, and these questions have come to dominate the theoretical discussion creating a movement what Ortner calls ”dark anthropology”. This has resulted in anthropology that explores issues of colonialism, neoliberalism, patriarchy, and inequality and sees the world in terms of power and exploitation in a Foucaultian way (Ortner 2016, 51).

This Western understanding of research also implies that the research should be the only or at least the primary beneficiary of the research process. While objectivism, contextualizing, and interpreting theoretically have customarily been at the center of qualitative research, Erickson (2011, 56) argues that the omniscient narrator of the traditional ethnography is antiquated and irresponsible at worst. In the more recent times the roles of researcher and researched are more blended and the adequacy and legitimacy of the researcher as an autonomous “expert” in knowledge has been challenged (ibid., 54). Research reports are considered to be partial rather than comprehensive, and those who are studied are expected to read and/or participate in the report (ibid.). This includes in the audience the people involved in the study rather than just the scholarly peers of the scientist.

Indigenous scholars, such as Smith (2012 [1999]), Chilisa (2012) or Kovach (2009), bring to attention the methodological aspects of research, claiming that the methodologies used by traditional scientific pursuits are hardly adequate when studying in indigenous communities or topics concerning them. Instead, the research projects should take into consideration the indigenous peoples’ own interests, worldviews, and ontologies from the moment of the first conceptualization of the research project to the way the research is conducted, analyzed, reported, and eventually disseminated. This ideally also involves including the people as collaborative participants rather than subjects, or even worse, as objects of research (see Rappaport 2008).

The collaborative research ideal that involves including the people studied makes the research responsible to the research subjects/participants rather than just to a discipline or a research institution, often aligning “the ethics of research with a politics of the oppressed” (Erickson 2011, 23), implementing critical, action, and feminist traditions. This union of ethics with politics is only possible through transparency and reflection on

the values guiding the research process – as I have attempted in this chapter. Rather than conceptualizing research in a participatory paradigm, the current institutional ethical guidelines (such as AAA's or even the universities or other research institutes') are "informed by notions of value-free experimentation and utilitarian concepts of justice. [...] In reality these rules protect institutions and not people, although they were originally created to protect human subjects from unethical biomedical research." (Denzin & Lincoln 2011c, 23). Thus these guidelines, though important in themselves for at least bringing the ethical considerations to light and under discussion, are hardly enough by themselves as they have a tendency to reinforce the status quo of power dynamics as well as to ignore the agency the people studied have over the research process and its results.

Friedlander (2006 [1976], 189) comes to a conclusion that rather than lamenting the failures of practice and intent, the communities anthropologists study and engage with would better be served by active engagement and attempts to address these issues. Friedlander refers to a discussion by Geertz (2000), who though acknowledging the need for discussing and reflecting on the questions of who gets to know and decide for whom, also calls for less moral lamenting about the "Other" (capitalized and singular) and more practical attempts at solving the issue(s) under discussion. In Geertz's view, understanding "others" (uncapitalized and plural) is already making waves in social research, and anthropology's contribution to this discussion is to give tools for thinking things through and showing the usefulness of unfiltered encounters to the wider research community (2000, 94-95).

Geertz, discussing the role of anthropology in the "post-everything" era (postmodernism, -structuralism, -colonialism, -positivism), points out that the anthropologists' mission "to know better" seems illegitimate and is due a scrutiny on moral, political, and philosophical fronts (2000, 102). At the same time, as many politically driven scholars are looking for ways to advance the goals of the people they study and to critically analyze the power inequalities, there are also others, looking for Robbins' (2013) "anthropologies of good" as a contrast to all the suffering. Anthropologies of good, concerned by topics such as "value, morality, well-being, imagination, empathy, care, the gift, hope, time, and change" (ibid., 448), are striving to find ways to understand how people are trying to create good in their lives. In this study the "goodness" is reflected in the hope for the future of the language and culture, and

embodied in the language nest children as they learn and live in the Skolt and Sámi community and make the revitalization efforts meaningful.

If the collaborative research with a participatory approach is the new ideal of the social research and the objective, value-free inquiry can be considered old-fashioned, the question arises, what kind of ideals are present in this study? As I started drafting the research proposal in the early 2013, I was still very much embedded in the research traditions of my anthropological institution and followed the steps laid out by my peers in the program. During my studies in Tromsø I came across discussions on indigenous and especially Sámi studies and methodology. These were eye-opening especially when it comes to ethical considerations of studying possibly endangered cultural entities or minority groups. This allowed me to reflect also my own methods of conducting research and the relationships I had with my informants and other people I had met and would meet throughout the fieldwork and beyond. In the end this study eventually ended up being quite strongly influenced by the indigenous methodologies and the ideology related to the indigenous movement. As a result, I have wanted to bring to light these different ethical considerations that form the core of ethical indigenous studies and how these principles are reflected in this study.

Within Sámi research and especially among those researchers who are Sámi themselves there has been an increased interest in linking the current Sámi research into the wider scope of indigenous studies (see for example Seurujärvi-Kari 2011; 2013; Kuokkanen 2007, Äärelä 2016). Some major tenets of this indigenous research is involving the subjects in planning and executing the research, giving them a voice or a say in the matter, empowering and enabling them in their goals with the research as a tool, giving back the information and not just taking it for research purposes. As Äärelä (2016, 29) points out, in indigenous studies it is important to show and discuss what kind of information the research process is supposed to produce, how this knowledge is to be used and for whom it is meant to. The position of the researcher is also to be discussed; what kind of positions they take on the field, are they from the inside or the outside of the community to be studied, what are their language capabilities to conduct the research an so on. Äärelä also argues that in indigenous research, the research project should be informed by and based on the interests and needs of the people studied, and in the case of Sámi research the researcher should be aware of the paradigms of the Sámi culture in the process of their research (ibid., 30).

Indigenous research methodology reflects the wider influence of the poststructural and/or feminist theories that aim to replace the positivist and postpositivist research criteria by practices that embody reflexivity and ground themselves in the experiences of oppressed people (Denzin & Lincoln 2011b, 14). In this way indigenous methods and theory can be considered as counter-practices to the more traditional, often colonizing practices of doing research especially among indigenous communities. Joanne Rappaport's (2008) call for collaborative ethnography is an answer to co-creating theory and constructing research agendas outside the academic interests, while inviting and including the people studied in designing the research process itself. In her view, collaborative ethnography explicitly emphasizes collaboration at each stage of the research process, from the conceptualization to the writing process, making also the created knowledge collaborative (ibid., 1-2). This process requires acknowledging the local people as full team members of the research projects, with their own research interests and priorities, shifting the control of the research process into the collective sphere where both the anthropologist and the community members work on an equal basis (Rappaport 2008, 6).

The collaboration of Rappaport's vision requires long-term commitment both from the researcher and the collaborators as well as a high degree of trust from all parties. Rappaport does point out that the view of culture and the phenomenon to be studied can be very different depending on the point of view, where ethnographers often view culture as something to be studied and described in the now, indigenous autoethnographers and scholars see culture as something to be acted upon, as something stretching from the history to the future (2008, 21). This perspective, in Rappaport's opinion, combines the categories and spheres of practice and analysis, as criticized by Brubaker and Cooper (2000; see above 1.3.2).

One aspect of this discussion is the relationship between activism or activist research and collaborative research, as well as the roles of the "inside" and "outside" collaborators. As Rappaport concludes in her article, the distinction of the inside/outside serves to protect the integrity of the indigenous people "inside", while legitimizing the research process in the language and the context of the (academic) "outside", though these two are necessarily intertwined in the research process (Rappaport 2008, 14). What this means for this study, is the argument for legitimacy that Rappaport argues

springs from the collaboration (ibid., 19). While in practice the collaborative elements of this study were relatively limited to interviews and the topics and discussions covered in them, collaboration with the informants and especially the caretakers in the language nest allowed access to the "inside" and the sharing of the conceptual tools they used in analyzing their situation.

In addition to collaborative elements of research, one problem often acknowledged by indigenous methodology lies in the relationship between participation and activism. One solution to this has been coined "action research", a practice in which the research subjects become co-participants in the research process and the process itself aims at reflective, pragmatic action (Denzin & Lincoln 2011c, 21). Action research enables the research and the researchers to direct the focus on solving the real problems people face, as guided by the interests of the stakeholders and the process of co-creating knowledge. According to Denzin and Lincoln, an important principle in collaborative and action research is the equality of positions in relation to each other the different parties occupy, as participants (both academic and non-academic; indigenous and non-indigenous) should have equal say in how research is to be conducted, as well as determine the topics and methods, and assess the validity of the findings in a collaborative process, including the assessment of the possible consequences and ways for implementation (ibid., 22). This is a position recognized and encouraged by most researchers engaged in indigenous studies, as it allows for both recognizing potential disagreements and honoring moral commitments, while also pursuing the ultimate goal of mutual understanding. This is also a position that has influenced my motives for conducting this study and promoting the use of this study and the results in advancing the situation and the knowledge of language nest(s).

Whether it is called "action research", "participation research" or "collaborative research", in practice these terms cover many of the same activities: involving, actively soliciting, and listening to the informant's points of view and acting on them. In the best-case scenario, the people studied are heavily involved already in the planning stages of the research project, and can feel the project represents their interests as well as those of the researcher and the academic field(s) they represent. Hale (2006) argues that combining activist and analytical approaches can be very fruitful for research, as the political complexities can enrich the research process through direct engagement.

This approach can also allow the minority, indigenous, or other oppressed peoples an access to analytical and discursive tools for their struggle (ibid., 109-110).

Tolonen and Palmu (2007, 109) note that even when the researcher strives for a sensitive and reciprocal situation, the power over the research situation, framing of the study, and the interpretation remains with the researcher. Thus understanding the position of the researcher and the power relationship inherent in it is crucial. Following Skeggs (2001), they argue that feminist ethnography is characterized by reflexivity, fragmentary nature, and awareness of gender, and defined by its analysis that allows for the researched to be heard (Tolonen & Palmu 2007, 93). In feminist and postcolonial anthropology it is important to be critical of the relations in the field and to reflect on the ethical dimensions of research, as research is influenced by social and situational relationships, as well as constructed of and in material and social structures (ibid., 95).

Beverley Skeggs also brings to attention the feminist methodological position of arguing that no research is value-free or objective, but rather always carried out in the interests of particular people or groups, be it the researcher or the researched (2001, 429). In a similar argument, Denzin and Lincoln (2011a, x) point out that a critical social science seeks grounding in critical commitment and feminism, with the aim of understanding how power and ideology operate through and across systems, discourses, and cultural contexts. The poststructural feminist standpoint thus is occupied with emphasizing collaborative and evocative performance to create ethically responsible relations between researchers and those they study (Denzin & Lincoln 2011a, xv, note 9). This standpoint is also reflected in this study especially in the way I have aimed at understanding the relevant power relations through analyzing not only the everyday life in the language nest but also the relations and connections it has to the surrounding community and society.

Denzin and Lincoln (2011a, xiii) make an astute observation claiming that in the current post- or neo-colonial world it is necessary to think beyond the nation or the local group as the focus of the inquiry. They also point out that in many ways the distance between the ethnographer and the people they study has been erased; subjects may challenge and even dispute the observations if they cannot recognize themselves in the ethnographer's description and analysis. The narratives that the ethnographers tell of their informants do not necessarily resemble the people the narratives are about with their contradictions,

hopes, dreams, and personalities (Tomaselli et al. 2008, 349). In ethnographic accounts, emotions and the lived experience bring an additional layer to the analysis (ibid., 347). The informants have secrets and taboos which may or may not be revealed in the ethnographer's description, and they may also use the research process for their own (political, financial, social) purposes (ibid., 349).

Tomaselli et al. (2008, 352) argue that including the research process explicitly in the discussion allows for understanding the contradictions of academic discourse and knowledge production (see Smith (2012 [1999]) for critique on knowledge production). When it comes to researching indigenous peoples, recognizing both indigenous values and knowledge, and incorporating these in to the research process in a participatory and mutually beneficial way is of great importance (Tomaselli et al. 2008, 351). This process includes also acknowledging the possible impact (both positive and negative) the dissemination of the findings may have on the communities that are researched. Though my hope and understanding is that this study will have no negative impact on the people I studied, to ensure the ease of access to the results I will also include a Finnish summary of the results for the use of the language nests.

As Tomaselli et al. (2008, 354) explain, in the traditional scientific approach we rely heavily on theory, because it is clean, organized and logical, but experience is rarely so. Thus using sanitized theory to explain the messy, confusing experiences of the field requires the scientist also to challenge them, and use the dialogue with the research subjects as a way to highlight these contradictions as we construct knowledge about them (ibid. 355). Though the research subjects may be unaware of the theoretical contracts and methods applied by the researchers, they are usually well aware of the potential impact the research might have on the appropriate authorities (Tomaselli et al. 2008, 359). This was visible in my research as well, as Maa´ren presented as one of the main reasons for allowing me in the nest the fact that this process of "constructing knowledge" would be beneficial for the visibility of the language nest and the threat the Skolt language and culture face. We even discussed possible avenues for future dissemination of the knowledge generated through this project, as we both felt keenly about the need for increasing awareness about the language nests and the importance of the work done in them.

Poststucturalism allows for observing and analyzing differences, resisting settled paradigms, and guarding against established values in a disrupting manner. But rather than arguing with the structures and values, it works to make them better through the productive power of limits and boundaries, through redefining and negotiating influence and producing new differences (Williams 2005, 3-4). For the majority of the Finns and the Finnish state the Sámi are seen as occupying the periphery, but for them their life and its sphere is in the center. Poststructuralism allows for reframing this power relationship in a more productive way, and potentially resulting in a "disruption of settled oppositions" (Williams 2005, 4) as the paradigm of ethnic identities as definite and bounded is challenged.

Denzin and Lincoln (2011a, xii) argue that ultimately postmodernism (and post-structuralism) requires us to recognize that the discourses researchers create are instruments for sharing their observations with others. According to Erickson, structural functionalism in anthropology and sociology has focused mostly on the social order and culture as the result of socialization as opposed to structuralism that identifies cultural rule systems and their inner logic (2011, 52). Following Foucault (1977), Erickson understands post-structuralism as interested in studying power exercised over actors through knowledge systems that are maintained discursively (Erickson 2011, 52). In this view, power is seen as influential even when contested or indirect. This is relevant in the context of this study especially in chapter 4, where the focus is turned upon the power enforced in the language attitudes and influences, and later in chapter 5 where I analyze the power relations inherent in the discourse over the language nest.

Structuralist and even poststructuralist approaches have also faced criticism as being anchored in the empirical world instead of appreciating the variations in the human experience (Denzin & Lincoln 2011b, 10). In Denzin & Lincoln's (2011a, 2011b, 2011c) postfunctionalist approach the world is filtered through the lenses of language, social class, race, gender, and ethnicity, and the researcher is given the position as a 'bricoleur' of human experience and perspectives (2011b, 4-5, 12). This kind of research process is shaped by the history, biography, gender, class, race, and ethnicity of the researcher and the people involved in the research, and thus there is no science free of values and their influence (Denzin & Lincoln 2011b, 5). For these reasons, scientific research is also a highly political process, and the product of this process is an interpretive structure of the social reality connecting parts to the whole (ibid., 6).

As Ortner brings up, the ”anthropology of resistance” includes both critical anthropology, defined by its critical stance on the existing order, as well as more participatory methods, which include reimagining alternative futures through social movements (2016, 66). Tomaselli et al. (2008, 358) point out that operating with concepts such as “empowerment”, “development” and “democratization” raises the question of their situational role in the research process – are they methods or means of the research? Also, the “development” discourse can both reveal and hide some perspectives, as the tension between the center or the metropole and the periphery is present. According to them, the paradigm of development and what needs to be done depends on the perspective, as often the “people on the ground” fail to appreciate the externally imposed coming-from-the-top perspective that many development projects employ (ibid., 362).

Cannella and Lincoln (2011) make an argument for critical social science, incorporating postmodern, feminist, and postcolonial challenges as well as critical theory and critical pedagogies. These approaches pursue research that is democratic, multilogical, and publicly concerned with human suffering and oppression (ibid., 81). An important part of the process is the radical alignment of ethics with the politics of the oppressed, resistance, and freedom (ibid., 81-82). A critical social science, in Cannella and Lincoln’s terms, requires the researcher to engage with the struggle for equity and justice as well as to examine the position they themselves occupy.

Using a critical social scientific approach and aligning with the marginalized allows (and even requires) the reconceptualization of the research process in terms of ethics, research questions, methodologies and the practical uses of the research. Whereas the traditional social science privileges the individual researcher, critical social science emphasizes a relational and collaborative research practice (Canella & Lincoln 2011, 84). A critical social science also questions the notion of any one group (such as researchers) “knowing”, “defining” or even representing others (ibid., 87). In this study this “reconceptualization” is done especially in the context of (auto)ethnography and the way the importance of the research is analyzed. Rather than focusing solely on the benefits for advancing the anthropological theory, similar weight is put on understanding the research results and the project in an indigenous, Sámi context and how it can be of benefit for them and the people involved.

Throughout the project I became increasingly aware and critical of the paradigm and the methodology I had used at the start of the project, but felt unable and helpless in steering it towards a completely new paradigm. Thus the project started (and largely ended) within certain positions that I find troubling, namely the limited amount of participation I was able to allow to my informants/collaborators due to the traditional paradigm that I had adopted in my anthropological studies. Had I been better aware of the indigenous methodologies and paradigms discussed in this chapter to begin with, I might have questioned my own authority in setting the research questions, for example. Also, I could have planned the research better in collaboration with the informants. But, as Amanda Coffey (1999) claims, ethnography and fieldwork are personal, emotional, and identity work, and it is in this process that the ethnographer also makes herself. The self-reflexive method requires the researcher to question even her own methods, as I have discussed here, and to be reflective of their own position, as I will show below.

2.4 Towards more reflective ethnography

Going back to the roots of the term ethnography, as Erickson (2011, 45) notes, ethnography is an art of collecting data, reporting and writing about (other) people. This descriptive approach often includes an interpretative element as well, in Bronislaw Malinowski's words, to "grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, his vision of his world" (Malinowski 1922, 25). Beverley Skeggs (2001, 426) defines ethnography as a theory of the research process combining certain features in specific ways: "fieldwork that will be conducted over *a prolonged period of time;* utilizing different research techniques; conducted *within the settings* of the participants, with an understanding of how the context informs the action; *involving the researcher in participation* and observation; involving an account of the development of relationships between the researcher and the researched and focusing on how experience and practice are part of wider processes" (emphasis in original). This description acknowledges the power relations inherent in ethnographic research, and pays attention to the context and the relational aspects of the research process.

There has been a considerable amount of personal musing and reflections involved in this project. To bring out the voices of the people I spent time with during my fieldwork

(and who I tell about in this study)[16], I have decided to include a certain amount of personal voice with the citations from my multiple notebooks, interviews, as well as a few chosen photographs to allow for the voices of the people involved to let through. These people involve not only the researcher and the adults and the children language nest but to a smaller degree also the community and the society. Because ethnography is also about the text, the literary, descriptive, *graphic* part, it made sense to acknowledge the personal in the inter-personal project that is an ethnographic study with extended fieldwork.

While my field was located in my own country and in many ways I was surrounded by many familiar cultural aspects such as language, food, media etc. in many ways I was also exploring a culture different from that of my own with its own language, cultural practices and customs and so on. To follow the indigenous paradigm of research as a subjective practice, it made sense for me to also observe my own reactions, opinions, misunderstandings, and practices over the course of the fieldwork, to create a better picture of the totality of the experience and also to reflect on the outsider/insider-position that I had in the language nest. On one hand, I was an "insider" in the way that I shared a language (as a mother tongue too!) with my informants, I knew the social system and the society fairly well as a Finn and as a social science student who had also studied the Finnish political system and culture. I also had made a passing effort to learn at least the rudiments of both Skolt and North Sámi, which if not actually useful, at least gave credibility to my interest in the state of the Sámi languages and culture to my informants and the people I met during fieldwork. On the other hand, I was an outsider not only to the Sámi way of life, but also to language nests and daycare practices in the whole, to life in rural Finland and in the community that they lived in in Ivalo. The caretakers also wanted me to ask questions so I would not draw conclusions just by myself:

> *Maa´ren tells me to ask whenever I have any questions, so that I wouldn't just start guessing what things may mean. She says this with an emphasis, which is a little intimidating, but also a relief. In the past few days I've been very aware of my presence here and feel that I am always in the way or being annoying. I hope it is just because I am tired.* (fieldwork notes 10.6.2014)

[16] I occasionally though not consistently call them informants in this study according to the anthropological convention, but that seems quite strange – they gave me information but also much more: support, understanding, knowledge as well as their time and insight – often well beyond expectations.

The writing language of this study also created some ethical and practical dilemmas. While for practical (and personal) purposes I eventually decided to use English as the primary language of the study, making this decision gave me a glimpse to the phenomenon that is a language shift at a very personal level. In strategically deciding to use a language that is not my mother tongue and using a more dominant language instead I was met with the reality of language attitudes and ideologies in my very personal life. Whereas Finnish is still actively used in many domains in Finland, increasingly in academic spheres English is taking over as the primary language of preference. Eventually it may be that Finnish ceases to be used in academia altogether and takes a step closer to language extinction along with the majority of languages spoken today.

Kristine Tjålaund Braut (2010) discusses this "personal language shift" in her master's thesis on the Lule Sámi language revitalization in a language nest setting, which was based on the fact of her two children participating in the Sámi language nest and having the opportunity to learn the language, which she considers to have been an advantage. This gave her an easier access to the community and gave her informants a way to relate to her, allowing her to discuss more personal and intimate matter with other parents in a more informal way as they saw her as their peer (ibid. 36). She also observed many of the same difficulties that I faced in fieldwork, namely interviewing and getting consent from the children as well as the lack of knowledge of the language spoken and thus possibly altering the language environment in the nest (ibid. 16).

As cultural anthropologist Deborah Reed-Danahay has expressed, asking "who speaks and on behalf of whom are vital questions to ask of all ethnographic and autobiographical writing" (1997, 3), since these representations are also linked to the conceptions of selfhood and social life and transcending them. It is not enough to take the self and the social for granted, but analyze and rewrite them in the interaction between each other and in writing. Reed-Danahay, who has explored the relationship of identity to ethnography and autoethnography, also claims that the postmodern or postcolonial conceptions of self and identity are in fact multiplicities of identities as well as manifestations of power relations (ibid. 2). This postcolonial conception of self can be seen in this study in the ways I have struggled with the identities of researcher and student, in the shared discussions of being Finnish and/or Sámi, as well as in the ethical dilemmas of participation and representation.

In the first edition of her book *Being Indian in Hueyapan* (1976), Judith Friedlander also reflected on the issue of studying indigenous peoples as a non-indigenous researcher. In that version she ended up recommending that anthropologists should hold back from studying people in the Third World, though she has since reconsidered (2006 [1976], xi-xii). These conflicted feelings are familiar to many anthropologists and social scientists studying communities not of their own, but as noted above, the methodologies of participatory and collaborative research can prove to be an answer to bridge the gaps between indigenous and non-indigenous, the researchers and the researched.

Friedlander (2006 [1976], 179) also writes how her own political and ethical reflections followed hand in hand from her scholarly interests and led her to critically analyze the legacy of colonialism in her own fieldwork and that of her fellow students, and in general the anthropological fieldwork practices in the 1960's and 1970's. These days most anthropologists are more comfortable as advocates of traditional cultures, be it in faraway, exotic lands or closer to home, rather than working for the interests of the states and the institutions they represent (including universities) (ibid., 184). This kind of research is done in the name of the ideal of the "science"; and that often trumps the rights of the local peoples (see Smith 2012 [1999] for a discussion on the ethics of science and colonial research). "Do no harm" is still a relevant principle, as shown by the numerous ethical guidelines that guide anthropologists in their fieldwork (see AAA 2012). At the same time, the questions of who has the right to ask the questions, who has the right to decide on which questions are asked, and from whom are they asked are becoming increasingly relevant in the way anthropology is taught and practiced today.

Erickson (2011, 52) suggests autoethnography and using a first person narrative as a way to include the researcher's perspective of the fieldwork in an explicit way, as opposed to ethnographic convention of timeless present-tense narration. Autoethnography also allows researchers to show the ethnical dilemmas they face to readers, and to engage the readers to think *with* the narratives rather than just about them in an active process (Ellis & Bochner 2000, 734). Tomaselli et al. (2008) discuss the (self-)reflective elements of ethnography, describing how in trying to understand the other and the encounter, the ethnographer must also reflect their own position. In addition to questioning the people's reactions to the presence of the ethnographer, they must also question the social assumptions of the nature of the research, as it is always

filtered through the prism of the ethnographer's own culture (ibid. 348). At the same time there is an increasing movement from a description of the reality to communication and collaborating with the other in an ongoing dialogue (ibid. 348-349). In Tomaselli et al. (2008)'s project this also included enabling the informants to have direct access to the information written about them throughout the research project, which was not possible in this study, mostly because I did not know to consider it, and also for practical reasons of me being based in Helsinki.

Even though in the coming chapters autoethnographical accounts have a fairly limited space, the study was strongly influenced by the autoethnographical method. Autoethnography allows several levels of reflection beyond the usual participant observatory ethnography, where usually the author's point of view is from "above" or "outside" that of the informants. This limits the reflection to that of the ethnographer, but does not show the ethical and moral dilemmas and decisions that an author makes when writing an ethnography. Not only does this leave the native or indigenous perspective to its shadow, it also makes it impossible for the reader to gauge the unquantifiable elements of the fieldwork, such as the personal connections, antagonisms, doubts, and misunderstandings that are an inevitable part of doing fieldwork.

Throughout my fieldnotes there is a thread of awareness, confusion, and reflection twisting itself around my observations. In this sense, the analysis began at the moment of observation and I found myself asking the same questions again and again: how is this connected, how does this make sense? At the same time very few truly surprising things happened; maybe a chance comment in an interview, an activity that took place at unusual time or place and gave me a chance to see it from a new perspective, a political decision I read about in a newspaper. Tomaselli et al. (2008, 365) point out that considering one's position, and how to write about it, is an important part of conducting a reflexive, autoethnographic, and/or indigenous ethnography. This reflection can be used for discussing the researcher's individual, subjective, and situated nature of identity and fieldwork (ibid.). This method also allows for embracing the "messiness" of fieldwork and "seeing one's part" in the situation, no matter how frightened or self-deceiving (Tomaselli et al. 2008, 368-369). While in the language nest my own experiences were hardly frightening or even prone to self-deception, the nature of the work hopefully benefits from a reflective attitude towards the fieldwork as a process.

As Olwig and Golløv (2003, 5) point out, the relationship between place and fieldwork practice has often been left unattended, as its defining (and confining) nature of the fieldwork as a place has not been acknowledged. Gupta and Ferguson criticize the implicit exoticiation in the traditional ethnographies, and invite ethnographers to move beyond ”naturalized conceptions of spatialized ‘cultures’” instead (1992, 16). According to them, considering peoples we study as historically constituted and products of history and difference would allow us a fuller picture of their existence in common, shared, and connected spaces.

Gupta and Ferguson also discuss fieldwork and ethnography as unproblematized oppositions of “home” and “abroad”, “here” and “there” “us” and “other”, to construct a view of our own society (1992, 14). In these discussions the identity of ”we” is rarely questioned, but taken as given, though as they point out, even for ethnographers of the postmodern and –colonial world the world is an interconnected space with a multitudes of identities, and the concept of ”one’s own society” is also open for discussion. Even ethnographers work with hybrid, intersectional identities and challenge the traditional concept of heterosexual, gender-neutral, ethnographic text telling a realist story. As Denzin and Lincoln argue, in modern ethnography the ethnographer’s experience and self-understanding collide with larger cultural assumptions of race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, age, and class (2011a, xiii).

These aspects of the space as both confining and defining the action also apply to and affect the everyday life in the language nest, and the way people relate to it and to each other. The language nest as a “common, shared, and connected” space allows different intersections of the community to come together, and find ways in which people can understand their shared traits and differences from each other (see chapter 6). In the following chapter I portray the language nest as I experienced it, and the connections and the identity being built in the everyday life.

3. An ethnography of the language nest

> *"In the language nest I say* spä′sseb *[thank you in Skolt Sámi], but at home I say thank you [in Finnish]."*
> - U´stten (4 y.) (fieldwork notes 25.8.2014) [17]

As the quote above suggests, the children in the language nest understand very early on that the nest is a special place, different from their other everyday surroundings. In the language nest they are immersed in the language they hardly ever hear elsewhere and especially in the first days the children can sometimes be bewildered by their situation. They get used to this very quickly, however, and start taking it for granted. At the same time this further emphasizes the two different domains in their lives, the language nest, which is primarily a Skolt Sámi domain, and the rest, which is heavily dominated by Finnish.

In this chapter I will discuss the language nest as a socialization method as well as a language environment. The interest is to show the different aspects of the language nest's daily life and how it reaches its dual purpose as an institution of language revitalization and childcare. An important aspect of the discussion is to show how the language nest works as an organization, and how that affects the action within and beyond the language nest. I will tie these discussions to the larger discussion of the relationship between language socialization and revitalization, as well as to the anthropological research on children and their agency as active participants in creating their language and learning environment.

Unlike other chapters in this study, this is written mostly in the "ethnographic present", to highlight the timelessness and the repetition of the everyday life in the language nest. To support the educational and socialization aspects of the language nest, the repetition and predictability are seen as important for the wellbeing of the children and as something that helps them give structure to their days. As such, many of the days in the language nest were quite boring, with the same elements repeating themselves. As always when studying repetitive events, from the repetition rises a pattern to be studied,

[17] Interestingly, U´stten's mother is one of the few fluent Skolt Sámi speakers and would certainly not mind if U´stten spoke more Skolt Sámi also at home. When interviewing her mother, it came up that mostly due to the ease and "fairness" aspects (it is easier and more equal to use only one language that everyone can use and understand i.e. Finnish in this case) they have ended up using only Finnish even with U´stten even though other options might have been possible as well. (See discussion on language community in 3.2.)

and everything that happens out of the ordinary is particularly noticeable. As such, the language nest was an excellent point of view to the ways in which children were raised to be familiar with the Skolt Sámi language and culture. Of course this predictability and repetition is an illusion, as the children grow and move on, new children come to the nest, and most of all the children have an immense capacity for learning and imagination. Thus the environment is shaped by its people, both the children and the caretakers, for whom the language nest is but one aspect of their days, and as such each and every day is unique.

3.1 The day-to-day life of a language nest

> *Today we started [the day circle] with speaking about the date. U´stten knew to say* määibargg *(Tuesday) but today is Wednesday (*seäräd*)! So we went through the weekday, date number, month, season (*ǩiess*! [summer!]), year and so on. U´stten remembered the year almost completely right. After this Maa´ren showed some pictures she had put up on the wall about what is current in the nature this time of the year. In the pictures there were reindeer calves, and mosquitoes of course (*čuõškk [mosquito]*), little leaves on the trees. Maa´ren keeps digging her pile of pictures for a picture of cloudberry, because children don't seem to recognize the word, but then [with the help of the picture] U´stten at least recognizes it. Temm and Såff are becoming increasingly restless, maybe following U´stten's example. E´ll tells everyone how she and her grandfather used to go picking cloudberries (last summer, maybe?).*
> – fieldnotes 11.6.2014

Thus started one of my days in the Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest, a day just like many others during the time I spent in the nest. Any day in the language nest is much like any other, starting with breakfast and playtime in the morning, followed by some daily group activity – usually the "day circle" in the midmorning once everyone has arrived. Then outdoors play at around 9.30 am, lunch at 11 am, followed by a short playtime and nap at around 12 to 1.30 pm. Older children are also required to go for "rest" during naptime, so that they can listen to a story read to them in Skolt Sámi by one of the caretakers. In the afternoon there is once again more activities and/or playtime indoors or outdoors depending on the weather. The parents come to pick the children up usually between 3 and 5 pm.

Throughout the year the routine stays more or less the same, with more activities such as crafts and traditional games during the fall/winter/spring months than in the summer.

In the summer there are often fewer children present, as children are at home or on a holiday with their parents, so the children are allowed more unorganized playtime and time to craft the things they like (drawing, painting, 'Hama'-beads) instead of activities the caretakers have organized for the whole group. The language nest is closed for all of July for financial and practical reasons – the nests are funded for only 11 months of the year and the caretakers have their summer holidays over the break. The children that need care during July are directed to a Finnish daycare for the duration of the summer break.

Much of the caretakers' time is taken by "basic care" (incl. feeding, clothing, changing diapers) of the younger children, especially when there are more of the very young children (below three years of age). During the time I spent in the nest, most of the children were older than this, but in 2014 there were two to three two-year-olds who required more care and attention than their older peers. There were no infants, but the caretakers told me that they were expecting one to start at the nest in the fall 2014.

Most of this routine is based on the traditions and/or guidelines of the daycare system in Finland (i.e. the routine is similar in almost all daycare units throughout the country). Daycare in Finland is regulated by the Act on Early Childhood Education (Varhais-kasvatuslaki 36/1973) as well as regulations set by the municipalities.[18] Additionally language nests have some guidelines specific to them as given by the Sámi parliament (Saamelaiskäräjät 2015a), to ensure that there are sufficient resources for language and culture activities beyond those of a regular daycare.

Needless to say, language nest workers are expected to have the same qualifications for their work as any person working in early childhood education in Finland. So far all the language nests in Finland have been so-called "group family daycares" (perhepäivähoito (Finn.)) where the requirements for the care workers are not quite as specific as in a daycare centers (where also a kindergarten or early childhood education teacher has to be present), but in most cases some kind of a nursing or childcare degree is required. The purpose of early childhood education is provide children with an inspiring and safe place for daycare as well as to provide them sufficient tools for entering pre-school and later school and eventually society.

[18] See also the discussion in 3.3 and 5.2.

As much of the abovementioned daily routine and regulations are followed by any daycare institution in Finland, the question arises: just what kind of a Sámi language and culture environment a language nest truly is? As many of the practices adopted in the language nests are actually those followed by the Finnish daycare system, the children are socialized also into the Finnish system and the Finnish culture. At the same time, these practices direct the language nest activities to such a degree that especially the Sámi cultural practices have to be "woven" into the daily life of the daycare: a Sámi play activity here, baking with traditional Sámi recipes there, maybe a trip to visit a local reindeer herder every now and then (depending on available funding).

For the most part, however, this structure was taken for granted and considered beneficial for the children and their development. (This routine also made it very practical for me to visit the other language nests, as I was familiar with their routines and could arrange visits at the times that were more convenient for them.) From the caretakers perspective they also considered the routine to be beneficial to the language learning and socialization, as many words and concepts are learned with repetition, such as manners, and greetings, and vocabulary related to these formulaic interactions. This routine was especially visible at mealtimes and the routines and manners related to it:

> *Kai´ssi had barely sat down when she was already eating. Temm waited for the eating rhyme, I had to check the words from the note on the wall because I still haven't learned it by heart. Right away Temm asks for 'näkkileipä' [hard dry bread (Finn.)] in Finnish, he's not much interested in liver patties and root vegetable purée. […] Towards the end U´stten loses her temper because E´ll was allowed to get the food cards (with pictures [see picture 1]), Maa´ren has to start resolving the fight. U´stten got her will in the end and brings the cards to us in the kitchen, but in her temper just slams them on the table and runs away. I end up showing the cards to the smaller children [eating in the kitchen] and trying to say the words, Maa´ren and Liizz help me with pronunciation. Putting the cards on the wall one by one is one of Temm's favorite things to do, but I had to help there too. Kai´ssi and Temm both call out "*spä´sseb!*" [thank you in Skolt Sámi] as they run out from the kitchen to continue their play.* (fieldnotes, 13.6.2014)

The children learned the routine and the most common vocabulary related to these daily events by following their peers and mimicking the caretakers. For example, one of the very first things that I observed the children learning very fast was saying *spä´sseb* [thank you] at the end of each meal, as is customary in Finland. Saying thank you (in

Sámi or Finnish) would be something the children would be very used to doing and observing also at home, so learning this very ritualized speech event would come quite naturally to them also at the language nest.

Mealtimes were times also occasions when the caretakers paid special attention to proper language and manners. Children were served one at a time (starting from the youngest) and they were encouraged to eat by themselves if they knew how. The two caretakers also ate the same food at the table and helped those children that needed help. If all the children were present, one caretaker would eat with older children in the living room while the other would eat in the kitchen with the youngest two or three. If there were only a few children for meals that day the caretakers would both eat in the kitchen with the children while having a conversation about current events or something of common interest. When most of the children had finished eating, one of the caretakers would take a box of flashcards with the most common foodstuffs and ask the children for the names of the ingredients at the meal that day.[19] This was done especially at lunchtime.

Having finished eating enough for the caretakers' satisfaction, children could get up from the table, say *spä´sseb* [thank you] and go back to continue their play. After lunch they also got a xylitol pastille as well, each family providing their own. This was another occasion for the children to practice "*spä´sseb – tiervsâ!*" [thank you – you are welcome!] word exchange. In fact, this xylitol pastille exchange was the only time when I consistently heard all of the children say something in Skolt Sámi (i.e. *spä´sseb* – thank you) with very few children slipping to Finnish or forgetting altogether – though this was helped by the fact that caretakers also stressed saying *tiervsâ!* and thus soliciting an answer if a child seemed to be forgetting to say *spä´sseb*. (Occasionally especially the youngest two children – two-year-olds – would get the two words mixed up, but they would still say one or the other.) Thus mealtimes were not only important as opportunities for teaching about vocabulary and traditional Sámi foodstuffs, but also important for socialization as well.

[19] In this language nest, Inari municipality catering provides the food and the catering that also serves other schools and daycares in the area brings the warm food to language nest every day. In many cases the catering aims at favoring local ingredients, including berries, fish, and reindeer. While not following the traditional Sámi diet, the menu still includes many local and traditional dishes that both Sámi and Finnish people eat. By comparison, in Inari (village) the caretakers in Inari Sámi language nests prepare the food themselves and usually try to include local and/or Sámi ingredients or courses in meal plans.

Braut (2010, 45) also notes mealtimes for being especially important for teaching and using the daily vocabulary with the children in the Lule Sámi language nest, especially the kind of language that the children would go on to use also at home. Äärelä (2016, 128) remarks on the importance of the mealtimes for teaching and learning about the vocabulary and the manners related to eating and food, pointing out the prominent role of the language nest caretakers in producing and paying special attention to the children's language. Äärelä (2016, 122-124) shows how in the North Sámi language nest she studied, the Finnish daycare regulations, Sámi educational guidelines, and the educational interests of language nests come together at mealtimes and other shared events. She also points out how the caretakers guide and discuss the situation with the children all throughout the event, using their own experiences and "cultural, linguistic, and pedagogical" approach as recommended in the Sámi early education guidelines (Saamelaiskäräjät 2013). This is confirmed by my observations, and in the way the caretakers talked about the mealtimes and other events shared by the whole language nest.

Besides meal times when the children learned and are taught words relating to food and eating, an important time of learning is the daily "day circle" (*tue´lääž kruugg* (SS), päiväpiiri (Finn.)). It is usually held in the midmorning, when all the children have arrived to the nest, but occasionally the day circle is instead held in the afternoon to accommodate the children who have arrived later. The aim is to teach the children vocabulary related to Skolt Sámi cultural traditions and lifestyle (including names of animals, foods, clothing, crafts) as well as to go through the plans for the day with the children for orientation and vocabulary building purposes.

Once a year around August, the caretakers write a yearly plan that is handed to families where the planned activities, trips, and events were listed by month. This yearly plan is required by the municipality, as it is an important document for documenting the practical aspects of what actually happens in the language nest. This documentation is crucial because it is used when language nest funding is discussed with municipalities and the Sámi Parliament and eventually decided by the Finnish Parliament. Similar documents are produced and used also in other language nests in the Sámi area (see Braut (2010, 43) for an example from a Lule Sámi language nest). The activities in the plan reflect the yearly cycle and Sámi cosmology of eight seasons and stress the

highlights of the year so that the parents are also aware of what is happening in the nest.[20] Many of the activities I observed during the fieldwork also reflected the values of Skolt Sámi culture, such as nature, religion and traditional handicrafts.

In summer the children have more time for free playing as the group is usually smaller, with usually at least some of the children staying at home with their parents because of summer vacation or other reasons. With fewer children to be taken care of, the caretakers are able to engage with the children more personally. On the other hand, caretakers prefer to reserve many of the educational activities such as field trips and handcrafts to other times of the year so that as many children as possible can participate in them. In any case it is considered important according to the language nest ideology and Sámi values to have these activities strewn across the year to reflect the changing environment and enable the children to build a natural and sustainable relationship with the surrounding nature.

The planned activities outside the nest include things like visiting a reindeer herding farm, visiting the local orthodox church, and digging pine tree roots for traditional Skolt handicrafts in the nearby forest. Every now and then (approximately once a year) the language nest spends more money on a trip to Inari or Sevettijärvi to meet with other language nests and to participate in some shared activity such as Sámi culture day, craft project or a festival. Language nests organize many of these activities together to pool resources and to make them more meaningful for the children as well. Children are always very enthusiastic about these trips and they are often talked about for months afterwards. For example, during my fieldwork in August one of trips everyone was very much looking forward to was the traditional trip across the river to gather bilberries and lingonberries in the nearby forest (Picture 2). The caretakers often voiced their hopes and wishes for more resources (money, people, contacts), so they could consider increasing the number of activities organized by the local Skolt Sámi community and also visiting the other language nests in the area, especially the other Skolt Sámi language nest in Sevettijärvi:

[20] See Itkonen 2012, 46-47 for more information about the yearly cycle of the Skolt Sámi. In Itkonen's work the yearly cycle is shown in relation to reindeer herding and other forms of traditional livelihood – which in turn follow the natural seasons for reindeer – but these activities are important also for the language nest as many of their (Skolt) Sámi cultural activities are informed by the traditional yearly cycle of subsistence. Also Äärelä (2016 158-160) discusses the importance of the Sámi yearly cycle in the language nest activities and the planning of them.

What I hope from the governing authorities is that since we're here in the village center, that teaching culture wouldn't be just showing videos, since there are not even suitable videos to show, or other materials, or money for resource people,
So I hope we had more money to visit the [Skolt Sámi] places,
Otherwise teaching the cultural things suffers so much.
- interview with Maa´ren (28.8.2014)

While the language nests are officially non-denominational, being part of the municipal daycare system, the language nests often visit churches and benefit from the services provided by them. The Skolt Sámi language nest in Ivalo regularly visited or had a visitor from the local Orthodox Church and some of the reading material was about the Orthodox saints and legends related to them.[21] Some of the first books written or translated in Skolt Sámi were Orthodox Christian saintly legends, such as the legend of Saint Tryphon of Pechenga. Children enjoyed hearing these stories and often asked the caretakers to read these stories to them. Thus religion is also transferred to the children in some cases, though it can also raise some questions to rise a child as an Orthodox Christian when most of the (Finnish) community is Lutheran. One family had ended up baptizing their children in different churches, the elder in Lutheran like the father and the younger in Orthodox like the Skolt mother.

Family and kin are also a matter of importance in the Skolt traditions, and parents felt it was an important part of being a Skolt. Godparents are seen as a close part of the family and the children also seemed to know their godparents well. The importance of family and kin highlights the underlying values of community and belonging:

The family connection is strong in our family, it must be the strongest thing we have at home, and with both of our families
U´stten knows well both her mother's and her father's families, as well as her godparents
The sense of community and the importance of keeping in touch, those are the things you can see every day.
The family traditions have always been very important to me and so they are to U´stten too.
– interview with Maa´ren (28.8.2014)

[21] During the fieldwork the language nest in Ivalo visited the Orthodox chapel of Keväjärvi, where the children were read a few of these saintly stories and they could see some of the local people practice traditional Skolt handicrafts (Picture 3).

The importance of family and kin was brought up in not only the discussions the caretakers had with the children but also in the activities. The children and their families were asked to contribute pictures for the children to craft a family tree of relations of importance. This included not only the parents and siblings, aunts and uncles, cousins and grandparents, but also the godparents and other important people in the children's lives. With the help of these family trees the children were taught the relevant vocabulary for family and relatives, and they also practiced these words by describing their relatives and telling stories about them to each other and the caretakers. The family trees were considered important for teaching the children about the importance of family and kin and also about the proper kinship terms for the relatives. Maa´ren explains how she uses only the Skolt terms for their relatives and family acquaintances:

Maa´ren: *I've noticed that U´stten always ask who this and this is for me*
*So she has learned that relatives have their own names, since even at home I always say Paavvâl-*jie´bb *[Uncle Paavvâl (pseudonyms)]*
Tiina-Maaria: *and she's always telling me about Mä´rjj-*mue´đđ *[Aunt Mä´rjj]*
Maa´ren: *Yes, she's always asking who is this person in relation to her*
Tiina-Maaria: *So she has realized that you have different terms for those people than her?*
Maa´ren: *Yes, and it's important to her that everyone has their own term*
And I've tried to explain that not everyone has their own term, they are just relatives, ruåđ, a*nd she's like, oh,* ruåđ.
So I think it's great that she gets some cultural awareness that way
And since you just asked about the words that U´stten only knows in Skolt Sámi, well, we never translate those terms for relatives, so she just uses the Skolt terms all the time.
– interview with Maa´ren (28.8.2014)

Often the "resource persons" who help to organize the outings and other activities for the language nest are also relatives of some sort to some of the people in the language nest. These people are highly valued for their deep connections to the language nest and for their culturally relevant practical skills and Skolt Sámi language skills. Resource persons are also able to bring Skolt Sámi traditions to the language nest by showing their skills and handicrafts to the children. These traditions are also present in the traditional dress and its accouterments and the children had some dolls with the Skolt Sámi clothes and embroidery that they could play with, as well as practice wearing the traditional clothes the proper way. The traditional dress is also an important part of the family traditions, as often the bead embroidery patterns (that are unique to Skolt Sámi and not present in other Sámi traditions) are carried in the family and specific to a

certain family branch or a place they have lived. Thus they also carry family history and cultural meanings to their wearers and it was important for the children in the language nest to also learn about these traditions. In the North Sámi language nest that Äärelä studied, for example, the resource persons had helped the language nest workers to cook traditional Sámi dishes while at the same time telling the children stories of the old times and the traditional Sámi manners and customs (Äärelä 2016, 130).

All these activities create an environment with Skolt Sámi cultural traditions and values in the center of action. While working within the Finnish system of day care and early childhood education, the caretakers paid attention to bring as many elements of Skolt Sámi traditions, history, and culture to the daily life of the language nest as possible. This reflects the language nests' ideal of bringing the culture to nest to be as tangible as possible and to make the nest a communal center for the whole community. As in the case of many language nests around the world, often these efforts were restrained by the financial and regulatory limits, or even more often by the lack of knowledgeable and language skilled people and culturally suitable environments that would have offered opportunities for the children to learn more about their cultural heritance. Wilson and Kamanā (2001, 151) describe how in the Hawaiian language nests the aim was to bring the traditional activities to the language nest through fieldtrips, gardens with traditional plants, and cultural materials, in order to recreate the typical life of the elders even when it was impossible to recreate the traditional extended family arrangement of several generations taking care of each other.

The Hawaiian language nests also attribute most of their success to their strong prioritizing the continued strengthening and existence of the Hawaiian *'mauli'*, or life force, that allows for the continued existence of the Hawaiians as a people (Wilson & Kamanā 2001, 147). In the meanwhile, compared to Māori and Hawaiian language nests, there is not as much talk about the "Sámi way of life" in the discourse over the Sámi language nests. While there is a strong emphasis on traditional activities and an interest in trying to recreate the "Skolt way of life", due to limited time and resources in the day–to–day life there is very little discussion at the language nest level on the philosophy of the Skolt Sámi identity and how to fit that in the modern times. Even in cases when the language nest workers have strived for more traditional elements in the language nest premises, they rarely succeeded, such as in the case of the reindeer

enclosure for the children to play in the courtyard that had been talked about for years but never materialized.

Culture and relaying it to the children is seen as an important part of the language nest. The caretakers were careful to stress the purpose of the language nest as a place for learning the language *and* the culture. Culture as a word means many things to the Skolt Sámi, including the relationships with the nature, the traditional livelihood (of fishing, reindeer herding, gathering, handicrafts), language, and spiritual culture (Sanila-Aikio 2015, interviewed in *Huomenta Suomi*). This dual nature of language nests is also noted by Pasanen (2015) as well as Äärelä (2016) who even notes that language is intertwined with the cultural aspects of the language nest and vice versa (ibid., 198).

3.2 Learning the language

As mentioned earlier, language nests have a dual purpose of providing childcare for the families as well being places of language and culture revitalization. Among the Sámi, being able to express oneself in a Sámi language is very meaningful, since a person's status as a Sámi and their right to vote in the Sámi Parliament elections is closely related to their and their family's language skills. While being Sámi is primarily about self-identification, the law on Sámi Parliament also requires either a recorded family history of "Lappness" or having Sámi as a first language within two generations (Laki saamelaiskäräjistä 974/1995 §3).

The language is the most defining character of the language nest, and it is visible everywhere. In Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest there were pictures and rhymes in Skolt Sámi taped to wall, the books and videos were in Skolt Sámi whenever possible, and most visibly, of course, the caretakers spoke almost exclusively in Skolt Sámi to the children and each other. The caretakers read a story in Skolt Sámi at the beginning of the naptime, and sometimes also in the afternoons if the children so wished. The children also "read" these books to themselves and each other, and seemed to have a good grasp on the plot of the books, with chance words in Skolt Sámi in between.[22]

[22] Since in Finland children start school the year they turn seven, none if any of the children in the nest can read fluently either in Finnish or Skolt Sámi. The older children soon to enter preschool have learned to write and recognize their own names and occassionally some simple words (usually in Finnish) as well.

Language teaching in the language nest is both haphazard and systematic. Since for the most part the language nest operates much like any other daycare institution in Finland, much of the caretakers' time is taken by the everyday activities of caring, feeding, playing, and supervising the children.[23] All this happens in Skolt Sámi, and the language is woven in the everyday activities and the everyday interactions in the nest. The caretakers emphasized that since the point is for the children to consider the language nest a Skolt Sámi speaking environment, they are careful to use as much Skolt Sámi as they can with the children and with each other as well.[24] Only in the cases when there is no Skolt Sámi equivalent or in the moments of great frustration there may slip a word or two in Finnish, usually to explain the meaning something to the children. Only if a child does something that can be considered dangerous or mischievous, are they taken to another room and they are chastised in Finnish in the case of the younger children, and Skolt Sámi with the older ones.

As discussed above, the most systematic language and culture teaching moments are the meal times and the day group. Kristine Tjåland Braut reports a division between "free" (voluntary, spontaneous) and "asked-to" (solicited) language use in Lule Sámi language nest (2010, 47-48). Though in the Skolt Sámi language nest the caretakers emphasized voluntary language choices and rarely solicited Skolt Sámi words or sentences from the children, there were also some examples of that in my observations:

> *Temm had eaten enough and said "kiitos" [thank you in Finn.]. When no one paid him any attention, after a while he tentatively said "*spä´sseb*", and only then Liizz helped him off the chair. After lunch everyone was given their xylitols, Temm forgot his* spä´sseb*, Veâra of course remembered.* (fieldnotes 9.6.2014)

The question is, does being surrounded and hearing the language being spoken for hours every day actually give the children the language proficiency they are expected to acquire? In the recent years, very few children have been able to study in Skolt Sámi and the number of students of Skolt Sámi in schools is also very low. The Finnish Educational Evaluation Centre (FEEC) evaluated the level of proficiency of Sámi students in schools in 2015 and found that students generally had much higher level of

[23] See Äärelä (2016, ch. 5.1) for a discussion on this purpose of the language nests.

[24] It is important to remember that both caretakers live their daily lives in a mostly Finnish environment, and the only people they may speak Skolt Sámi to is each other and their very elderly relatives. Both Liizz and Maa´ren speak mostly Finnish at home with their families including their children.

oral (listening and speaking) skills than reading and writing skills (Huhtanen & Puukko 2016). It is telling, that at the time of the evaluation there were no students in the grades 7-9 who studied in Skolt Sámi, and only a few who studied the language. This would suggest that most Skolt Sámi children entering school are either lacking in the skills required to follow the lessons in Skolt Sámi, or as often the case, do not even have the access to schooling in Skolt Sámi (as is the case in Ivalo).

Most of the interactions I observed between the children were conducted in Finnish. In some rare cases children would also use some Skolt Sámi words, though this varied among the children depending on their family background, age, and time spent in the nest. In general those children who had spent a longer time in the nest and/or were exposed to the language outside the language nest used Skolt Sámi words with a higher frequency and confidence. Pasanen (2015, 120) reports that at least among the Inari Sámi the children's passive fluency develops in just a few months, and soon after that they start speaking it themselves too. I noticed this in the Skolt Sámi language nest (and other nests I visited) myself, since for the most part the children learned the very basic phrases (saying thank you, good morning, common dates and foods etc.) surprisingly quickly. The caretakers also tried to keep notes on what words the children used and when. I wrote about this on one of the days in 2014:

> *During the coffee break we [the two caretakers and I] are talking about the children, about how well Temm has learned some words in just a couple of weeks since he started. Maa´ren says U´stten could also speak if she so wished (and I have noticed that myself). E´ll and Veâra have a trilingual home, Finnish, Skolt, and Swedish, since one of their parents is Finnish-Swedish and speaks Swedish to the children. Såff has yet to say anything [in Skolt Sámi] here, but at home she had said* spä´sseb*, and her parents had asked if it means thank you.* (fieldnotes 11.6.2014)

As the example above shows, the parents may also be interested in the words their children seem to pick up in Sámi in daycare – in Såff's case (where the parents do not speak the language) the parents had wondered what *spä´sseb* means which indicates that Såff had used the word also at home. I got the impression that the caretakers do not get very much information from the parents on how the children use the language at home (if at all). There also is a lack of research on this topic, though it would give a fuller picture of the children's language capabilities for when they start school (Pasanen, spoken communication August 2014).

In those cases when there were several children of the same family in the language nest, parents occasionally observed some differences in their language learning. In Kai´ssi's family, the older sibling had been in the language nest for a little while before continuing to school, where he had started Skolt Sámi lessons but due to learning difficulties was encouraged to stop taking these lessons for the time being. Kai´ssi had been placed in the nest at a younger age, and though by the time I interviewed the parents she had been in the nest for only a year, she seemed to have gained relatively fluent understanding of Skolt Sámi. This family had relatives in Sevettijärvi (which they often visited), so the children had some exposure to language there too:

> *For example, last weekend we were visiting in Sevetti and we went to the local bar/restaurant for a coffee – there are no other places there to go for a coffee anyway – and there I realized that when they all there were speaking Skolt to each other, Kai´ssi was right away aware that hey, someone is speaking something, and turned to see them and follow their discussion,*
> *And when the people there said something to Kai´ssi [in Skolt], she was saying no and yes in response to their questions... and nodded though she didn't reply in Skolt*
> *And then [Kai´ssi's older brother] was all, "Kai´ssi, tell me what they are saying, I want to know!"*
> – Kai´ssi's mother (20.8.2014)

As we can see, in this case, the language capabilities could cause sibling rivalry, and though both children had had time in the language nest, it was the younger whose language skills were much better than the older child's.[25] In the cases where both/all children of the same family have equivalent language skills, there can be additional benefits to having these children in the language nest together. As Braut (2010, 57) comments, the siblings can between themselves even create a language community of sorts and "bring the language home", and thus encourage their parents to learn the language.

In some cases, especially in U´stten's case, when one of the parents have at least some knowledge of Sámi, the families have also used some Skolt Sámi terms exclusively (see

[25] It would be interesting to understand better how the sibling relationships and rivalries affect language learning and language attitudes. Unfortunately this is for the most part beyond the scope of this study as I did not have a chance to observe the children in their homes (and interacting with their siblings), nor did the parents mention it at all with the exception of one interview.

Maa´ren's interview above on family/kinship terms). In other cases the children themselves start using some of the more common words in Sámi (see Kai´ssi's mother's interview below). Maa´ren had made a deliberate decision not to translate the words that U´stten used in Skolt Sámi even at home:

Tiina-Maaria: *So what are the words U´stten doesn't have in Finnish?*
Maa´ren: *Well, the* faardiǩ *[bib, apron] is one of those, and what else…*
And kõrrlei´bb *[dry rye bread] is too, have you heard if she says 'näkkileipä' [dry rye bread (Finn.)]?*
Tiina-Maaria : *I don't think so…*
Maa´ren: *I think it's* kõrrlei´bb *that she asks for even at home*
Tiina-Maaria: *And that's the case with most kids here, they don't use the Finnish word [for the dry bread]*
Maa´ren: *And that's the thing, children learn by observing, they see the thing and attribute it to the word*
So I decided early on, that I wouldn't translate those [words], that it's part of the learning process
They get it eventually, the meanings in Finnish
Tiina-Maaria: *Yeah, in school at latest*
Maa´ren: *They have plenty of time to learn Finnish, when one of the words is this way around, it's just a positive [thing for the language]*
– Interview with Maa´ren (27.08.2014)

In general the children were not required to speak Skolt Sámi in the language nest, but if they spontaneously did so they were much praised by the caretakers. The caretakers asked questions to which they expected replies, but for the most part only at meal times and day circle were Skolt Sámi answers heavily emphasized. The children were also in no way punished for not speaking Skolt Sámi. Especially the older Sámi generations have traumas from the times before when Sámi was a forbidden language in school (and speaking it often caused punishment), and this is probably one of the reasons why the caretakers emphasized that the initiative for the language change to Skolt Sámi had to come from the children. Since between themselves and in play the children usually used Finnish, the language nest remained a relatively Finnish environment for the children.

When I visited the Inari Sámi language nests in Inari in August 2014, I was told that there the two language nest groups were divided by age, to provide a more suitable language environment for the children (Interview with Ritva Kangasniemi, August 2014). The children moved to the older children's group as they learned to express themselves fluently in Sámi, and from there is an easy transition to school and lessons

in Inari Sámi. Thus the older children in the other IS nest had a language environment relatively free of Finnish. Since in Ivalo there is only the one Skolt Sámi language nest, all the children stay together regardless of their linguistic skills and status. This means that for the most part children use only Finnish with each other from the beginning and keep using it even when they have learned to express themselves in Skolt Sámi. It was clear, however, that the more time a child spent in the language nest, the more active language competence they gained, and even the youngest had a remarkable passive understanding of the language even after a short while in the nest.

One of the purposes of the language nest is for the children to reach active fluency by the time they enter school, and also to enable language transference in a situation where the natural transference from the parents to children is all but impossible (Pasanen 2015, 210). In this light it could be said that the children in the Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest gain a good passive understanding of vocabulary and phrases, but struggle with producing language themselves. If they do speak some words, they are usually words they have no Finnish equivalent (as in U´stten's case with the terms for relatives), or accidental, very often used words they know from the language nest. These words can be very meaningful too, though, especially since they are a first step in taking the language to these children's homes:

> *She [Kai´ssi] uses some accidental words, like* spä´sseb *[thank you] at the dinner table, and orders like give me* lei´bb *[bread]! And for example* pueđ*! [come!]*
> *You know, by accident, I don't think she means to say things specifically in Skolt Sámi*
> - Kai´ssi's mother (20.8.2014)

Having almost complete passive fluency or understanding a language while not being able to speak it is common in multilingual communities or in those going through a language change (Pasanen 2015, 188). Even passive fluency can make a difference for a child's self-confidence in speaking Skolt Sámi. In addition, the children used their passive knowledge in reading and commenting the stories they heard and also happenings in the language nest. Maa´ren explains that U´stten has a tendency to tell stories from the Skolt Sámi children's books to friends and relatives who come to visit:

[Tiina-Maaria: So do you read at home in Skolt Sámi?]
Yes, we do. And it's also funny how U´stten keeps offering the Skolt Sámi books for others to read too.
And then for the people who don't know any Skolt Sámi, she just tells them what happens in the book
And it sounds like she gets it all right to me
Well, there are some words she doesn't know in Finnish, those words that are part of the story
But mostly in Finnish
– interview with Maa´ren 28.8.2014

U´stten surprised me with even some occasional complete Skolt Sámi sentences at times:

*At some point U´stten stands up and goes to the window, where she sees Temm's mother and says: "*Mami puehtte Temm viǯǯâd!*" ([Temm's] Mother is coming to pick up Temm!) One of the rare cases when one of the children says a whole sentence in Skolt!* (fieldnotes 11.6.2014)

This kind of mixed language is very common for bilingual/language nest children, and is usually the first step towards active language use. Scheller (2011) categorizes Russian Sámi speakers into groups based on their active vs. passive ability, as well as based on their "visibility" in using the language. Using Scheller's categories, though the Skolt Sámi language nest children mostly can be called potential language users with mostly passive language skills, they have the potential to become active in the language community if their language learning is supported and there are sufficient domains to enable language use. As Scheller points out (2011, 85), most of the Russian Sámi users are "invisible" (i.e. not using the language in public, symbolic, or political positions), especially the younger generation. This applies also to the younger generations of the Sámi speakers in Finland, though increasingly the youth and the children of the Sámi are becoming visible in the Sámi social and traditional media, for example. This visibility has a symbolic meaning, bringing together the Sámi speakers across the whole country, as unlike in Russia, where many of the visible language users have only symbolic language skills, the Sámi youth in Finnish media often are quite fluent in the language.

Even for the caretakers, who themselves are very active and also visible speakers of the language, using the language constantly can be a stuggle. In my fieldnotes there are several short notes about my observations of the caretakers struggling with written

words, trying to remember certain words or their spelling, or stumbling with pronunciation while reading a story for the children:

> *Reading aloud seems to be harder for Maa´ren, I wonder how much she reads at home?* (fieldnotes 13.6.2014),
>
> *Writing is especially hard because they were never taught it in school. This seems to be an emotional topic to discuss too, it's hard for me to bring it up.* (fieldnotes 16.6.2014).

There are several reasons for this, the main being that both caretakers are of the generation that had hardly any school or lessons in Skolt, and even then the orthography was standardized relatively late. Even today there are very few written materials in Skolt Sámi – most of them children's or religious books. Though Maa´ren and Liizz try to use these materials to the best of their abilities, the fact that they rarely use the language outside the language nest especially in its written form has its effect on the way they use the language also in the language nest. Nonetheless, the language nest workers and others working on language revitalization have increasingly created more of these "pockets" of knowledge and interaction where the children have a better chance to keep learning the language in school even after the language nest if they so wish.

3.3 A place for growth and interaction

Besides operating as environments for the language and culture transference to happen, language nests are also places and spaces of interaction and meaning in themselves. As Olvig and Gulløv claim, "places are defined through social interaction, but interactions are defined by relationships, aims and conceptions of space" (Olvig & Gulløv 2003, 13). This resonates with my experience in the language nest, and the way the language nest is very much built, shaped, and expanded by its interaction with the children, their parents, and the surrounding community. These interactions connected language nests throughout the country, and I came to see the language nest as a node in a web of language nests and activities that all aimed at revitalizing the Sámi language(s) and culture.

Besides the walls, rooms, and furniture of the physical world, language nests are made through the activities and meanings attributed to them. Places are cultural constructions

emerging from the meanings and values people place in them in the course of social life, rather than just existing in and of themselves (Olvig & Gulløv 2003, 7). This is true of any ethnographic fieldwork site, but in the context of language nests it is true in a visible, tangible way. The language nest operates in an apartment, a set of rooms similar to any of the others in the same building, except that it is also a language nest. This is to emphasize the "homelikeness" of the language nests (and the family daycares in general).

As can be seen in Picture 4, in the language nest different activities occupied separate spaces, as is customary in Western households, with eating happening in the kitchen, sleeping in the bedroom, paperwork in the office etc. With the exception of the office and the balcony, the children had more or less free range of the space, including the playroom and the living room, especially during the time of free (non-directed) play. On occasion the hallway too was taken over for an acrobatics track or a dance party, with the wriggling and giggling children pulling the caretakers to participate in the action. These were the ways the children claimed this space as theirs, and they were active participants in making the language nest an environment for language and cultural learning. Though aware and respectful of the intergenerational positions, the children also used their own agency for "producing and reproducing socio-cultural systems" (Olvig & Gulløv 2003, 13), while the caretakers' role is to make the language nest a safe place for them to learn and grow.

Managing the social group is an important part of the caretakers work – making sure the children play nice and everyone is included. One aspect of this is teaching social skills, important values, and good manners (as shown in chapter 3.1). The caretakers used their social acumen and understanding of the children's behavior to guide and correct their behavior and make sure everyone is included:

> *I have noticed that it is easy for Maa´ren to distract the children to play something else, if the girls for some reason don't want to play with Temm.*
> (fieldwork notes 11.6.2014)

The caretakers had been involved with this language nest for a long time, Maa´ren ever since it was started. She was asked by the municipality to take charge in organizing and developing the methods and practices in the Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest and the other language nest workers often asked for her opinion and advice. Especially in the

beginning/early years the language nests had very little if any materials to be used for helping to create the language environment. The caretakers needed to translate, write, and create many of the basic signs, nursery rhymes, and children's stories in order to have something to show for the children in Skolt Sámi. This all came in addition to their regular caretaking duties and was not monetarily compensated.

Children in the language nests are entitled to the support of special education teacher with a specialization in pre-school aged children by the municipality. These teachers work with carers to make sure the children's development is progressing as expected and help with making arrangements for children with special needs. In practice these children are often transferred to Finnish daycare units, where there are educated early childhood teachers as well as the support of better resources and materials. I often heard it said that there are no problems with language development in language nest, but it remains unclear if this actually the case or if they are not as evident because of these arrangements.

In one family's case their elder child had been in the language nest until school, but it was not until at school when his need for extra support was discovered. As a result it was considered better that he would not continue to take the Skolt Sámi lessons alongside the Finnish school and homework, though the situation was open for change later and he had recently started to study Skolt again:

> *So if I have to compare [Kai´ssi's brother] and Kai´ssi, he doesn't understand what my brother says but Kai´ssi does… He has only now this fall started studying Skolt Sámi again, last year he had maybe one month of lessons before the teacher took him off the course, because he needed so much extra support with Finnish… so they said it was pointless to mix Skolt Sámi there too.*
> - Kai´ssi's mother (20.8.2014)

According to Äärelä (2016) there is a severe lack of materials specifically tailored for language nests as well as national recommendations or guidelines for operating language nests. Neither are there any educational programs that are tailored to educating language nest workers. Instead they are expected to practice the language nest method based on their own experience as teachers and educators and language experts. Most language nest workers end up creating their own materials, and this takes time away from looking after and playing with the children. Äärelä also brings up how most

language nest workers wished they had more time and opportunities for collaborating and sharing experiences with other language nests and their caretakers (Äärelä 2016, 179). Maa´ren confirmed this saying that when she started in the language nest she had hardly any experience with the language nest methodology, but the help of the other caretakers and language workers has been crucial in her development as a language nest caretaker:

> *I have had to read and study much mostly just by myself*
> *And we have networked in the SaKaste-program[26] as well*
> *The Sámi education center organized some training for us language nest workers, I thought that was such a good thing*
> *And another good thing about this work is the support from the other language nest workers, the Inari Sámi people especially, they have a lot of experience, so they have been very encouraging and supportive*
> *And also told us what not to do!*
> – interview with Maa´ren (28.8.2014)

Altogether the collaborative work for developing the language nests and trainings the caretakers participated in have also made the nest as a language community stronger as the caretakers have been able to share their experiences and ideas (Äärelä 2016, 179). Language nests are demanding work environments as the language bath/nest methodology requires caretakers to have high competence in both languages from the caretakers, competence and preferably education in childcare, as well as pedagogical understanding of children's development (Kangasvieri et al 2012, 21-22, Laurén 2000). In Maa´ren's case the situation was even more complicated, as she was both a mother and a caretaker for one of the children in the nest. While Maa´ren paid special attention so as not to give her daughter special attention or treat her differently from the other children, she did admit that if there were other reasonable options, she would not choose to work with her own child:

> *So we of course were thinking about her coming along to the language nest, as there is no daycare option for the children whose mother tongue is Skolt, so the best option is for her to come here too.*
> *But it is a challenge too, to have your own child there*

[26] Sámi early childhood education –program organized by the Sámi parliament (see also Saamelaiskäräjät 2013)

I've said it many times, that if the situation with the language and the culture weren't so bad, I would prefer not to have her in the same daycare group where I'm working myself.
– interview with Maa´ren (28.8.2014)

Also, Maa´ren returned back to work soon after her maternity leave. I ended up embarrassing myself when I asked her about it once, assuming that she would have stayed at home until U´stten was at least a year old (as is customary in Finland). Instead, she told me that their family circumstances were such that they had deemed it necessary for her to return back to work when U´stten was still very young. The decision may have been helped by the fact that at least in the language nest Maa´ren could take care of her daughter at the same time as caring for the other children, and getting paid for it too.

The stressful conditions of the language nests caused worry and frustration for the caretakers. The bureaucracy required by the municipality and the Sámi Parliament took considerable time especially from Maa´ren, who was primarily in charge of the language nest. She also attended workshops to develop the Sámi early education programs and meetings with other language nest caretakers. While her role in creating materials, reporting to Sámi parliament and the municipality, and attending committee meetings was important for the development of the language nests and an important way to connect with the other language nests, she also wished she had more time just to take care of and play with the children. Despite this, Maa´ren was happy to work in the language nest and hoped to continue working there in the future:

When I started here I was so unprepared, but I'm still here
And I've thought that if everything goes well, this is where I want to be for as long as possible
– interview with Maa´ren 28.8.2014

The future of the language nest was on the mind and discussions of the caretakers often. Though the situation of this language nest was relatively safe, because its funding was provided directly by the municipality, the situation of language nests in general has been questioned many times over the years (see chapter 5.3. for a discussion from the fall 2013). Since the language nest is organized by the municipality, it was also the caretakers' employer and as such could give the caretakers directions as to where and how to work. In the summer 2014 one of the discussions in the language nest was the

coming fall, and the number of children in the nest then. As there were not expected to be as many children as usually, one of the caretakers (i.e. Liizz) was appointed temporarily to work in the Finnish daycare nearby.[27]

This was a situation the caretakers worried about, as it would have an impact on the children's language exposure and also made it harder for the caretakers to see to the bureaucratic matters. The caretakers were also worried on how these changes would affect the children, as Liizz was well-liked and trusted by the children, and they would miss her terribly if she was away. On a more personal note, the change to a Finnish daycare meant that Liizz would lose the one domain and opportunity she has for using Skolt Sámi in her everyday life.

I personally ended up wondering about how lonely and isolating it must be for the caretakers to only be able to talk the language to each other. Though Maa´ren mentioned that for her the calls home to her parents were an important opportunity to speak Skolt with her father, there were very few opportunities for using Skolt Sámi in their daily lives outside the language nest. Furthermore, as the situation over the language nest children remained open and Liizz's position remained unstable, the question rose concerning the functionality of the language nest, namely how would the language nest work properly if the caretakers were not there to talk to each other as an example for the children. The language nest as a tiny language community provided the children in some cases their only exposure to the language, and also provided Liizz and Maa´ren an important foothold on their own language and culture, which they cherished and wanted to hold on to.

In this context, I observed the language nest not only as an environment for the children, but also as Maa´ren and Liizz's workplace. As Hirsch and Gellner (2001, 4) point out, organizations do not exist in vacuum but rather operate in a network of funding, financial limitations, competition, politics, managerialism etc. This context also provides them with the aims they pursue and the limits of their operation – and in the case of the language nest this context is for the most part provided by the municipalities and the realities they operate in.

[27] See 4.4 for a further discussion on this and 5.2. for more information on the laws and regulations as well as the role of municipalities in governing the language nests.

4. The language nest and the local Sámi community

> *"Why if* äjj *[grandfather] speaks* äjj*'s language, and we [E´ll and Veâra] are in the language nest, why is that you don't speak* äjj*'s language then, mother?"*
>
> - E´ll (5 y.) to her mother, according to the interview (16.6.2014)

As the quote above suggests, Skolt Sámi is a language of elders and occasionally of children, but hardly ever that of parenting or working age adults. These generations that have never learned their language organically (i.e. within a family or community sphere) are usually called 'middle generation' or even 'lost generation': generations that have been lost to their language communities and never learned the language due to discrimination or the lack of resources (Grenoble & Whaley 2006, 57, 90). In language vitality assessments lost generations are seen as a signal of a break in language transference, which again is one of the most alarming signs of language endangerment.

In this chapter I focus on the relationship between the language nest and the surrounding community, including the parents, grandparents, and other related persons, who make up the Sámi community in Ivalo and the Sámi homeland area. My interest is to show how the parents and the wider community interact with the language nest and how that interaction affects what happens in the nest and is an integral part of the socialization and revitalization processes. An important aspect of this discussion is to evaluate the ways in which the parents and the community may not only support but also hinder the revitalization process through (positive and negative) language attitudes and (dis)interest. Theoretically this is related to language ideologies (Riley 2012, Woolard & Schieffelin 1994, Woolard 1998) as well as on a larger scale to language revitalization theories on reversed language shift (Fishman 1991). It is important to note, however, that parents and the whole community are bound by the context of the wider society, and work within the existing social and economic conditions (employment, family subsidies, and legal structures) to the best of their ability.

4.1 The support of the parents and the local community

Parents and family are present in almost every aspect of the language nest, whether it is someone bringing their child to the nest, or picking them up, or a child excitedly telling a story about happenings at home during the weekend, or the caretakers planning their

daily schedules around the parents' timetables. Since the language nest is primarily a childcare service for the families, most of the language nest activities are structured to support the parents in their child raising duties and activities and in familial day–to–day life. In this matter language nests hardly differ from any other childcare institutions in the country.

What makes language nests such unique childcare environments is their dual nature, firstly as a place of childcare and socialization, and secondly as a medium of language revitalization. This language revitalization aspect makes it of special interest to the wider community as well. Among the Sámi and the Finnish authorities, language nests are seen as saviors of Sámi language and culture, sometimes quite unrealistically. While it is true that language nests have played a crucial role in revitalizing Inari Sámi, for example, and have increased the absolute number of language speakers, they are plagued by similar problems as language revitalization programs everywhere, namely a lack of resources and funding, as well as problems with recruiting qualified staff (Olthuis et al. 2013, 48-51). This last reason is especially pressing especially in the Sámi homeland area and all language nests in Finland. At the time of the fieldwork (fall 2014) the only caretakers with formal educational qualifications in childcare were the two caretakers in the Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest.[28]

As learning a language is an interactive process, the caretakers, parents, and other interested members of the community have an important role in creating an environment for the socialization to happen. Working partly on the basis of the "Sapir–Whorf -hypothesis" of linguistic relativity, Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) claim that socializing children to use and express themselves in a language helps them gain

[28] This is not to say that other nests do not have competent staff, but rather the reality is that as language nests are rather new a phenomenon in the area, in most cases the people employed in them have not had the time or the opportunity to get the right qualifications as required by the Finnish authorities. In recruitment, native-level language skills, interest in working with children and developing the language nests, and experience with children have been considered more important than meeting the official requirements. In most nests the staff are studying for the qualifications while working, and in some cases there are hopes that as younger generations become more competent in their language skills, people become more interested in studying to become caregivers and working also with and in the Sámi language(s) and language nests. One problem is that most early childhood education and special education study opportunities (universities etc.) are located far from the Sámi Homeland Area, and even these rarely if ever provide Sámi or language nest specific training (Kangasvieri et al. 2012, 52). As a consequence, the municipalities and the organizations providing language bath services are constantly despairing of finding qualified people to work in language nests. See more about the requirements for education and language nests in chapters 3.3 and 5.1.

socio-cultural competence and understanding of their surroundings, as language is ”a major source of information for children learning the ways and world views of their culture” (pp. 183). Not only does losing a language impact the linguists lamenting the loss of a language, but for the community speakers it may become difficult or impossible to express themselves with ease about their surroundings or culture, with terms they were familiar with before language change happened on a personal level (Dorian 2002, 137-138).

In a language shift it is often within the familial sphere where the most important changes in attitudes take place, and as Marjut Aikio shows in her historical work on the Sámi language shift, the role of the mothers is especially important (Aikio 1988, 234, 239-240).[29] Over the course of the fieldwork trips, I interviewed or talked to almost all of the parents involved in the language nest in Ivalo. I asked questions such as why the parents had wanted to have their children in the language nest, what had it been like as an experience, what the children's language skills according to the parents were, what kind of an ethnic and historical background the parents have, if the parents have the community's support in speaking the language (and whether or not they have been or are interested in learning the language themselves). The responses varied even among this small group, depending on the family background and the motivations for putting their children in the language nest.

In most families at least one parent identified with Sámi identity and had some knowledge of Sámi language, culture, and traditions. None of the families with children in the language nest had parents who both had Sámi background or identity, so in all cases the Sámi parent had married or had children with a person of Finnish background/identity. One of the families had no Sámi background and in one case the Finnish spouse was of the Swedish-speaking minority (and they spoke both Finnish and Swedish at home).

[29] Interestingly enough, especially in Inari Sámi language nests, it was often the Finnish mothers who became interested in learning the language and having their children placed in the language nest too. The fathers, who are ethnically Sámi, hardly ever know the language, and at least according to the caretakers in the nest, do not have the same opportunities to learn it as they were working full-time, even if the municipalities do support the language studies. Inari Sámi people also enthusiastically welcomed these new language learners into their community, even if they would never be considered Sámi. For reasons discussed further below, this kind of phenomenon does not seem to have happened in the case of Skolt Sámi (Spoken communication in Inari Sámi language nests in August 2014). This phenomenon is also recognized by Pasanen (2015, 167) and Aikio (1988, 312).

When it comes to parents' and families' attitudes towards the language and learning the language, their previous experiences concerning the language matter. Many of the parents never had the chance to study the language in school and those few who had, never really kept practicing and learning it later in life. When the parents were in school themselves, it may not have been seen as something desirable or popular to be studying Skolt Sámi. Then and even today, the other children's opinions and attitudes influence the language and learning choices the children and their families make. Pietar's mother describes how she wishes her children would learn Skolt Sámi even though she herself quit learning it in school quite early on:

> *It would be nice if they learned the language, in case they need it later in life*
> *You never know what field they will be working in, if they need the language there*
> *And I've also thought at times that it would have been nice to study the language myself then [in school]*
> *Maybe when I was in primary school it was more like when one of my friends said that they didn't want to study [Skolt Sámi] then I didn't want to either.*
> – Pietar's mother (20.8.2014)

At the same time, other children's and their families' as well as the extended community's support and interest in the language and culture can validate a child's language learning process, as in the case of Kai´ssi's extended family interacting in Skolt Sámi with Kai´ssi even though the rest of her immediate family lack the language for the most part. All the parents I interviewed seemed happy with and proud of their choice to put their child or children in the language nest. Nonetheless, the parents' ideology of what is valuable is related to their language socialization and language choices within and without the family (Ochs & Schieffelin 1995, 89), and the parents themselves may have conflicting feelings about speaking the language in public:

> *I was never bullied [for speaking Skolt Sámi], but maybe it was because I was not speaking it all the time so people didn't really pay attention to me.*
> - Pietar's mother (20.8.2014)

> *In school I never liked going to Skolt Sámi classes, it felt so forced and I wasn't that interested in the language then. I knew it was spoken at home and it's spoken at the grandparents and in the village and everywhere, so I was just like "I don't want to!" and I had that kind of attitude. But later I studied it a little in my vocational studies.*
> – Kai´ssi's mother (20.8.2014)

At the same time, changing a language back with a family member or a relative can be surprisingly hard. Often among the indigenous peoples like the Sámi, a part of the dilemma is the taboo against language speaking, which may make it easier for the Finnish parents to participate in language courses and other language activities. This has also been the case especially among the Inari Sámi, among whom the role of the Finnish mothers in learning the language and using it also at home has been crucial (Pasanen 2015, 167). Especially in cases when the (Sámi) parent, usually father, is working full-time or actively involved in reindeer herding, it can also be very hard for the parent to find time for language courses.

The reversal of language shift is a deeply personal and complex process. At the same time it is a requirement for the language shift to happen on a group or societal level. It is the everyday language use and ordinary language users who are of the greatest importance in making language choices and adopting new language ideologies (Pasanen 2015, 159). Äärelä (2016, 38) points out that for the language nest children to adopt the language it is required that the language is appreciated, that there is a need and interest in learning the language and the language learning process is encouraged by a positive feedback. She also discusses the "psychological distance" from the language, claiming that the better an individual has been able to accept and come to terms with the need for the forced language change (from Sámi to Finnish), the better they are also able to adopt the language again (ibid.). In these cases the encouragement by the community and the value the language is given is especially important.

For those generations who either have lost their language or never had the opportunity to learn it well, getting the language back may feel anything from trivial to a privilege (Pasanen 2015, 175). In these cases the Sámi identity is tied to other things than language (to relationship with the nature, the world view, to family and kin, food and religion, other traditions). Maa´ren also recognizes this and mentions her strong ties to nature, explaining that is something that she shares with her (Finnish) husband:

> *Fishing is important to our family. U´stten's father is a passionate fisher, and he's the kind of person who wants his child to be involved in everything he does and to see what he's up to, so he often takes U´stten with him*
> *To Sámi the nature and the forest mean everything and U´stten's father, though he's not a Sámi himself, the forest means everything to him too*

And I really appreciate him for it, that he transfers his knowledge about the nature to U´stten too.
– interview with Maa´ren (28.8.2014)

According to Maa´ren, for the Sámi the connection to the nature and especially reindeer herding is something that a person is "born to", as the way to learn the ways and the knowledge of the reindeer is through following in the footsteps of the elders and participating in everything they do, in order to learn the reindeer earmarks, the surrounding nature and its manifestations (fieldwork notes 13.6.2013).

Language shift to either direction (to or from a majority language) can also be abrupt or even traumatizing. Language policies, ideologies, and societal values matter to an extensive degree when it comes to language choice. Speakers may not even be very conscious on the reasons and consequences of their language actions (Pasanen 2015, 179). In those cases when a language change has been forced from outside (as in the case of compulsory Finnish in schools and other institutions, for example), language choices are influenced by the surrounding values and policies. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) calls forced language change 'language murder', comparing the situation of many indigenous peoples to language genocide. She also claims that for a community to lose a language causes a cultural trauma (see 5.4. for more on cultural trauma), and is against the international conventions on the rights of humans and especially the rights of indigenous peoples (Skuttnab & Dunbar 2010). As Äärelä (2016, 207) points out, language nest workers have to meet with this trauma in their work as they interact with the people in their community who have a variety of attitudes towards their own language, culture, and history, and especially those feelings and sentiments caused by the forced language change.

Since societal matters, especially language politics, ideologies and societal values, have such an impact on language choice, these choices can hardly be considered neutral but rather are strongly, and even unconsciously, influenced by the surrounding environment (Pasanen 2015, 179). This may even result in a situation where there are several mother tongues and a variety of language choices within the same family (Aikio 1988, 306). Among the Skolt Sámi there are several families where the grandparents and other elders still speak or have spoken only Skolt Sámi and the youngest generations speak only Finnish. This has meant great language gaps between these generations and made cultural and language transference almost impossible.

The language nest is not just a daycare option for the parents and a language learning environment for their children, it also has an important role for the whole (Skolt) Sámi community. Language nests are often used for maintaining and strengthening budding language skills as people in the language programs come to visit or work in the nests to practice their language skills. Among the Inari Sámi these students have also created language materials for the language nests in the program to help with the lack of appropriate materials (Pasanen 2015, 168). This has not been as common among the Skolt Sámi, but the program is newer and the location in Ivalo makes visiting the Ivalo language nest harder. Occasionally students in the Sámi language and culture programs would indeed come and visit, or organize activities for the children, but they also usually needed a Skolt Sámi interpreter (often one of the students in the Skolt Sámi language program).

One point that was brought up again and again in the interviews and casual discussions with the people working in the nests (both in Skolt Sámi language nest in Ivalo as well as elsewhere) was the hope that people in the community (especially parents) would become more interested in learning the language as well. In the experience of language nest workers those children who had parents or other family members (grandparents, aunts, uncles) who knew even a few words of (Inari or Skolt) Sámi and used them with the children, learned the language better and faster and had a more extensive vocabulary (Pasanen, spoken communication 16.8.2014; see also Pasanen 2015). My own experiences confirm this, as the children with the most contact with Sámi also outside the language nest seemed to learn the language faster and also used the language more in the language nest:

Äärelä (2016, 41) underlines the importance of the children's exposure to Sámi by all adults (inside and outside the language nest) who know the language, saying that using even the few words they know is important. Language is learned in the process and the examples given by the adults make all the difference for the children and their understanding of the need for learning and using the language. In Hawaii language nests this importance of parental participation and support is well recognized and the parents are required to participate in language learning and community through language classes and attending monthly parental meetings in addition to paying the program tuition and eight hours of in-kind service (Wilson & Kamanā 2001, 152).

It is reasonable to assume that children who are surrounded by people who are interested and capable of using the minority language will also adopt a more positive view of the language and their ethnic identity. Still, only a few of the parents of the Skolt Sámi language nest in Ivalo had actively considered or pursued classes or other situations where they could have learned or practiced Sámi. Many of the Sámi parents still remember being teased or bullied at school for speaking Sámi or wearing the very distinctive Skolt Sámi dress. The *shame of being Skolt* is one of the main reasons parents gave for not having wanted to learn the language previously and the reason why their own parents had thought it better to speak to their children only in Finnish, thus creating a ”lost generation” (see also Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 410-411).

To help the families to use the language in their everyday lives, language nest workers often encourage them to create domains or strategies where the language is used throughout the day. These kinds of simple domains with relatively simple language could be tooth brushing or food preparation, for example (Braut 2010, 58). One of the parents had decided to try systematically using as much Skolt Sámi as possible on the car rides to and from the language nest:

> *Of course the daily routine of the language nest forces you to be systematic to a certain degree, when taking the children to the nest or back.*
> *So it's pretty easy, when we go there and then at the nest, it feels pretty natural that the half an hour or so we just stick to speaking the [Skolt] language.*
> – Veâra and E´ll's mother (16.6.2014)

While the importance of parents' interest and participation in language learning and revitalization cannot be stressed enough, it is often a complicated matter and many parents feel it all but impossible to take part especially considering their limited language skills. As Pasanen observes, children who have learned the language in language nest are used to hearing the language spoken in only a limited number of domains – but home is not one of these domains (2015, 236-237, 333). Though more and more Inari Sámi language nest parents (both Sámi and Finnish) are learning the language and trying to change this, for many reasons this seems not to have happened among the Skolt Sámi families.

The “shame of being Skolt” is not limited to the older generations but to some extent to all Skolt generations, and especially the lost generations. As Jukka Nyyssonen (2007, 67-68) points out, the Skolt Sámi have been especially discriminated against and shamed for their language and culture. In the informal interviews I had with language nest workers, one person brought up the old saying “the Sámi are stupid but the Skolt Sámi are the most stupid” as one possible reason why people would not consider Skolt Sámi language nest for their children, but would rather place their children in Inari Sámi language nest or Finnish daycare. Though there has been much improvement in the attitudes in general towards the Sámi – they are not considered “dirty” or “uncultured” anymore, but rather acknowledged for their indigenous culture – these ancient attitudes are still present in the local community of Sámi and Finnish people, and keep affecting the Sámi and especially the Skolt Sámi negatively. One point of contention is their Orthodox Christianity as opposed to Lutheranism most other Sámi and Finns belong to, and the possible connotations of “Russian-ness” it is considered to carry. These prejudices are not limited to other Sámi however, but also the Finnish people may have a negative attitude towards Orthodox religion, as shown below:

> *[My partner’s] parents have called us miscreants*
> *But I was created an Orthodox Christian so that’s what I am*
> *And [Kai´ssi] is an Orthodox, and [Kai´ssi’s brother] is a Lutheran, that’s what we decided*
> *And my partner told their parents that she would be christened here and she would be an Orthodox and that the reason is because of my family*
> *My parents also babtized my brother Lutheran and me Orthodox*
> *So I don’t know what they mean by “miscreant”, but they have never said anything about us being Skolts*
> *[...] When they first visited to an Orthodox church at my daughter’s christening, they said that everything looked so different from what they were used to in a Lutheran church*
> *They have chairs, we only have a few small stools by the wall, and a small church*
> *His mother said that it was prettier than a Lutheran church*
> *So I think they have come to terms with it*
> - Kai´ssi’s mother (20.8.2014)

As a result for those parents who have some knowledge of Skolt Sámi and interest in using it at home with their children, there are several hurdles to overcome. Firstly the lack of language skills and possibilities for learning more, secondly children themselves may consider it odd or strange to hear their parents speaking the language if it is not a

usual occurrence in the daily life. In one case, for example, Kai´ssi's mother explained in the interview that her two-year old daughter expressly put a hand on her parents' mouths to forbid them for speaking the language (or even the few words they knew):

> *When I have said something in Skolt, [Kai´ssi] puts a hand on my mouth and says: "mother is babbling" or "mother quiet"*
> *or if [her father] says something she may also put a hand on his mouth and say "father quiet",*
> *like she's saying the language doesn't belong to us*
> - Kai´ssi's mother (20.8.2014)

In this way the language children have learned in language nest can become a "secret language" of sorts, only to be attributed to certain domains (i.e. language nest or school) and not others. This in return can make it even harder for the language use to find footholds in new domains. Pasanen (2015, 230, 238) also reports this reluctance by the children to hear their parents speaking the language to be the case among some of the Inari Sámi families where at least one of the parents speak the language. Olthuis et al. (2013, 65) refers this as a natural process of reversing the language shift, where the language is still in the process of gaining foothold in new domains. It can still be daunting for a parent to persevere in using the language especially if their children mock them for it or do not seem to welcome their contributions.

In multilingual situations children are making active language choices at a very young age, when choosing which language to use with certain people. In some cases they may choose specific people with whom they are willing to speak a certain (minority) language, and the parents may or may not be included in these choices. They are also well aware of these differences in languages and sometimes police their parents' language and language choices. For example, Kai´ssi, who would gesture for her mother to stop speaking Sámi if she tried saying something in Skolt Sámi, also refused to speak Sámi in her presense:

> *but Kai´ssi is very strict about it, if [I am] there, then she refuses to speak Skolt Sámi words,*
> *and I don't know what's the matter there, is it because then I can say something back to her,*
> *[she's] like mother don't start babbling those words back to me, or what is it*
> - Kai´ssi's mother (20.8.2014)

In this family the girl's brother and other relatives were allowed to speak Sámi, but parents were excluded. I noticed this phenomenon myself in the rare cases when I attempted to read or say something aloud in Skolt Sámi in the language nest – the children found my pronunciation hilarious and found it funny that I was even attempting to speak the language. In most cases children seem to get over this however, and the parents wish for their children to gain an active knowledge of the language in the language nest.

Changing the language within a family is often a complex matter. In those cases when one of the family members or relatives still knew Skolt Sámi, they often did not feel comfortable speaking it in company of people who did not understand Sámi. For those people who still actively used Skolt Sámi in their daily lives (such as reindeer herders or other people living in Sevettijärvi), it was easier to use Skolt Sámi also when speaking to the children:

> *Well Kai´ssi understands pretty much everything when people speak Skolt Sámi to her, for example my brother does so that some words that he knows can be difficult, he says them in Finnish… so he translates the difficult words for Kai´ssi.*
> *And that's how he started to speak Skolt Sámi to Kai´ssi, every other word was Finnish and every other word was Skolt Sámi, and now he mostly speaks Skolt Sámi to her.*
> – Kai´ssi's mother (20.8.2014)

Pasanen (2015, 197) also discusses how in many occasions the language fails to be changed within the family even when it has successfully been changed in other domains or people. She attributes this to the language attitudes and the feeling shared especially among the elders of the language being a taboo and thus should not be spoken to the younger people (to help them better cope in the society and not be shamed by their Sámi status) (see also Aikio 1988, 312). Though this aspect of language change was not very present in my observations, I also did not meet that many older people interacting with the children in the language nest – with the exception of Maa´ren and Liizz who for the most part did not speak the language to their own children at home. In my interviews the parents often expressed their wishes for the language nest in fairly modest ways:

> *But I've never thought [about it], I've thought that as long as Kai´ssi understands the language and what they speak to her at least somehow, and that she could eventually say some words in Skolt*

> *then maybe when she's bigger and goes to school, then she could decide for herself whether she wants to learn Skolt Sámi or not*
> – Kai´ssi's mother (20.8.2014)

But even in those cases when parents could have more ambitious learning goals for their children, the expectations are quite low: Maa´ren says she would not want to strain her daughter with learning the Skolt Sámi letters, for example, before she shows an active interest in it herself (interview 28.08.2014). At the same time, she also worries about how (in)sufficient the few hours allowed for Skolt Sámi at school are (since Ivalo does not offer any subject lessons in Skolt Sámi, it is only a optional "foreign language" course of two hours per week). Because of her background and age she never had the opportunity to learn Skolt Sámi at school after elementary school and thus never had a strong command of Skolt Sámi grammar or written language. She is hoping to learn the grammar as U´stten enters school, so that she could help U´stten and teach her herself if needed:

> *And I've thought when it comes to U´stten, that in Ivalo there is only two hours per week as a foreign language; and that's not really enough to really learn the writing and grammar*
> *So I have to step up when she grows up and goes to school and starts studying the language*
> *Because the two hours is just not enough, so I have to help her there, to get her writing*
> - interview with Maa´ren (28.8.2014)

Both parents and the wider community have an important role, as the language nest cannot stand by itself and do the work alone and other domains are needed to increase the possibilities for language use. The language attitudes within the family have a crucial role in the language transference. Sanila-Aikio (2016, 31) stresses the importance of the homes and families' attitudes towards the language in engaging and committing new generations for language transference. She claims that in the current situation the Skolt Sámi language community as a whole have lost the contact to language teaching and transference, and thus only language nests and schools act as language transferers instead of homes and families, which should be the primary participants in the process. Sanila-Aikio is also one of the advocates for addressing the cultural trauma of the resettlement, saying that the language and culture issues should be primarily be addressed through that lens (see Ch. 5.4. for the discussion on the resettlement and cultural trauma).

I asked the parents about their attitudes towards not only the language but also the traditional Sámi garments and the traditional culture in general. This question showcased how complex the language situation is and how deeply the parents still felt about the discrimination in the past and feared it continued in the future:

> *I have never forced Kai´ssi to wear the Skolt dress, never thought of it*
> *Maybe if she at some point comes to me and says she wants one of those dresses*
> *I mean, we have pictures of the grandmothers and other relatives wearing them*
> *Then I will say that, good, we will get you one.*
> *But I will never say that there is this event coming in language nest, or a school event, now you have to wear it [the Skolt dress]*
> *It could be that she is even bullied or something, because there are so few Skolts here [in Ivalo]*
> *I have heard about the bullying and read about how Skolt children were and still are bullied*
> *And considering that the children were born in [a city redacted]*
> *That if you were to put* pihttâz [SS. for the Skolt traditional dress] *on and go to the town, you would get looks for sure, wondering about what is that and where are they from*
> - Kai´ssi's mother (20.8.2014)

4.2 Language attitudes and the role of the community

> *"For each remaining endangered language, there is a chance of revitalization of the language, knowledge system and belief system, as long as native speakers, and their potential to provide guidance and leadership, remain. One key factor in the success of language revitalization programs appears to be the attitude of the community towards their language, and how this reflects their identity. In identifying strongly with their heritage language, language users are providing a strong foundation upon which language revival can take place, to reverse patterns of language loss."*
> – Hirsh, David (2013, 15).

As Hirsh here claims, the success of revitalization efforts are intimately tied to the attitudes the community has towards their culture and language to be revitalized. These attitudes are tied to the community members' identity and to the community identity in general. According to Hirsh (2013, 11), the importance of language revitalization lies in the cultural knowledge and the belief systems the languages carry, and in the ways they can operate as vehicles for transmitting this cultural knowledge from one generation to the next. It is thus evident that for the revitalization efforts to be successful they need to

be meaningful, and the way they gain meaning is in the knowledge and values transmitted between different generations. In this intergenerational action, language nests have often been the key places for the cultural and language transference to happen. Indeed, one could argue that that is their ultimate purpose.

While in many cases the benefits of language nests as a language revitalization method have been proven, this method, like any other, is dependent on its resources and the people using it. Depending on the context, the ideals of the language nest ideology may not always be met. Besides language learning, its purpose is to socialize the children into the community and give the whole community a chance to participate in child-rearing. While at its best it can increase the demand for language use and extend it to new domains (as in the case of Inari Sámi (Olthuis et al. 2013)), it can also create tension within the community if people doubt its purposes or resent the considerable amount of resources (both human and monetary) it requires.

In the interviews with the language nest caretakers in Inari and Ivalo, many brought up experiences and discussions they had with the local people concerning these issues, especially in the early days of the language nest activity. According to the caretakers, it was not unusual to hear people questioning the purpose of the language nests altogether, demanding to know how and where the money was used and complaining about the supposedly unequal money allotment. Often the most vocal critiques were people who had hardly had any contact with the language nest and whose knowledge about the methodology of the language nest could be questioned. These days most of the vocal critiques in the community have more or less quieted down, and the caretakers say that these days it is rare to get negative feedback from the community. On the other hand, parents told me that now and then they still had to defend their decision to put their children in the language nest, as they faced doubts concerning the usefulness of the language nest work. To this day, there are people in the local community who think it might be better to have all children learning just Finnish or at least North Sámi (as this is seen as a "more useful" language because of its bigger speaker population and wider domains), and question why teach children (Skolt or Inari) Sámi if these languages are about to die anyway.

This kind of criticism is still present in the discussions concerning the purposes and the funding of the language nest and becomes visible in the media attention the language

nests have attained (see also 5.3 below). The further away from the practical day-to-day level of the language nest activities the discussion moves, the more pronounced the ideologies and the lack of information about the current research concerning the language nest methodology become. This influences not only how outsiders see the language nests and their activities, but also how the community itself thinks and talks about the language nests and their meaning for and within the Sámi community. At worst negative feedback (such as negative attitudes present in the media, lack of funding and support from the communal and state authorities etc.) may result in an increasingly pessimistic view of the revitalization process and create new obstacles for reaching new people to become interested in the revitalization work.

Language revitalization programs are heavily dependent on not only the benevolence of the national state and its funding but also on the attitudes of their own communities. Much work is often required to influence the general attitudes through political organizing on both local and national levels (Grenoble & Whaley 2006; Erkama 2012). Language ideologies and attitudes are reflected not only on a personal level in how and in which situations people use language but also on a more general (often national) level, in the ways policies and laws are drawn and interpreted (Grenoble & Whaley 2006, 26-28). This is also reflected in the requirements and bureaucratic expectations the state has of the indigenous educational and political institutions and the people working in them.

Language attitudes and ideologies of the parents and the wider community are an important aspect of what makes the language nest succeed in its environment. The caretakers in the Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest often despaired of the general lack of interest in the language nest and its future. At the same time, rather surprisingly, many Finnish parents were interested in placing their children in the Inari Sámi language nest, especially in Inari (village). In Ivalo there were comparatively much fewer children in the language nests who did not have any Sámi background, and according to Pirkko Saarela, the Inari municipality director of daycare services, there were few families who had shown any interest in placing their children in the Skolt Sámi language nest (spoken communication, June 2013). Comparing these two (Inari and Skolt) Sámi language nests, it is clear that with their popularity Inari Sámi language nests are better able to vet the prospective families for people who are willing to be active and committed to the language nest and language revitalization as a process. According to the caretakers in

the Inari Sámi nest, this was also one of the criteria for choosing the children who were given a place in the language nests.

Generating a positive attitude toward the language and culture as well as supporting parents in their parenthood is the main purpose and way in which the language nest workers are able to influence the parents and the wider community to become more active and interested in the language nest work. Maa´ren sometimes lamented to me the lack of community effort and the difficultness of getting the parents and the community to participate – for the most part the parents left the nest to its own devices and there was not much participation from the parents or the grandparents. The problem is that many of the grandparents and especially people of that generation who still speak or understand Skolt Sámi are in the nursing home and thus too ill or fragile to visit or even enjoy the language nest's visits to the nursing home (fieldnotes 11.6.13; Maa´ren's interview 28.8.2014).

At the same time the local (language) community is seen as strength and a support system for the nest; as Äärelä (2016, 176) notes, one of the core values for the Sámi is the community and its importance. The aim of the language nest is to bring the children up as part of and within the Sámi culture and community, and this is an important objective for the caretakers as well. Äärelä (2016, 179) also describes how in her interviews the importance of the local Sámi community and the interactions with it had an important role – the caretakers in this North Sámi language nest considered the strong ties to the local families and their activities to be strengthening the language activities and language learning.

Not only is the parents' role relevant, but also that of relatives and other community members. The way the surrounding community (including both Sámi and Finnish) relates to and supports the language nest has a crucial role in the success of the language nest. Often language nests are seen as symbols for the revitalization efforts and it is rare to meet a person involved in the revitalization who has no ties to any of the language nests. Especially in Sevettijärvi the community seemed to be much more active in participating in the language nest activities, though the context matters here as well: Sevettijärvi is a very small village of some 350 habitants (most of them Skolts), when Ivalo has ten times more and a mostly Finnish population.

The Māori language nests have met with many of the difficulties faced by the Sámi language nests, namely the lack of staff with sufficient qualifications, difficulty recruiting the aging elders to participate in the nest, as well as the lack of sufficient support from the society and community (King 2001, 124). As came up in some of the interviews of the Sámi language nest workers, being the only or one of the very few native-level speakers can be draining on the resources and people's willingness to participate actively. According to King (2001, 126) the success of Māori revitalization efforts are dependent on the shared values and the fact that the language nests are a Māori community initiative. As the language nests were built, the movement was based on the Māori values and social structure, aiming to draw back the lost generations and other people of the community who may have had lost the contact with the language and culture. As King (2001, 125) shows, in the Māori language nests parents and the whole community are invested in the language nest and its aims. Thus it is in their interests to keep the nest running and for everyone to be involved in it as well as they can.

The community's attitude towards the language itself is also an important factor in the revitalization work. An important question is whether the focus of revitalization is in primarily preserving the language (like among Inari Sámi), or if the focus is more on the cultural practices being preserved at the expense of the minority language receiving a symbolic status or significance rather than a practical one (Pasanen 2015, 165). Harkin (2004) presents examples from North America and the Pacific Islands on how in certain situations cultural practices (including religious practices and political institutions) are seen as primarily in need of revitalization while language revitalization is seen as secondary or even non-relevant. In the Skolt Sámi case language and culture are seen as equally relevant, with each supporting the revitalization of the other. Language is seen as an important aspect of identity, while culture gives meaning and depth to the language and its practice. The attitudes towards language nest and language and cultural revitalization can be conflicting even within the same community, with some people actively working to revitalize a language and some people indifferent to it. As Toivanen and Saarikivi (2016, 10) point out, people have for historical, political, social and family reasons varying attitudes in addition to differing language competences towards the languages they use.

Pasanen (2015, 123) attributes the success of the Inari Sámi language revitalization directly to the efforts made by the Inari Sámi language nests, including the number of children in Inari Sámi education these days as well as the increased interest by the parents to learn and use the language. This has resulted in the increased use of Inari Sámi in the society in general, with new domains for language use, such as traditional media programs, social media, and activities for children and families. Thus the influence of the language nests extends much further than just the families directly involved as it provides a place as well as a symbol for the language revitalization as a process.

Additionally Pasanen attributes the relative success of the Inari Sámi language nests to the interest and willingness of the parents to learn and use Inari Sámi also at home (2003; 2015). The support of the language in the Inari village has grown year by year, with several culture and language events for the whole community organized all throughout the year. At the same time there has been an ongoing discussion on how to increase the number of speakers and should the community include also the non-Sámi people interested in learning the language. Pasanen (2015) presents how among the Inari Sámi, ethnic neutrality has been accepted as a revitalization strategy, and accepting non-ethnic Inari Sámi among the language community has been seen as a crucial step for ensuring the language revitalization. Language revitalization in turn has been considered a cornerstone of the revitalization of the culture. This has resulted in a number of non-ethnic children accepted in the language nest and the language community over the years, as instead of ethnicity the family motivation and commitment to language nest and its aims are considered primary to the ethnic background when it comes to choosing children to join the language nest (ibid., 318-319).

With the Skolts the situation is different, and very few non-ethnic Skolt families (especially outside Sevettijärvi) place their children in Skolt Sámi language nests. Even among the Skolt families there are few who use Skolt Sámi as their primary language or even regularly. While among the Skolts the issue of non-ethnic language speakers have not been as pressing, they have followed the Inari Sámi revitalization example closely and have considered it important to integrate all the speakers within the community, but primarily starting with the children of the present Skolt Sámi generations (Sanila-Aikio 2016). The concept and practice of ethnic neutrality have also been met with criticism –

especially among the Inari Sámi, where it has a more prominent position – with the critics claiming that the language learning services and the representation should remain in the hands of ethnic Sámi (Pasanen 2015, 319-328).

In the Skolt Sámi language nest the caretakers have worked for years for the general acceptance and promotion of the use of Skolt Sámi in all kinds of situations and among as many people as possible. Inari Sámi is often used as an example and a benchmark for the suggestions put forward by the Skolt Sámi language activists and workers. The issue of non-ethnic Skolt speakers raises some questions among the language enthusiasts as well. Maa´ren considers accepting the non-ethnic Sámi speakers a necessity and the language program at Sámi Education Institute (see Olthuis et al. 2013) an important boost and a success story for the language revitalization:

> *Skolts don't have many options, we have to welcome each and every language learner no matter their age or background; that's what I wish for us as well.*
> *And the status of the language has been just going up ever since the language nest was opened in 2006.*
> *I just keep wishing that everyone would have the courage to start learning Skolt Sámi, I don't care if they are French or Finnish or what,*
> *Inari Sámi has soared mostly because of all the Finns*
> *So I just hope for and maybe have even seen a little bit of an awakening*
> *Every year there has been a few Finns taking the course at Sámi Education Institute*
> *And they all came here last spring with the Orthodox priest and everyone spoke good Skolt considering that they didn't know anything when they started there.*
> – interview with Maa´ren 28.8.2014

Pasanen (2003, 30) argues that a successful revitalization attempt requires raising awareness about the importance of the collaborative participation in revitalization (see also Fishman (1991) on the theory of ideological clarification, and Seurujärvi-Kari (2011) for an example of the process among the Sámi). For the revitalization to succeed, more than just positive attitude and general goodwill towards the language is required. It is important that the people, especially families, actively use the language in their everyday lives. Though the outside support is crucial, it may also make the minority passive and make the situation look better than it actually is. While the school is an acknowledged partner in the minority children's language learning and maintenance, it can hardly replace the support and participation on the part of the parents and the rest of the community. Creating the kind of societal context where the language is seen

relevant in all the domains is crucial for the revitalization process. As King (2001, 126) admits, the Māori revitalization has not been as successful as they had wished in bringing the language from the public domain (including language nests) to the homes so that the children would hear adults speak Māori in their everyday lives and in everyday occasions.

Maa´ren and Liizz both have faced criticism because they speak Finnish at home to their children, though they were not willing to speak about it much to me. In Liizz's case they had lived for years in southern Finland, in a Finnish environment, when her children were small and only later the family moved to Ivalo to help with Liizz's ailing parents. She explained to me that speaking Skolt Sámi did not feel natural so far from home and the other speakers of the language, as her husband is Finnish too. In Maa´ren's case the situation is more complex, as though she has always lived in the Sámi Homeland Area, her husband is also Finnish and they lived close to his family rather than in Sevettijärvi where her family is from. While these practical reasons were the main reasons for using Finnish in the familial lives, both Liizz and Maa´ren also mentioned how the attitudes of the surrounding community, and especially school experiences, have affected their willingness to speak the language. For many of the older people, the assimilation and the traumas caused by it as well as discriminatory attitudes and enforced Finnish in schools have caused shame and even fear of speaking the language aloud (Huss 1999, 30, 186-187).

How the new language learners (from language nests and elsewhere) are accepted within the community is important as well. While people working in the language nests and other language programs emphasized the language nest methods as a crucial part of creating a language community, some of the parents expressed their worry over the fact that the language the children learn and speak in the language nest is rather far from that of the elders, for example (Pasanen 2015, 345). Even the language nest workers (of all Sámi three languages) told me that the very old members of the community criticized the language of the younger members quite harshly at times, saying that the younger generations used words and expressions they had never heard of. At the same time, the new language learners felt that renewing language was also important, as many of these expressions were related to digital world or other cultural changes. The older generations, who often learned the language at home (but may never have learned to write in Inari or Skolt Sámi, for example), sometimes even feel that the younger, new

language learners know the language better than the native speakers (Pasanen 2015, 347). It is thus understandable that if a budding language learner meets with this kind of criticism often enough, it can affect their attitudes and willingness to use the language in public. This is also one of the reasons why the language nest workers are working on to encourage people to visit the nests and to have a place to use their language skills.

I saw the importance of this myself when one of the parents of the language nest was learning the language in the Skolt Sámi course at the Sámi Educational Institute and from the beginning it was this parent/student's wish to use only Skolt Sámi when bringing or picking up their children from the nest. As my fieldwork progressed I could see the parent's increasing language skills in not only in how they gained confidence and pride in speaking in Skolt Sámi, but also how they started using the language with everyone in the nest (including me). I asked her about her feelings on the language program and the reasons she applied there in the first place, and though she felt her language skills were still not quite up to par with her Finnish (mother tongue), she felt happy about being able to not only understand the language in a passive way, but also to express herself in it:

> *Well, of course because it's my missing mother tongue, that was the primary reason for applying*
> *I have had a passive knowledge for a long time already, but I had to go to there [the language program] to get the last push so that I can start using the language and get by with it*
> *It has been a tough year, I have been sick a lot and had to miss a lot of school,*
> *At the same time I feel that I have learned the basics of the language and been able to change the language with many people*
> *But of course I can't express myself as well as in my mother tongue, Finnish, or say very specific things,*
> *But if a native [Skolt] speaker expresses themselves in a specific way, I understand that, and not just when we're talking about weather or something*
>
> *I have heard Skolt Sámi all throughout my life and I have 36 years of passive understanding in the background, so it has never been a completely foreign language*
> *But the language opening up to such that you can spontaneously discuss other things than just the most basic and concrete things, or produce a text that is more than a shopping list, it has been so important*
> – E´ll and Veâra's mother (16.6.2014)

One of the main worries in the Skolt Sámi community is how to encourage older people to be more active in the language nest activities. According to language nest ideology, and especially in the original Māori *kōhanga reos*, involving grandparents in the socialization process and seeing them as an important resource of "language–in–culture" to the language nest activities is of crucial importance for language and culture transference (Fishman 1991, 238-239). So far, in the Skolt Sámi context, the elders of the community are occasionally recruited as "resource persons" to teach the children about traditional Sámi fishing, reindeer husbandry, or root and bead handicrafts. The problem is that as the funding for language nests has decreased, the nests have increasingly little money to pay and organize these kinds of activities that make an important contribution to the cultural part of the Sámi socialization process in the language nest.

According to the language nest workers, it has also been hard to find the right people who have the required linguistic and practical skills. While the Inari Sámi have managed to recruit their elders to support the language learners in language nests through their "Master–Apprentice" program (Olthuis et al. 2013), Skolt Sámi has not succeeded in this to the same extent. While Skolt Sámi have adopted the Master–Apprentice program and some of the first graduates are already working in and with Skolt Sámi, many of the elders are simply unavailable to the Ivalo language nest because of the distance (most elders live in Sevettijärvi and/or Näätämö, hundreds of kilometers away) or the elders' age and health that makes this kind of participation impossible.

Success at creating a proper language community out of a language nest is of utmost importance, according to the people in language nests. Since Ivalo is far from Sevettijärvi, where the Skolt Sámi language is still being used in day–to–day life (especially in reindeer herding), the children hardly ever hear anyone except the caretakers speaking the language. Those children who have relatives in Sevettijärvi or some other Skolt village have the advantage of being able to hear several dialects and ways of language being spoken. At school the students may choose to study Skolt Sámi as an elective, but as the lessons are after normal school hours, few children are interested in staying at school after their peers have gone home. All this makes it harder for the small Skolt community in Ivalo to create a sphere where Skolt Sámi is seen as a natural language of communication in all domains. It also makes it harder for the

children to gain an extensive competence in all areas of language (such as spoken and written competence), even if their passive understanding is generally understood to be native level.

These difficulties of attracting language speakers and other community members to participate in the nest also show in the varying results of the Skolt Sámi language nest in Ivalo so far. However, if language nests are seen as shared community spaces by the members of the local community, they have a better chance of creating a true language community around them. This is also to the benefit of the language nest, as the cultural values are learned through interacting with the community members, and their encouragement and participation help support the success of the language learning program.

The question here is also of the politics of ideology. As Woolard and Schieffelin (1994, 58) note, ideology as a term can help us analyze the social histories of cultural frames, and reminds us to address the power relations of these cultural forms. Analyzing ideologies of language allows us to pay attention to the ways in which meanings about language are produced as effective and powerful.

4.3 Creating a language community

Alessandro Duranti (1997) defines a speech (or language) community as "the product of the communicative activities engaged in by a given group of people" (pp. 82). Julia Sallabank (2013, 11-13) also notes how a speech or language community is not necessarily very clearly defined, but rather an imagined community of sorts. The questions of who belongs to the community, who "owns" the language are present: is it only those who speak the language as a mother tongue and what is the role of the speakers who learn the language later in life? Language community is also not necessarily the same thing as cultural community, as in the case of the Skolt community, where most people are not fluent in the language but still identify as Skolts. And as shown in the discussion above on ethnic neutrality, there usually are those speakers – sometimes very fluent speakers – of the language who do not identify ethnically with that language. The terms 'traditional' and 'native' speaker are often used interchangeably, but as Sallabank (2013, 13) observes, growing up with speakers of a language and being socialized into it are no guarantees of a person's actual fluency in a

language. Rather, as there are increasingly fewer domains and contexts for using the language, there is also a danger of language attrition (i.e. decreased fluency, loss of vocabulary, simplified grammatical structures etc.).

Baker (2011, 43) discusses language communities from the point of view of minority language speakers as a group within the influence of a majority language, arguing that as such, minority language communities do not usually exist in isolation but rather are affected by the contact with other language communities. He also notes that in different language situations one language, usually the majority language, is often more prestigious than the other(s), and it is considered more eminent and useful and a key to economic and educational success (ibid. 45). Thus language communities and the functions and boundaries of their respective languages are often reflected in the language ideologies, policies, and practices.

Patrick (2003) describes the situation in Great Whale River area in Nunavik, Canada, and the importance of language attitudes as pertains to language learning motivation and language use. In her observations, she notes how language attitudes and ideologies (including conceptions of linguistic complexity and usefulness) operate alongside language use and learning practices, and how these attitudes and interactional practices may influence the factors that people consider in their language use (ibid. 165-167). She also points out how understanding the community practices and the wider sociocultural, political, and economic values people place on particular languages can help us understand the ways and whys of how people acquire languages and are socialized into their language communities (Patrick 2003, 167).

Patrick's shows how the different (linguistic) social groups in Great Whale River area (Inuit, French, Anglo-Canadian) are in practice fluid social categories constructed by language practices, between members of the same and/or different social and ethnic groups (Patrick 2003, 170). These categories are formed through processes of exclusion and accommodation across different group boundaries (see Barth 1969), and they also inform language policy, interaction and language learning in the community (Patrick 2003, 167). The decisions of how and when and which language is used in a certain situation demonstrate how language is used for constructing ethnic groups and social boundaries, and to negotiate power within the community (ibid., 176). In the Sámi context these language choices are also relevant, as the different Sámi languages have

different statuses and different domains of use, which can create boundaries but also unite people across the language borders.

Shared language also defines groups (language communities) in addition to being an important element in constructing the identities of the people in the group and the group's social boundaries. In Patrick's example power relations and the meanings languages gain and are given influence the reasons for language learning and even the learning process itself. Parents also make practical decisions based on which language they see the most useful or the most influential, and sentimental reasons are rarely of primary importance when choosing a language (Patrick 2003, 173). There is also a discrepancy between people who consider a language useful, and people who are actively engaged in language learning, with many people considering the commitment to learn a new language to be too demanding and almost and unrealizable goal (ibid. 173-175). This is also a relevant observation in the Skolt Sámi context, as many of the parents of the language nest had studied the language in childhood, and maybe even considered learning it (again) in the future, but for one reason or another had not done it yet. This suggests that the process of learning a language in adulthood is considered too time-consuming and difficult a task, though the parents were all in agreement that learning the language would be a good thing, especially for the children.

Patrick also discusses the different strategies people use to cope in a multilingual environment, naming among others using networks of people, or enrolling children in different language schools in order to have at least one family member available to provide translations (2003, 176). Using people in your own network to provide translations is a strategy also used by the Sámi, especially when required to provide services or translations for unofficial use. According to Patrick finding people to practice a minority language can prove to be problematic, as language practices and patterns of communication in the community constrain the use of a language (in Nunavik's case French) when the tradition is very strong for the more dominant language (English). Among the Sámi these issues are also present, as often the community members opt for speaking Finnish as they prefer not to chance excluding anyone for speaking Skolt between themselves. As Pasanen (2015, 239-240) notes, in some cases changing the language back to Sámi can be quite difficult and has not always been successful, even with the encouragement from the language nest. In the Sámi case the problem is also the small number speakers altogether, and the fact that

they are all very much dispersed around the country, so the opportunities for language practice are few.

The language nest can also function as a place for revitalizing the parents' language skills. In E´ll and Veâra's mother's case interacting with the caretakers supported her language studies in the Skolt Sámi Master–Apprentice language course, as she had daily exposure to the language and an easy access to an opportunity to practice her Skolt Sámi skills with fluent Skolt Sámi speakers. In the Inari Sámi language nest in Inari there has already been some parental meetings arranged in Inari Sámi, since most of the families have at least one parent who has learned some Inari Sámi (Pasanen 2015, 187). For even those parents that still have not had the opportunity to learn or revive their Skolt Sámi skills, the language nest offers a chance to hear and be exposed to the language and the culture in the everyday activities and interactions with the caretakers, hopefully inspiring some of the parents to attend a language course in the future.

The matter is not as simple as it seems, however. As Braut (2010, 69) observes, children's language attitudes are influenced by their seeing their parents and caretakers interact in Sámi, but the challenge lies in getting the caretakers and parents to speak Sámi to each other. For the adults who are used to primarily interacting in Finnish, a sudden language shift can feel even more unnatural than for the children, and requires courage and determination. This is especially the case in situations when there are any non-speakers of Sámi present. In Hawaii 'Aha Punana Leo language nests the aim is to use Hawaiian in all activities as much as possible, even with people with only a rudimentary knowledge of Hawaiian. The language ideology of prioritizing Hawaiian culture and language is present in the acknowledged policy of not switching to English with another Hawaiian speaker even in cases when there are non-speakers present (Wilson & Kamanā 2001, 173).

Using Scheller's (2011) categories of passive and active, and visible and non-visible language speakers, it can be argued that similar to the case of Kildin Sámi, most of the speakers of Skolt Sámi are so-called "potential" language speakers, having had exposure to the language in the past but for one reason or the other do not actively use the language in their everyday life. Scheller points out that the group of potential language users most often consists of the middle-aged or older people who also were most affected by the assimilating policies, discriminatory practices, and stigmatization

(ibid. 83). For these people to start speaking the language, a positive language environment and a chance to actively use the language in their everyday lives is required. The active, fluent speakers use the language regularly in high level contexts (such as work, or in official matters), but not necessarily at home. Such is the case of both Maa´ren and Liizz, who fit well in Scheller's category of active language speakers, middle-aged (or older) people who learned the language as a first language (ibid. 83-84).

These active language users have a high symbolic value, as they often use the language in high level contexts and are in visible positions in the society. At the same time, also people with a relatively passive knowledge of the language can use their knowledge in some occasions, usually either in greetings or performances. According to Scheller, these symbolic language users (usually politicians, language activists, cultural workers etc.) often emphasize their ethnicity and belonging to Sámi, but do not generally use it everyday communication (Scheller 2011, 84). An important thing to note here is that for the most part, language use is *not* very visible. Indeed, it is often only the language specialists who actively use the language in public, and the rest of the community use the language in a passive and/or symbolic way. As Scheller remarks, the most active speakers are not necessarily involved in societal, political, or cultural life, rendering them invisible for the outsiders of the (language) community (ibid., 85). In the Skolt Sámi community, the most active, and thus natural, speakers are for the most part the reindeer herders and other community members in Sevettijärvi and other Skolt villages, who still use the language in their work and social life.

Scheller explains that these invisible users of a language are often those of lower status, and there is often overlap between invisible and potential users, as in the case of younger people who have a good passive knowledge of the language though this often goes unacknow-ledged by the language experts – especially if they are of the "lost generation" (Scheller 2011, 85). In the context of language nests this means that though language nests' best contribution to the language revitalization lies in giving the children a good passive knowledge of the language, the potential in the children is not often realized by giving them access to continue to Sámi schools where they could activate their language use further. Indeed, if a child for some reason or other loses the opportunity for Sámi school opportunity, they may lose the connection to the language altogether. Among North Sámi speakers the situation is marginally better, since there

are more services and opportunities for language exposure even outside the Sámi homeland area. With Skolt Sámi or Inari Sámi children the options are usually much more limited, with children either getting their schooling in Finnish or in some cases, in North Sámi.

The problem with this lack of speakers and resources is that the few speakers – who often double as teachers, artists, politicians, language activists – eventually become tired and disillusioned because of the enormous amount of thankless effort required to keep their language alive. There is a lack of support for both active language speakers as well as the few active language activists which is exacerbated by the young families' migration from the Sámi homeland area to the cities in the southern Finland or even abroad (Pasanen 2015, 376-378). Thus these questions of visibility and invisibility, activeness and passiveness, are to a large degree contextual matters, as people move from one group or category throughout their lives depending on their situation. Thus the visibility of a language and the opportunities for learning and practicing a language make the difference for how well the language is adopted in a community.

Grenoble and Whaley (2006, 98) discuss how the importance of educated, activist individuals cannot be overstated, especially in the case of those endangered languages with very few were native speakers, like Skolt Sámi. In these cases many of the active language speakers actually learned the language at school or university rather than as a mother tongue as they grew up – and this is how it has been with many of the language nest activists now. I met in one of the Inari language nests a young woman who had herself first learned Inari Sámi as a child in the language nest. Later on she had studied more of the language and was now working in the nest and continuing the language work. For the future of Skolt Sámi (as well as Inari Sámi, of course) it is crucial that the language community manages to keep a hold of these individuals with a background in language nests as well as an interest in contributing to community – no matter where in the country and which profession they end up in their lives.

4.4 Revolving doors of the language nest – the nomadic Skolt families

> *For work, I would prefer to live in the south … there are so many opportunities there, to work with children and so on.*
> *But I don't know what it is that always brings us back here.*

We go and return and go and find ourselves back here again,
even [Kai´ssi's father] always likes to be back here.
– Kai´ssi's mother (20.8.2014)

It is not unusual for the number of the children in the language nest to change over time. New children join the nest as their parents return to work and they are old enough to need daycare and other children go to start school. It was also surprisingly common for the families to move around the area and even around the country, depending on the family's needs and preferences as well as the parents' work situation. As seen in the quote above from one of the parental interviews, the process is often relatively haphazard, and dependent on the family's aspirations as well as connections, housing and work situation, and other resources. It is estimated that around 65% of the Sámi population in Finland, and 70% of the Sámi children below 10 years of age, live away from the Sámi homeland area, where the children's right to learn Sámi and in Sámi is protected by the Sámi Language Act (Saamen kielilaki 1086/1995); altogether in 2011 there were Sámi in 230 different municipalities around the country making arranging sufficient Sámi lessons and language learning opportunities almost impossible (Aikio-Puoskari 2016, 49-50).

In the Ivalo language nest many of the parents worked in seasonal work or were unemployed, were on a family leave, or otherwise not employed fulltime. At least two families had previously lived in Southern Finland and were considering moving back if the employment situation would not pan out. In many cases even if one of the spouses had found work in the area, the other spouse was still left without work or sufficient employment opportunities. In one case a family had also considered a move to Sevettijärvi, where most of the Sámi parent's relatives lived. The family considered it would be beneficial both for themselves and the children to be surrounded by relatives as well as the added benefit of being in an environment where Skolt Sámi was spoken daily and in relatively many domains, and schooling in Skolt Sámi was also possible. For various reasons, the main one being a lack of available housing in the village, the move had not been possible so far, and since the other spouse was working in Ivalo on a permanent contract, the family thought it likely that they would not be moving there any time soon.

Another family ended up moving back to Helsinki, because both parents' employment situation was better there and because the decision to move to Ivalo was always planned

to be temporary. The family ended up staying in Ivalo for longer than planned and saw this as a good thing especially considering their children's language skills, but at the same time they were also worried about what moving back and forth would mean for children's friendships and language development. Having the opportunity to put the children into the language nest had been one of the main reasons to move to Ivalo in the first place. Still the parents recognized and worried that keeping the language active in their everyday life would require much more effort in the city, with few other speakers of the language available:

> *Well it means that I have to be **very** systematic and active when we get back to Helsinki*
> *Find those kinds of situations where the girls can hear the language, or where I can use the language, because otherwise, it [the language] will be left behind...*
> *I also have to network with other possible language speakers that I know in Helsinki*
> *And even though we're moving there, there will still be regular visits here, and when we're here, make sure that in every visit there will be opportunities for using the language*
> - E´ll and Veâra's mother (16.6.2014)

Though the Skolt Sámi language nest is more relaxed with the requirements for families and parents and their involvement in the language learning, the willingness to contribute and generate a positive attitude towards the culture and language is important in this nest too. While in the Inari Sámi nests it is considered crucial that the families commit themselves to the program for the whole duration of the language nest (Ritva Kangasniemi, interview in August 2014), in Ivalo the Skolt Sámi language nest had had to make concessions on this. While the caretakers preferred the children to be present for most of the day on as many days as possible, they allowed that the families often had complex situations and were willing to be flexible. The parents took the language nest's concerns seriously and adapted their lives to prioritize the language community and the language learning for the sake of the children:

> *It would be nice to stay at home with Kai´ssi, but she has now started learning the language and started speaking a little too, so if I now were to take her away from the nest and maybe bring her back in November, it would all start from the beginning*
> *Even [Kai´ssi's father] has said that he would be sorry if we had to take her away from the nest*

> *We also considered placing her with [with a Finnish friend who is also a caretaker], because she wants to go there, but [Kai'ssi's father] said absolutely not, she's in the language nest now and that's where she should be*
> *We even considered just putting her in the nest part time, but that wouldn't have made any sense either*
> – Kai´ssi's mother (20.8.2014)

This family had considered childcare at home or in a "familial daycare" (perhepäivähoito (Finn.)) closer by, since the mother was unemployed and the child was still relatively young. In this case, the deciding factor was the uncertainty of the length of the unemployment – in case the mother was employed again, they would have needed daycare again anyway – as well as the benefits they saw for the language. Thus the importance of the child learning the language and culture in the language nest trumped the other options.

The language nest was one of the many factors the families considered when making choices about their living, housing, and working options. Finding apartments to rent in Northern Lapland is relatively difficult because of low supply and demand, and the work situations are often unstable. Many of the families considered Helsinki (and southern Finland), where the jobs are, to be too big and too far away from their families and their traditional environment. Still, two of the children's families had lived there at least temporarily, and so had one of the caretakers with her family.

The problem with the number of children constantly fluctuating was the instability of the language environment and also the instability of the caretakers work situation. The Sámi language nests prefer the children to spend in the nest as long a time as possible compared to many other language bath settings, where the priority is on learning a mother tongue first and only then joining the language program (Pasanen 2015, 206). As Pasanen (2015, 207-208) shows, in the Sámi language nests in Finland the groups are relatively heterogeneous and children are of various ages and various levels of contact with the Sámi language and culture. This can also create problems for creating a language community within the language nests, as it encourages the children to speak Finnish to each other and may interrupt the language learning process.

At a more practical level the fluctuating number also caused adjustments to the language nest as an organization: as the number of the children in the language nest rose

and fell depending on their families situation and needs, so the language nest had to adjust with its activities and the way it organized itself. As the number of the caretakers is dependent on the number of the children in the nest, if the number of children drops too low, the caretakers also had to change their habits and adjust to the change:

> *Maa´ren tells me that at least now it looks like there will only be four children in the language nest in the fall, at least in the early fall. Såff's family is moving back to Rovaniemi, as they still have a house there. This means Liizz has to go to the Ivalo daycare as a temporary help and then she'll be back if needed. Later in the fall Temm's little brother will start in the nest, so Liizz can come back full-time. (*fieldwork notes 6.8.2014)

For this caretaker the language nest's uncertain and unstable situation was somewhat stressing, as her own work situation remained uncertain. Not only were her work contracts temporary but she also had to move between different daycare units if there were not enough children in the language nest. She had moved back to Ivalo with her family to take care of her elderly parent and was happy have a chance to work in the language nest and in her mother tongue. This kind of "nomadism" of moving back and forth was hardly unique but rather seemed to be the new norm. Instead, many of the local families considered their work situations, social relations, and work aspirations when choosing a place to live. In these considerations language nest and access to it was just one factor and hardly the most important one.

This issue is linked to the larger question of unstable economic conditions in Northern Finland, where many families are struggling to find work and the reliance on the state subsistence is high. Itkonen (2012, 251-254) describes the situation more in detail in the case of Sevettijärvi, where the dependence on the state policies and subsistence is widespread, though there the village council has some recognized power in trying to negotiate the public decision-making concerning the local reindeer herding, for example. Still, to this day the Sámi are dependent on the state for financing their institutions, such as the Sámi Parliament and other organizations.

Moving back and forth and finding ways to survive in changing times is a common experience for the Sámi and the Skolts. Already in the 1950s and 1960s working age Skolts had to move elsewhere to earn a living and the situations remains the same in many ways even today (Itkonen 2012, 26). What makes this phenomenon so

problematic for the Sámi and the Skolts is the fact that many of the language and social rights of the Sámi are tied to their place of residence, namely the access to a wider range of services in their own language in the Sámi homeland area vs. the rest of the country. The Sevettijärvi village council influence only extends to the matters concerning the Skolts in Sevettijärvi directly. These days the majority of the Sámi live outside the Sámi homeland area and thus have more limited access to services in Sámi (Sámediggi 2014).

The state attempts at influencing its populations in one way or the other through limiting services or subsistence to one area is nothing new. As James C. Scott (2008, 1) argues, state efforts to settle their mobile populations seems to be a perennial state project, though rarely successful. Scott links this to the states' attempt at legibility and standardization – people are easier to handle if they stay in one place – though as he shows in *Seeing like a State* (2008), these high modernist ideological projects usually end in disaster for the people concerned. As Ortner (2016, 62) points out, the individuals and communities affected by neoliberalist policies as well as the loss of jobs and opportunities due to globalization and deindustrialization have been the interest of anthropological studies as part of the larger movement of cultural critique. The Sámi are no exception to having been heavily impacted by the influence of these phenomena.

The increased mobility of people, both physically and virtually, has also enabled the emergence of new forms of linguistic diversity (Toivanen & Saarikivi 2016, 3). This in turn creates new challenges and opportunities for the old language communities, as the new domains allow for more room for individual identity creation and new opportunities for work (ibid., 5). The problem is that language transference from parents to children is almost nonexistent away from the Sámi homeland area (especially in the bigger cities), because of Finnish spouses and the lack of language community to keep the language in daily use. Transferring the language to a child in an environment where no one else speaks the language requires extraordinary motivation and determination, but it is also necessary for a successful revitalization of language (Pasanen 2015, 199). It also seems that for the most part the families who had lived in the south did not seem to have strong connections to local Sámi in those areas:

> *In [the city] I never saw any Sámi, it seems to be a Sámi free city*
> *I know there are some, my cousins, for example, they are Inari Sámi*
> *But I don't know if there are any Skolts there*
> - Kai´ssi's mother (20.8.2014)

It seems that for many Sámi in the cities (or simply beyond the Sámi homeland area) the Internet and the social media are the way to keep in touch with their family members and other language users. These are also new ways of relating and creating communities and domains for language use beyond the usual domains. As Toivanen and Saarikivi (2016, 2) note, the changing language situations often lead to the death of languages that for some reason are not deemed suitable for new social domains (such as social media), but they can also create new domains, identities and new ways of using the language. Here the role of the public broadcasting company YLE and its Sámi services (YLE Sápmi) have been important for creating these domains for the Sámi languages, and giving access and exposure to the language (and the new ways of using the language) throughout the country even beyond the Sámi homeland area.

The society has a surprisingly big impact on the families' choices, as I will show below. The lack of work opportunities, the difficulties of finding a place to live, and above all, the negative or indifferent attitudes by the authorities and the Finnish society all contribute to the fact that for these families it often is easier to move south, where the opportunities for the children to learn about the Sámi language and culture are even rarer.

5. Language nests and the Finnish society

In this chapter I take a closer look at the actors within and beyond the local community and how their decisions and discussions affect what happens in the language nest. Discussing the role of municipalities, the state, and the Sámi Parliament I aim to show the larger societal context for the socialization and revitalization processes in the language nest. Another aspect of this discussion is the role of the media and how the images and discussions in the newspapers and other media also create a larger "imagined community" (see Anderson 2006 [1983]) in which the language nest is but one actor amongst many. I will also discuss the images and attitudes shown towards the language nest through a short review of the discussion concerning language nest funding in the newspapers (Helsingin sanomat) in the fall 2013, as the Sámi matters rarely gain such a high level of attention in the mainstream media. In the last part of the chapter I relate the language nest and its role in the revitalization to the national history as well as to the stories and history of the Skolt Sámi.

As discussed in the previous chapters, revitalization as a process is very much dependent on the community support and attitudes towards the language and culture being revitalized. These attitudes are strongly shaped by people's personal experiences as well as the ideologies and policies that guide revitalization at practical, local, and national levels. Local attitudes are influenced by the decisions made by the decision makers in the Sámi Parliament, the Sámi organizations, as well as the Finnish Parliament and the ministries under which the Sámi matters fall. As Erkama (2012, 107) points out, at the language policy level the survival of the language is determined by the state budget and officials rather than by the Sámi themselves.

On a more practical level, the questions of funding, resources, and material environment the language nests operate in also impact the ways language and cultural revitalization is done in practice and whether or not it reaches it aims. In the recent years the discussion has been active both at a national and local level as well as within the larger Sámi community. As I will show in this chapter, the Sámi organizations and officials, and the Finnish authorities have had and continue to have a crucial role in building and maintaining the resources and the attitudes that affect the language nest and its people.

5.1 Sámi organizations and the community identity

An important part of the Sámi revitalization and political activity has been to promote the Sámi language and cultural rights through the Sámi organizations such as the Sámi parliament or the smaller Sámi associations such as the Skolt Sámi association Saa´mi Nue´tt. Their interest has been in strengthening the Sámi identity and collaboration among the Sámi as well as the promotion of Sámi interests locally and nationally. The Sámi parliament is the self-governing body of the Sámi in Finland, and it is funded by the state. The Sámi parliament represents the Sámi in national and international connections and it is in their purview to make initiatives, suggestions and statements to the authorities (Sámediggi 2017). The Sámi parliament members are elected among the Sámi every four years.

Because of the Sámi parliament's dependence on the Finnish state for its funding and the scope of the legislation concerning the Sámi, the Parliament has mostly focused on promoting the cultural and language rights of the Sámi, such as overseeing the Sámi education part of the language nests. Many of the language and culture programs organized by the Sámi Parliament are projects of a limited duration and limited funding, so continuity is an issue. Nevertheless, these projects have been a valuable asset for the progress of the Sámi revitalization, especially in the fields of standardizing the written language(s) and orthography, providing language workers and resources (such as translators, interpreters and materials) for the benefit of the revitalization workers, and educating and advising the public authorities on the matters concerning the language. For example, in 2014 the Sámi parliament sought to employ a project worker to work on providing materials and support especially for the teachers and caretakers of the language nests as well as the parents and their children.[30] Previously the Sámi Parliament had also published a guide for the parents of the language nest children (Saamelaiskäräjät 2015b) as well as a booklet on the methodology of the language nest for the language nest workers (Saamelaiskäräjät 2015a).

To help the language nests in their work, the Sámi Parliament has also published guidelines for a Sámi "early education plan" [varhaiskasvatussuunnitelma (Finn.)], which is a tailored curriculum for each child to help them in their personal growth as

[30] Though the post itself is a temporary one, as of 2015 this person has been Heli Aikio, who previously worked in one of the Inari Sámi language nests herself (Yle Sápmi 25.9.2014).

required by the Finnish law on early childhood education (Varhaiskasvatuslaki 36/1973). These guidelines are meant to help the caretakers in the language nest both meet the requirements for appropriate childcare as well as show how to implement Sámi cultural and language elements in each child's education in the language nest. In the Skolt Sámi language nest in Ivalo these plans were made and adjusted once a year in collaboration with the parents.

In recent times the need for written materials in Sámi has incrementally risen and it has not been enough to just have schoolbooks and other learning materials in Sámi, but also fiction and other non-fiction texts. The Sámi parliament has tried to encourage people to start using the language in various contexts, especially on social media. For a language to stay vibrant and useful for its users, the media and especially the Internet has made it possible for people to create new domains for language use and connect with each other (and thus find partners to use the language with). With the digital age and its increasingly text based communication, languages are increasingly dependent on the digitalization of the language. As Nicholas Ostler points out, if language once was considered a dialect with an army and a navy, these days "a language is a dialect with a dictionary, grammar, parser, a multi-million-word corpus of texts, which are computer tractable, and ideally a speech database too" (Ostler 2011, 320). For the Sámi the Sámi parliament is entrusted to oversee and organize many of the projects concerning language collecting, language planning[31], and digitalization.

In a similar vein, the institutions that support language maintenance, such as Sámi literature and publishing, broadcasting, language promotion, as well as electronic processing of the language(s) are organized by the Sámi parliament(s) in collaboration with the universities with language programs in Sámi research. These programs, such as the Sámi Giellagáldu organized by the Sámi parliaments in Norway, Finland, and Sweden, or Giellatekno in the Arctic University in Norway, have a significant role in enabling Sámi languages to be used in new domains such as touchscreen keyboards or online dictionaries, and social media and other online spaces. These domains are heavily dependent on the users' literacy and ability to produce text in a reliable,

[31] Here by language planning is meant deliberate and/or official efforts to influence how language is used, including the grammar of a language, in this case all three Sámi languages spoken in Finland. The term has alternative interpretations, such as including the language policy and politics. See Erkama 2012, 7-12 for a discussion on the terminology of language planning and language policy.

structured manner (Ostler 2011, 319), which many of the older Sámi (and especially the Skolt Sámi) lack, and the younger generations often have the advantage of the formal education in written communication. Indeed, among the Sámi the generational gaps have caused some concern, since the standardized orthography and vocabulary choices may differ between the age groups as much as between the geographically distant groups. For example, Maa´ren would tell me that her speech is close to the dialect of Suonikylä[32] as that is where her family was from, but the younger generation usually used the standardized version of the language taught in schools, which also had influences from the other dialects.[33] This can sometimes cause problems in understanding if people from the different generations use different terms for things, or as Maa´ren and Liizz brought up, the younger people use the newly created vocabulary (for computer or society related terms, for example):

> *We discuss how in Sevettijärvi at least one of the caretakers has learned the language later in life, and is not a native speaker of Skolt Sámi. The old people speak differently, and that sometimes causes problems with understanding.* (fieldwork notes 11.6.2013)

These services for language creation (since many new domains also require new vocabulary), standardizing, and planning require a considerable amount of monetary and personnel resources. To complement the Sámi Parliament's resources and efforts, many local and national Sámi organizations are active in providing and advocating for the Sámi services and language and cultural opportunities. Though the Skolt Sámi language nest in Ivalo is operated, funded, and supervised by the Inari municipality, many of the other language nests are in fact operated by Sámi language associations such as Saa´mi Nue´tt (a Skolt Sámi association), Anarâškielâ servi (an Inari Sámi association) or City-Sámit (an association for the Sámi living in cities).[34] For the most

[32] *Suõ'nn´jel* (SS.), present day Priretšnyi

[33] The Skolt Sámi ortography and grammar was standardized relatively late, the process starting in the 1970s or so, and thus for the most part the older generations of the Skolts never had the benefit of learning the "proper" grammar or ortography even in the rare cases when they had the chance to learn the language in school.

[34] Saa´mi Nue´tt administered the language nest in Sevettijärvi until 2015, when it was transferred to Inari municipality's care after the organization announced that it would not be able to commit to keeping the language nest open due to the heavy bureaucracy required by the public authorities and the financial burden operating the language nest imposed on the association. Anarâškielâ servi administers the three Inari Sámi language nests in Inari village and Ivalo. City-Sámit operates the North Sámi language nest in Helsinki. Other language nests are operated by the municipalities as part of their early childhood education programs.

part these associations are funded by the Sámi parliament, the state funding, or by private foundations.

The Sámi language nests' dependence on the state and municipality benevolence and regulations for funding and resources is not unique for the Sámi language revitalization programs. Since the national regulations require a certain number of qualified personnel, the language nests are in constant need for Sámi language speaking early childhood education staff. At the same time, the number of language nests has only in very recent years started growing (mostly in larger cities), so there have been a very limited number of positions available. Currently there are very few resources available for those teachers who wish to become involved in the language nest. Even though the language bath methodology (including language nests) is a recognized language service, acknowledged as a socialization environment, and supported by the state, there are almost no opportunities for the daycare staff (caretakers, nursing staff, daycare and preschool teachers) to learn about the matter methodologically as part of their training (Kangasvieri et al. 2012, 7-8). The few teachers that are trained in language bath methodologies also do not necessarily apply for employment in the regions where the method is used, and those daycare workers who do end up using the methodology in their work (i.e. working in language baths or language nests) are rarely trained in using the methodology and have trouble accessing the additional training to become qualified (ibid., 9-10).[35]

The lack of teachers is a problem especially in Ivalo, and few – if any – children move on to a school where Skolt Sámi is the primary teaching language. In Sevettijärvi the situation is better, and the primary school also offers lessons in and of Skolt Sámi.[36] For the vast majority of Skolt Sámi children living elsewhere in the country (including the children in Ivalo) the only option is to go to school in Finnish and have Skolt Sámi as an additional, "foreign language" course. These days the Skolt Sámi language courses are usually taught through distance learning.

[35] The problem in the Sámi context is also that the language bath methodology is primarily taught in the context of Swedish language baths, in Swedish, and mostly in the Swedish regions of the country (Kangasvieri et al 2012, 12). These are far from the Sámi homeland area or even the Helsinki region, where the number of Sámi children and families interested in language nests is on the rise.

[36] See Pasanen (2015, 126) for the situation among the Inari Sámi.

Another problem is the lack of schoolbooks and other written material for learning and teaching. In many cases teachers have had to make the materials themselves, though recently the Sámi Parliament employed a person whose responsibility was to survey and organize increasing the learning in Sámi languages. The problem is not only in finding the funding for these materials but also finding the people with the right qualifications and interest in creating new teaching and learning books and other material. This situation is changing slowly, thanks mostly to media attention gained by the Sámi language activists who have complained to the Finnish Parliament about the insufficient resources for school and language learning materials.

Outside the Sámi homeland area the options for learning Sámi or enabling children to learn it are extremely limited. Though in the very recent years (and therefore for the most part after the fieldwork for this thesis was conducted) language nests and daycares options have become more widely available in bigger cities such as Rovaniemi, Oulu, and Helsinki, they are still limited to a small number of children and mostly operate in Northern Sámi (Pasanen 2015, 129). The situation is very similar in schools and thus the linguistic rights of the Sámi fail to be implemented in practice (Seurujärvi-Kari 2011, 68). Children also use mostly Finnish outside of school even between themselves when they could just as well use Sámi – even the North Sámi youth (Taipale 2012).

The limited opportunities for learning, strained resources for organizations, and the struggles of funding the language programs (including language nests) face cannot but affect the way the Sámi relate to their language and culture. In the media the Sámi are seen as quarrelsome, demanding more than their due for their "dying language" (see 5.3.), while for the Sámi themselves their situation seems desperate, worrying, and tiresome. The organizational and political support offered by the Sámi parliament and the language organizations is vital for the people working in the language revitalization efforts. Still, over the years there have been many quarrels over the legitimacy and authority of the Sámi parliament. As shown by Erika Sarivaara (2012) and Sanna Valkonen (2009), the political dimension of the Sámi parliament and Sámi politics is ever-present in the discussions on the relationship of identity, language, and indigeneity.

These discussions of indigenous identity and groupness have been an interest of the anthropological sense-making for decades, ever since Barth published his treatise on the ethnic groups and their boundaries (1969), in which he argues that ethnic identities are a

feature of social organization rather than an expression of culture (Barth 1994, 12). Rappaport (2008, 19-20) builds upon Barth's argument, arguing that the inside/outside distinction makes it possible for an anthropologist to grasp the notion of ethnicity and "groupness" in its political context as pioneered by Barth and the new social movements. Rappaport critiques the "Barthian" approach for not paying sufficient attention to multiple and contradictory processes of identification that have been used by the indigenous political actions and organizations, focusing more on the individual process of negotiating ethnic identity than the question of how political organizations as "palimpsests of multiple ethnic boundaries" have negotiated them (ibid. 20). In the Sámi context, there is necessarily a move away from the ethnicity paradigm towards identity politics of multiplicities, with new forms and processes of identification and boundary making.

Rappaport further argues against Barth's view of ethnicity saying that the Barthian model of groupness with a focus on boundaries ignores the centrality of culture in indigenous discourses and organizations (Rappaport 2008, 20). Through these "culturalist" discourses may appear ethnicity, she claims, but for indigenous artists and activists culture is not an essentialist (or positivist) description of the reality but rather a projection of future lifeways, "a blueprint for the future" (ibid., 21). Thus it can be understood that the ethnographer's – whose focus is on the reality and the boundaries – idea of culture is very different from that of indigenous activist's. Brubaker and Cooper (2000) would do away with the concept of "identity" as a conceptual tool altogether and rather are arguing for a more detailed tools for discourse even at the cost of lacking the possibilities for generalizations. Their argument is that as a category of practice, identity still has some use as a political term for allowing people to understand themselves better, and for persuading others of shared (imagined or not) identity, and to organize collective action (Brubaker & Cooper 2000, 4-5). It is in this manner that the terms "ethnicity" and "identity" are the most powerful. As Brubaker (2002) claims, groupness as such can be considered a process rather than a property or a character of groups or individuals.

The Sámi of today are multilingual and often claim multitudes of identities for themselves, such as Sámi of various sorts, Finnish, Nordic, European etc. (Seurujärvi-Kari 2011). This makes it harder for the organizations to represent the interests of the whole ethnic group such as the Sámi in a meaningful manner. According to Brubaker

(2002, 176), the centrality of organizations can also create conflict, in the case when the leaders (such as in this case the Sámi Parliament members) claim to speak on behalf of the ethnic group. The groupist rhetoric should not be mistaken for real groupness (ibid.), though for political reasons it is often beneficial for the Sámi to be seen as a unified group with a coherent message. A clear example of this is the recent discussion among the Sámi over the Sámi identity, Sámi self-identification, and group recognition (see for example: Valkonen 2009; Sarivaara 2012; Toivanen & Saarikivi 2016).

This matter becomes urgent when the rights of the Sámi are determined by the identification of Sáminess and especially the recognition by the Sámi parliament (and thus being able to be enlisted as a Sámi in the Parliament records and awarded the full voting rights in the Sámi parliament elections). Ethnic identities such as Sámi can be in some cases be used as a basis for allocating rights, benefits, resources, as well as constructing identities and regulating actions (Brubaker 2002, 184). Even though the Sámi Parliament has the say in who is recognized as a Sámi, the Finnish Supreme Court has also overturned the Sámi parliaments decisions regarding the Sámi voting roster (KHO 2015). Though Finland has not as of yet signed the ILO 169 convention, protecting the social, cultural, and economic interests of the indigenous peoples, the fear is that by signing up for the Sámi status, the ethnically non-Sámi can access the rights and benefits possibly awarded to the Sámi in the future. In this way the organizational and political representation of the Sámi as an ethnic group matters considerably.

The identification as a Sámi is an issue that concerns language nests as well. As their unspoken aim is to socialize both ethnic Sámi and non-ethnic Finnish children into the Sámi language and culture, the boundaries of who is a Sámi gets blurred. As the status of a Sámi is tied to mother tongue, who can say that a child who has been in the language nest since infancy and possibly goes to school in Sámi lacks Sámi as a first language? For the Inari Sámi the issue is more pressing (Pasanen 2015, 113), but even among the Skolt Sámi there has been some interest on the part of the Finnish families to participate in the Skolt Sámi language nest. Many Sámi are of the opinion that the Sámi minority languages (both Inari and Skolt Sámi) need all the speakers and activists if they are to survive, and this necessity trumps the priority of the ethnic group identification (Pasanen 2015, 317-319). Related to this question is the issue of power and decision-making concerning the language nests, namely who has the power and the

authority to make decisions concerning the activities and the funding of the language nest, as will be shown below.

5.2 Sámi revitalization and the Finnish state

As James C. Scott claims in his *Seeing like a State* (2008), the imposition of an official language is a powerful, maybe the most powerful, state simplification and a precondition of many other simplifications. According to him, the imposition of official languages draws an effective formula for devaluing local knowledge and privileging those who have mastered the official linguistic code (ibid., 72). In this manner, language policies and usage allow a shift in power from the periphery to those in the center, and creates language as part of a cultural project of centralization. Though in Finland the Sámi have the autonomy concerning ”their own language and culture” in the Sámi homeland area (Laki saamelaiskäräjistä 974/1995), and Sámi Parliament is elected every four years in order to implement this autonomy, in reality the Sámi rights are limited to mostly those of linguistic rights.[37] These rights are recognized in laws especially concerning the Sámi; namely the Sámi have the right to get service in their native Sámi languages at public authorities (Saamen kielilaki 1986/2003)[38] as well as to the right to get schooling in Sámi, especially in the Sámi homeland area (Perusopetuslaki 628/1995, see also Aikio-Puoskari 2007). In fact, according to the law on basic education §10, the children in the homeland area who are capable of it should primarily be taught in Sámi.

This matter is not as simple as it appears: an increasing number of Sámi children are living away from the Sámi homeland area or lack requisite Sámi skills. There is also a lack of study and teaching materials as well as teachers with the required degrees and language skills. Lastly, as Aikio-Puoskari (2007, 77) brings up, the prejudices against the Sámi influence the parental and official decision-making. These problems with Sámi

[37] As Hellsten (1998, 124) notes, the problem is also that prioritizing the linguistic rights have resulted in the belief that mere training and/or education in Sámi will suffice to meet the requirements at cultural and social levels.

[38] As pointed out by Kulonen et al. (2005, 176-180) in the current versions of Sámi Language Acts of Finland, as well as the corresponding laws of Sweden and Norway, the singular form of language is used when referring to the all of the Sámi languages spoken in these countries (North Sámi, Lule Sámi, South Sámi, Inari Sámi, Skolt Sámi), which prioritizes the ideological unity of the Sámi vs. the plurality of the languages in reality (Seurujärvi-Kari 2011, 39).

in education are especially pressing outside the Sámi homeland area, since elsewhere there are even fewer teachers and materials, as well as no backing of the law for those children or families who wish to be taught in Sámi. Lehtola & Ruotsala (2017, 3) describe how the scarcity of Sámi staff and resources is on the most important factors contributing to the lack of access to services in Sámi. According to their report, there is also a need for more information and respect towards the Sámi services, as the authorities rarely have any systematic plans for improving the access to Sámi services or attracting Sámi speaking people to work in providing these services.

In early childhood education (of which language nests are part), the children who have Sámi as their mother tongue have the right to get daycare services in Sámi (Varhaiskasvatuslaki 36/1973 §11), though in some cases (usually only in language nests) Finnish-speaking children are also accepted. Outside the Sámi homeland area it is rare for families to use or have access to this right, but in the bigger cities such as Rovaniemi, Oulu, and Helsinki there are some daycare units or language nests that offer services in Sámi, and the number of the children in these is on the rise (Lehtola & Ruotsala 2017, 17-19).[39] This also is a more complicated matter than would appear: since the law only recognizes one mother tongue for a child, many Sámi children are registered as Finnish and have no access to Sámi daycare services, including language nests (OM 2009). Even so, it has only been possible to register different Sámi languages (North, Inari, and Skolt) since August 2013 (OKM 2014, 2). This means that in practice it is almost impossible to get a good assessment of the number of Sámi speakers in Finland.

The question of how to attract children to the nest occupied many of the language nest caretakers, and the Skolt Sámi language nest caretakers especially. The Inari Sámi nests, especially those in Inari village, have been able to stabilize their situation and have had a full number of children in the recent years. Pasanen (2015, 221-222) discusses the demands placed on the language nests by the state bureaucracy, and describes how the two Inari Sámi language nests cannot share a building due to the familial daycare regulations, even though sharing a space would create a better speech community and increase the exposure to the language for the children. Since language nests are considered ”group family daycares” [ryhmäperhepäivähoito (Finn.)] – familial care

[39] According to Lehtola & Ruotsala (2017, 17), in 2016 there were 105 children in Sámi early childhood education (the vast majority of these children in North Sámi daycares), and 73 children in language nests.

meaning that the care is provided in the carer's home or in similar circumstances – and not subject to as many regulations as regular daycare institutions, the requirements for the qualifications for staff are more relaxed as well. If the language nests were to operate in one place, they would need to have a certain number of university educated kindergarten teachers present to oversee the education, but as the language nests also have strict language demands for the staff, finding people with both the qualifications as well as the language skills has proven all but impossible. Because of this the group size of most language nests is limited to eight full-time children and 2 part-time, with two or three carers in each group (depending on the children's age) (Asetus lasten päivä-hoidosta 239/1973 8§).

The major difference between Inari and Skolt Sámi language nests lies in their operating party, namely that the Skolt Sámi language nest is operated by the Inari municipality and the Inari Sámi language nests are run by the Inari Sámi association Anarâškielâ servi. Thus the caretakers in these nests are employed by the municipality or the association, respectively. The running of the nests is a major burden on the finances and resources for Anarâškielâ servi, and the caretakers are the only people employed by the association (Pasanen 2015, 223). Though the Inari Sámi language nests operate under the Finnish early education system and they follow the same guidelines in operation, the employees are employed by a private actor (in this case the Inari Sámi association) and different employment contracts and benefits apply to them. According to the discussions I had in both the Inari Sámi and Skolt Sámi language nests, this can sometimes cause feelings of injustice and competition between the different nests as the benefits and access to holidays, health care, and additional training vary depending on the employer.

Andersen and Johns (2005) report that the situation in Canada is very similar to that of the Sámi language nests among the Inuttitut language nests, which have had difficulties in finding staff who both speak Inuttitut and are licensed for early childhood education. In addition many of the language nests jobs are not on a permanent contract basis, which has made it harder for the interested people to commit to the required training. Because the Inuttitut language nests also have to operate unlicensed, the group size is limited to maximum three children at a time, which is problematic for creating the required speech community for ideal language exposure (Andersen & Johns 2005, 198-199). This instability of funding and employment is an issue the Ivalo Skolt Sámi

language nest has also had to face, possibly affecting the learning outcomes of the children as well as the working environment for the caretakers.

The uncertain future of the language nests was a concern that often came up in interviews I had with the caretakers in the Ivalo language nest, even if the nest had a relatively secure position as part of the municipality's own early childhood education program (vs. private care provided by Sámi language and culture associations that organized language nest activities in Inari and Sevettijärvi at the time). One way this situation was reflected was the fact that one of the caretakers was on a temporary leave from her regular post to be able to work at the language nest. The municipality also was careful to regulate the number of caretakers according to the minimum requirements (Asetus lasten päivähoidosta 16.3.1973/239), so in those cases when the language nest was short on its maximum number of allowed children, one of the caretakers was transferred to work in another (Finnish language) daycare center in the municipality (see 3.3).

This has made working situation in the nest uncertain and caused much worry among the workers (and the parents), since it also affects the language environment. With only one caretaker providing a language role model for the small number of children, there was a possibility that the children would not hear enough Sámi throughout the day. Also, an important factor in the socialization process are the discussions between the caretakers (as shown in chapter 3.2), as the caretakers usually used richer, more specialized and also more varied language between themselves than when addressing (for all purposes) language limited children. Pasanen (2015, 223-224) also discusses how the uncertainty in the language nests makes it harder for the revitalization efforts succeed and also cause worry for the workers who have no certainty about their work situation and if their work will be able to continued in the future.

Though the Sámi Language Act protects the right to have certain services in Sámi, this right is limited to relatively few benefits, such as daycare, schooling, and health services. Since recruiting people with the required language skills is also an issue, the access to such services can be haphazard and often requires much effort from the part of the Sámi speaker. The Finnish Parliament is required to consult with the Finnish Sámi Parliament in matters concerning the Sámi, but their voice has often gone unheard even on matters recognized to be related to the Sámi issues (Anaya 2011, 40). Though

Finland has signed the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP 2007), confirming the Sámi right to exercise autonomy and self-government over their internal and local affairs, in practice the financial restraints and the lacking resources hamper this right from realizing in practice (Anaya 2011, 41-43).

As mentioned above, the municipalities are not required to fund Sámi language services for Finnish children (though in most cases they do so), and since the legal system recognizes only one mother tongue per person, most Sámi children are registered as Finnish and thus not entitled to Sámi services. This is especially the case for those children whose parents are of the lost generation and know only Finnish themselves. Most of the funding for the language nests comes from the money allocated to the Sámi parliament for the Sámi language and cultural services, though the municipalities are usually required to provide up to 15% of the funding as well (Pasanen 2015, 121-122). In practice this means that especially the language nests that are operated by the Sámi language associations are especially vulnerable to the capriciousness of the Finnish political system and the budgetary restrictions it imposes on the Sámi parliament.

Up until 2015 the language nests were in a situation that could be termed as ”financial limbo”, as their future remained uncertain. In March 2012 the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture published a new policy proposal for “revitalizing the Sámi language” (OKM 2012) as a reaction to UN special rapporteur James Alanya’s report on the situation of the Sámi people in the Sápmi region of Norway, Sweden and Finland (Anaya 2011). The process started in 2009 and in 2014 the government finally passed the policy. This was an important step towards including the Sámi in the strategic planning and decision-making of language policies and practices at a national level. In July 2014 the government made a ”decision in principle” (periaatepäätös (Finn.)) (OKM 2014) to keep revitalizing the three Sámi languages spoken in Finland, with an aim that none of them can be considered endangered by 2025. The first point in the proposed list of actions was to establish sufficient funds for language nest work not only in Sámi Homeland Area but also beyond it. Since then there has been an increase in language nests especially in the bigger cities of Finland. The decision in principle also acknowledged some of the challenges that Sámi people, culture, and language face, namely the structural changes in society and business, the dwindling domains for the Sámi language and traditional livelihoods, and the language transfer to Finnish, of course (ibid., 1). Though to the proposed list of actions is important for even the

possibility of the revitalization of the Sámi languages, it remains to be seen whether or not the possible actions carried out on the basis of the decision actually manage to change the situation for the language and the Sámi people at large.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC 1989) – which Finland has signed – requires the states to guarantee children belonging to minorities or of indigenous identity access to enjoy their culture, religion, and language. In practice this right has varied manifestations around the world, and the Finnish laws on childcare, Sámi Language Act, and other decrees do their best to grant this right in Finland, at least on paper. In Norway the Sámi children are also acknowledged in the law on Kindergartens (Barnehageloven 2005) and the daycare regulations expect the Sámi as a people and their culture to be known to children, and to support the Sámi children's language and cultural rights (KD 2011, 49). In Hawaii the state and its regulations has had an impact on who has access to the language education and services and to language revitalization. The official parties and their language attitudes (who see Hawaiian as an impediment to success) have also been able to restrict or delay the use of Hawaiian as an official language of schooling and requiring bilingual programs or limiting the resources required by the full Hawaiian-medium programs (Wilson & Kamanā 2001, 154-157). As Grenoble and Whaley point out (2006, 98), few revitalization programs are able to function without a large number of active, willingly participating community members to fill the gaps the official structures may create. This is especially true of the Hawaiian language nests, but also to a great extent of the Sámi language nests, for whom the many cultural elements and activities would not be possible without the members of the community acting as resource persons even if the monetary and logistical situation was much better than the current situation.

The thing to remember about language nests is that for the practical purposes they operate in the Finnish systems, are built structurally according to the Finnish laws and guidelines, and are Finnish in all practical ways that matter – with the obvious exception of language and certain activities – and part of the Finnish education system. Thus they are bound by the laws, regulations, guidelines of Finnish state and municipalities, and answerable to Inari municipality's education committee. To go back to the point above, and Scott's view on state imposition, it becomes imperative to understand the state and local administration's influence and power over the language nests, which I have essayed to do in the chapter. Scott claims that it is in the administration's interest to

simplify and order the complex world around it, and as such they reassert our understanding of the state and social welfare through policies (Scott 2008, 4). As we will see in chapter 5.4, it is especially in times of struggle and emergency that the full force of the state administration is shown (Scott 2008, 5) – as in the case of resettlement of the Skolts after the wars.

5.3 Language nests and the revitalization debates in the Finnish media

The discussion over the status and role of activities nests has not been neutral or limited to Finnish or Sámi parliaments, but rather language nests have been used as focus points of discussion especially when it comes to funding and autonomy of the Sámi Parliament or Sámi community. In the fall 2013 – as had happened on several occasions before – the Finnish government budget plans for the year 2014 promised severe cuts in targeted funding for language nests (YLE 12.8.2013), which the Sámi community found unconscionable. The worry over the language nests' future provoked a storm of discussion within the Sámi community but also in social and public media as people rallied to support or discredit the language nests. For the purposes of this study the discussion was illustrative, as it brought to light the various attitudes towards the Sámi languages and people among the general public in Finland.

Throughout the fall there were several articles, letters to the editor, and other media publicity around the issue in public media. In September 2013, Helsingin Sanomat, the leading newspaper in Finland, published a series of letters to the editor concerning Sámi revitalization with a focus on language nests, and here I will be analyzing five of them. What makes this discussion notable is the fact that all the participants held positions in academia and for the most part were not Sámi themselves.

The first letter in the series was professor Ante Aikio's response to the news concerning the budget cuts as covered by the recent news. In the letter Aikio (2013) calls for strengthening the support for language nests especially in the bigger cities of Finland (which at the time had no operating language nests), and brings to attention the historical role of the Finnish state in the worsening situation of the Sámi culture and language. A few days later professor Jukka Korpela replied to professor Aikio in a letter to the editor titled 'The enthusiasm for revitalizing regressive languages is baffling' (Korpela 2013). Korpela's argument is that teaching children a "dying language " is

irresponsible and futile and the effort would be better put into learning their mother tongue (i.e. Finnish). He calls language nests ”playing with the development of mother tongue” and ”force feeding a language”. Korpela’s letter brought about several rebuttals to his claims, especially from the language research community, noting that Korpela himself is a professor of history rather than a linguist (Lakomäki 2013; Pasanen 2013; Sarhimaa 2013).

Those who defended the language nests also brought up the systematic oppression of Sámi political and language rights as well as the linguistic research on language learning and socialization. Lakomäki (2013), Pasanen (2013), and Sarhimaa (2013) all noted, that the role of the Finnish state in the depression of the Sámi language(s) should not be ignored, and that instead the state politics have played a significant role in making the language in need of revitalization. Lakomäki, a lecturer of anthropology in University of Oulu, noted that instead of language regression, the more correct term might be linguistic genocide, as the state interventions have been instrumental in decimating the Sámi languages. This position is supported in the language revitalization research by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, who has written extensively on the Sámi languages with a special focus on the state influence on the language practices in education (2000; see also Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar 2010; Rannut et al. 1995; Olthuis et al. 2013).

Pasanen (2013) brings to the discussion her extensive practical knowledge of language nests and language revitalization, and compares the Sámi situation to the Karelian language revitalization efforts. Her master’s thesis (Pasanen 2003) also revolved around these issues, and as she brings up in her letter to the editor, her previous research strongly supports the natural environment of the language nests as a suitable surrounding in which to learn the language at relative ease. She also calls out Korpela’s argument about languages being primarily the means of communication – according to Pasanen, if this were true, the diversity and plurality of languages would have decreased over time rather than the opposite.

Pasanen (2013) also brings up the experiences of the Sámi children historically in relation to Finnish in schools, as unlike in language nests, where the focus is on making the children want to use the language through example and encouragement, in opposition to the previous practice of forcing the children to speak and express themselves solely in Finnish. Pasanen’s argument is thus, that if that was not ”force

feeding" children a language (i.e. Finnish, in this case), then what is? The historical context of community trauma and discrimination is relevant to this discussion, though Korpela's argument ignores this issue, as Pasanen points out. Wooland and Schieffelin (1994) criticize the view of language primarily as a means for communication, and rather they argue that understanding the social and political context of the language enables better understanding of the culture as well. As Pasanen (2013) brings up, the language can also carry meanings of and for the culture it is linked to, as in the case of many indigenous peoples who identify language with their surrounding environment.[40] The studies on language maintenance and revitalization seem to agree (Fishman 1994, Grenoble & Whaley 2006). As Nettle and Romaine (2000) argue, the diversity of languages has historically been closely tied to environmental diversity.

Anneli Sarhimaa, professor of Nordic and Baltic languages and cultures in the University of Mainz, brings to the question the social, economic and political reasons for the language loss and the need for revitalization (2013). She also points out that in the current social and political situation, there are very few chances for children to grow to become "true speakers" (i.e. native speakers) of minority languages. Sarhimaa offers urbanization, modernization, and the policies concerning minority language and cultural rights as rather more likely explanations for language attrition than the ideological "force feeding" and the natural order of languages as reasoned by Korpela. As Baker (2001, 50-51) points out, the evolutionary, "Social Darwinist" approach to languages ignores the social, economic, and political reasons for language loss, and thus the reasons behind language decline are often determined by politicians and policy-makers rather than the minority language speakers themselves.

In the language nest the benefits of the method were taken as granted and also the historical oppression of the Sámi peoples was also referred to often. When I asked Maa´ren in the Skolt Sámi language nest if the public discussion had made any difference in their work or had any other impact on the language nest, she seemed surprisingly nonchalant about the issue and confident about the future of the language nest. She explained to me that since the Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest is officially a part of the municipality daycare system and organized by it too (unlike the Inari Sámi nests) it has a relatively strong status against the possible budget cuts. The fact that

[40] See also Basso (1996) on the relationship between indigenous peoples, their language(s), and landcape.

Skolt Sámi is the most endangered of the Finnish Sámi languages and in the greatest need of revitalization is a consideration too. The children who participate in the Skolt Sámi language nest would need daycare and the municipality would have had to find a place for them in any case, and language nest is as good a place as any. Of course, as it is, the municipality gets some of the language nest costs covered from the targeted funding of the Sámi Parliament (which in turn is funded by the state), which for the time being is an additional incentive for the municipalities to start and maintain language nests. In the end the budget cuts were reversed – mainly using the Finnish Slot Machine Association's (RAY) profit fund (YLE 23.9.2013).

These arguments for and against the language nests showcase many of the issues the Sámi face when discussing their rights to their language and culture. In a historical manner the evolution of the cultures and languages is taken for a fact, and the inevitable demise of the minority languages and ways of lives is taken for granted. But as Lakomäki (2013) brings up in his letter, in the global scale of things Finnish is not a much larger cultural or language area. As such the utility argument also proves futile. Who gets to decide which language is useful or needed? As we saw on the discussion on language attitudes and ideologies (see 4.2), people make their language choices based on their complex personal situations, influenced by the surrounding discourses and societal and community support.

The public discussion in 2013 is an example of how the language attitudes of both the Sámi and the Finnish can become part of the national discussion and even rise to the national agenda. This is one of the very few discussions where the language nests were made visible and brought to the national agenda, including the Finnish population in the discussion. Many worried citizens expressed their concern over the Sámi language and culture and rallied to support the language nests. The discussion in the newspaper prompted many people actively show their support for the language nests and Sámi language revitalization, as well as to contact the members of the parliament in order to influence the decision-making to Sámi issues. At the same time, many people also argued about the "frivolity" of the Sámi language nests, seeing them as a useless effort to recreate a lost past or to advocate for the Sámi extra resources that they did not deserve.

Sirpa Pietikäinen (2000; 2003) has studied the Sámi representations in the Finnish media and found out that due to journalistic practices and insensitivity towards the representational power, the news media often portray Sámi issues in polarized ethnic representations that contribute to the marginalization of the Sámi rather than inviting them to participate in the public discussion. As is notable in the case at hand, only one of the five participants could be identified as a Sámi, and thus the discourse was mainly in the hands of its Finnish participants. In the interviews I had at the language nest, it was evident that the national politics seemed far away from Inari and with a few exceptions, people preferred to concentrate their efforts in the practical everyday matters of the language nest, and attend to their own lives and families, as in the case of Maa´ren when I asked her about the possible difficulties caused by the funding ”battles”:

> *It doesn't really affect me at all, as long as I know that I'm allowed to stay here I have a permanent contract [with the municipality], so it's not much of a problem*
> – interview with Maa´ren (28.8.2014)

This hardly means that the general attitudes and especially the possible influence these discussions have on people's views and understanding of the language nests and their purpose would not affect the everyday life in the language nest. Rather I would argue that this shows the privilege Maa´ren has as a permanent contract worker for the municipality, and how her position is relatively sheltered in the bigger picture of her work environment. In other situations we had many discussions over the coffee on the importance of secure and sufficient funding and the reality of the lack of knowledge on the everyday life of the language nests in the decision-making institutions.

5.4 ”Transference of the burden” - collective trauma and its consequences

> *People have asked me if they should speak Skolt or should we just let the language die. And also said that it's no use to bring the children here [to the nest], that I shouldn't transfer the burden [of the language] to the children.*
> – E´ll and Veâra's mother

Here I will discuss the relationship of the Skolt Sámi to their language and identity from a historical perspective. Considering their status, political and historical conditions, and the attitudes the Skolt Sámi have met, it is possible to assume that the attitudes towards the language and (Skolt) Sámi identity are not universally positive or neutral, but rather

conflicted and even controversial at times. These attitudes also affect the language nests through the behavior of the local community, as the interest in the Skolt Sámi language nest has been fluctuating and in some years it has been hard to find a sufficient number of children to require two caretakers in the nest. The reason for this was usually attributed to the history and especially the lower status of the Skolts, as it was seen more prestigious or more useful to rather learn North Sámi, for example.[41]

If the national politics seemed faraway in the language nest, the history of the Skolts and the family traditions were ever-present. Though these days the national wars and their experiences are long past, the echoes of the experiences can be felt to this day. An illustrative example of this is the village of Sevettijärvi, as it was founded for the Skolt fleeing the border changes and where the Skolt language and traditions have remained present to this day. Still, as Ingold (1976) describes on his ethnography on the Sevettijärvi reindeer herders of the 1970's, the wars, the forced removals following them, and the changes they wrought on the Sámi way of life had an enormous impact on the whole Skolt Sámi community. In the interviews, quite surprisingly to me, the parents brought up the traumatic experiences their relatives had had to endure, and how the slow disappearance of the language and traditions caused suffering for the elders.

This combination of traumatic memories, language and cultural attrition, and the collective trauma caused by the changing ways of life was described by the community as "transference of the burden" [42,] and was seen as a primary reason for the worrying state of the language today. Jeffrey C. Alexander defines collective trauma (also called cultural trauma) as a process of when members of a community feel that "they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (Alexander 2004, 1). This process allows the collective members of a community to shoulder some of the suffering of the others, who

[41] This was a topic that had been discussed quite much in the recent years, and the discourse over the matter may have influenced the way in which people talked about this topic (see the discussion below on the event held in August 2014, which was a good example on how the discourse was made and shared in the community).

[42] Taakkasiirtymä [Finn.], in my understanding this term is used to signify the intergenerational transference of the historical trauma of the forced resettlements after the wars, and how the collective trauma has caused the new generation to be retraumatized in the process. The term was first conceptualized by psychiatrist Martti Siirala and then used by psychoanalyst Pirkko Siltala (Kaleva 26.4.2017).

have been affected by the traumatizing event. In this way, language is used to explain what happens not only to themselves, but also to the collectivities they are members of, and thus trauma is collectively constructed by society. Thus collective trauma can be used for creating a shared moral identity, an identity based on shared moral values and understanding of victimhood and vulnerability (Verkuyten 2014, 45).

Alexander argues that events in themselves are not capable of creating collective trauma, rather they are socially mediated or even collectively imagined (2004, 8). These collective beliefs are often crucial for the creation of collective identities, and imaginative processes of representation play an important role in creating people's experience of the collective events. Alexander's claim is that the collective trauma is fundamentally a socially constructed, collectively mediated, sociocultural process, a process of social crises becoming cultural crises (ibid. 9-10). What makes a phenomenon traumatic is the collective belief that it has affected harmfully the community identity, its stability and its cultural and emotional security. This process is deeply influenced by power structures, the community's social agents and thus human agency (ibid., 10). In the Skolt Sámi case, the resettlement caused major changes in the traditional way of life, and thus affected many of the community members in various ways. Though the historical process of resettlement is in the past, many members of the community claim that the social, cultural, and economic effects of the process have been traumatizing.

As Verkuyten (2014, 44) notes, the stories the community tells about a traumatic event are powerful in themselves and sustain the perception of vulnerability and threat. These stories can also imply a threat to the continuity of one's group, and though the facts of the events are rarely in dispute, the interpretations and implications can vary even within the same group. According to Verkuyten, it is these social representations that turn an event into a collective trauma, as most people do not experience the event personally but rather are traumatized indirectly through media, history, and education (ibid.). This is mostly true of the Skolt Sámi as well, as most of the Skolts living today are descendants of the generation who were resettled rather than had to go though the experience themselves.

The creation of cultural traumas is in essence a narrative of claims to injury and demands for emotional, institutional, and symbolic reparation (Alexander 2004, 11).

These narratives can be used as strategic tools for persuading the wider audiences of the traumatic process, to engage the public in the collective trauma storytelling. Alexander (ibid., 12-15) illuminates his point with the following four dimensions: for a master narrative of social and cultural trauma to be reliable, the ”social agents” need to answer to the following points: the nature of pain (what happened), the nature of the victim (what group of persons was affected), the relation of the trauma victim to a larger audience, and the attribution of responsibility (who caused trauma). This last part especially is a matter of symbolic and social construction, as there is a requirement for a master narrative of social suffering for the collectivity to become traumatized (ibid., 15). The discursive nature of cultural trauma is by no means in opposition to the point that they may have overarching, very real consequences to the community, and societal institutions, such as local and national governments often have significant power over the trauma process.

The stigma and shared experiences of discrimination are present among all the Sámi (see Pasanen 2015, Nyyssonen 2007, Braut 2010, 41, 56). At a practical level the pain of the loss of language has been a tangible thing in the community, and is seen as a sore point for the identity relations. Braut explains how she observed how among Lule Sámi parents it could be painful not to be part of your child’s language learning, help them with homework for example (Braut 2010, 58-59). I also saw reflections of this in Maa´ren’s determination to learn to read and write Skolt Sámi better so that she could better help U´stten when she eventually goes to school, as I mentioned above.

The transference of the burden has become the topic of discussion in the Skolt community in the recent years, as there has been an increasing interest and effort to address and understand the consequences of the resettlement. In August 2014 the Sámi parliament in collaboration with Saa´mi Nuett started a project concerning the intergenerational transference of the collective trauma, and organized a one-day event to discuss in an effort to allow people to share their experiences and be allowed to be heard by the community. This event was facilitated by psychoanalyst Pirkko Siltala, whose role was to give the people present tools for handling their collective trauma. During the day people of all ages brought up their own experiences, and those of their relatives, of how the discriminatory practices and attitudes had affected their lives as well as discussed the resettlement and its historical burden could be processed in the community. Aikio (1988, 312) describes the vicious cycle of many Sámi over the years

– no matter what they do and how they behave, even giving up their mother tongue or traditional language, the stigmatization of being a Sámi stays. In the most extreme cases the stigmatization is so strong, that the taboo of speaking Sámi impedes the use of language altogether.

The social problems created by the traumatic events, such as alcoholism and unemployment (as reported in Ingold 1976 and confirmed by my interviews), have had an impact on the community and made it harder to discuss the consequences of the resettlement. The alienation of the generations caused by the language gaps only has made it even harder, and it is only in the recent times that the Skolt community has been able to talk about history openly and truthfully. The event in August 2014 that the Sámi Parliament and Saa´mi Nue´tt organized together to discuss the collective trauma caused by the resettlement, or the ”transference of the burden” as the event was named, was one of the first occasions when the elders of the community came together with the younger generations to openly tell their stories and to listen to each other's experiences concerning the necessity of leaving their home areas behind and having to move and live in a new environment.

Combined with the changes caused by modernization, urbanization, and the loss of traditional lands and livelihoods, it is no wonder that Ingold (1976, 177) describes how many of the Skolts had turned bitter and hardened by their lives. The discrimination by the other Sámi groups and the Finnish people and authorities exacerbated the problem. In the general attitudes at the time, the Sámi were considered to be stupid, even simpleminded, and the Skolts were the most stupid of them all, with no chance of improvement (ibid. 184). Pasanen (2015, 100-101) also brings up this hierarchical system and disdain the other Sámi groups had for the Skolts. In many cases it was especially the North Sámi speakers (and thus the majority population among the Sámi) who were condescending and rude towards the Skolts. As Scheller points out, even today North Sámi has the highest status of all Sámi languages, receives the most state support, and is used as a lingua franca among Sámi people in all four countries (Scheller 2011, 89).

It surprised me how deep these hierarchical attitudes and experiences run in the community even these days. People I interviewed often brought up these negative attitudes and discrimination themselves, without me prompting or asking about it. Since

it seemed to be of importance to language attitudes and the way people contributed and related to language nests and to language and culture itself, I wanted to know more about it and asked about their own experiences about discrimination and their family background. Here Maa´ren reflects on her parents' school experiences to the way the Sámi language nests are operated today:

> *[My] father and mother had both been [monolingual], one was Skolt and the other Inari Sámi.*
> *And when they went to school, they were forbidden to speak Sámi altogether, and [the Finnish school authorities] never thought about it the way we think about it here in the language nest where we allow the children's own language.*
> *So we use the target language, but at the time they didn't allow children to speak their own language but forced Finnish upon them, and demanded that even the children who had never spoken it to start speaking it.*
> *My parents both experienced it, Liizz [the other caretaker] has experienced it, the oppression of not being able to use their own language.*
> *And that's the reason why parents haven't wanted to speak the language to their children, so that they are not bullied because of their Sáminess.*
> *[...]*
> *And another thing about the boarding schools is that they were only allowed to visit home once in the fall and once in spring*
> *So that was the end of speaking that language then*
>
> *The elders have reminisced of the Suonikylä times, but the resettlement times they felt were so brutal that they never wanted to think about those times. It's one of those silenced topics.*
> – Interview with Maa´ren (28.8.2014)

State inference on the Sámi language use was not restricted to only Finnish. In Norway, for example, until 1959 schoolteachers had to supervise the families' language use and make sure the parents used Norwegian with their children (Magga 1993, 47). Similar stories have been recorded also in Finland (Nyyssonen 2007, 53-54), but the societal and state influences were especially strong on the Skolt and Inari Sámi. The time before and after wars seems to be a watershed in the Skolt Sámi language use and prevalence of the traditional lifestyle.[43]

[43] In Russia the situation of the Skolts after the wars has been even more dire – Scheller (2011, 81) describes the forced displacements by the Soviet authorities of several Sámi groups during the 1960's and 1970's, as well as the following repression and russification of the Sámi languages despite the law protecting their right to develop their language and culture. These days there are considered to be only about 10-20 potential Skolt Sámi users in Russia, but no active speakers (Scheller 2011, 90).

According to Ingold (1976, 8), after the wars the resettlement of the Skolt Sámi to new areas brought severe changes to the status of the Skolt Sámi as well as their culture and lifestyle. If until then the Skolts had been relatively autonomous and self-sufficient, after the resettlement they were almost totally dependent on the Finnish state and the welfare system. As the border between Finland and Russia was closed and the *sijdd* [village] -system and the access to traditional reindeer herding lands and lifestyle became increasingly difficult, the Skolts were marginalized and isolated to the remote villages far from the Finnish habitation when previously they had been active members of their local communities by trade and other means (Ingold 1976, 2-3). The isolation was very tangible as for example the road to Sevettijärvi was established in 1963, and only in 1969 was the village finally made accessible by motor traffic. Until that time the village was mainly left to its own devices and thus remained (and still remains) as one of the strongholds of the Skolt language and culture. One of the parents told me that because of the isolation of Sevettijärvi, many of the social problems were intensified in the small community traumatized by the war. According to her, the restrictions that were created to protect the Skolts' rights on their land and housing sometimes made things harder, as the houses could not be renovated to comply with the modern times or to be expanded to fit the big families. The children had to be sent away to school especially at higher levels, and it was all but impossible for them to visit home. Even on the lower levels, the school forced Finnish language and culture on the Sámi children who may never had spoken Finnish before (see Maa´ren's interview above).

This break in tradition and meaningful occupations brought about many changes to the Skolt way of life. Ingold (1976) describes the many challenges the community faced, how unemployment and dependency on welfare money wreaked havoc on the people's health and sense of self-worth in Sevettijärvi in the 1960's and 1970's, how the money gained from the State Employment Agency went to the State's alcohol monopoly (Alko), and how important the welfare state's child allowance was for the families with children (Ingold 1967, 116, 122). Even if there were vocational courses available for youth, there were very few work opportunities for the skilled people, and eventually many of the younger generation ended up leaving the village and moving south to bigger towns and cities.

The young Skolts have always left the village and settled elsewhere, especially the women, though the young families often tried to settle locally only to find it impossible

(Ingold 1976, 124). For the most part the situation remains very similar today. Due to structural changes of the society there are few open positions in the north for the people who want to stay in their home villages. As occasionally came up in the interviews I had with the parents of the children of the language nest, many families would be interested in moving closer to their families and kin to Sevettijärvi or Inari, but in practice there is either no housing or employment opportunities (see 4.3.). Liizz herself moved south when she was a young woman and started her family there, moving back only to help her ailing parents. Many of the younger generation seek education and employment in the cities of the Southern Finland or in Sweden or Norway.

In the times after the wars the Sámi movement and the strengthening of the Sámi identity started especially among the Northern Sámi and was focused heavily on a shared Sámi identity (i.e. North Sámi identity). These hierarchies were still at play, however, and the early Sámi movement often marginalized the other Sámi groups (Inari and Skolt Sámi) (Pasanen 2015, 99-100). The only privilege the Skolts have over the other Sámi groups has been the village meetings and especially the Skolt law (253/1995), the purpose of which is to protect the Skolt interests, culture, and livelihood in their appointed living areas. While the emphasis on the shared identity of the Sámi has been crucial for the access to the rights and promotion of the Sámi interests in the national and Nordic political agendas, the problem with this kind of an approach is that it necessitates focusing on unity over the interest and needs of the smaller, usually minority groups. This kind of ”groupism” i.e. emphasis on the unity and cohesion over the minority interests (as described by Brubaker 2002) for political reasons has been necessary to overcome the image of the Sámi as quarrelsome, divergent groups fighting over the resources. Sanna Valkonen (2009, 14) describes this as a ”postcolonial strategy”, a survival strategy of sorts on the part of the Sámi to group the efforts and resources together in order to cling to the remnants of the power and influence for the better good of the whole Sámi community.

Irja Seurujärvi-Kari (2011, 41-42) discusses how the status of a language reflects the status of the speaker, and how revaluation the significance of Sáminess is necessary if the goal is to revitalize it. She also points out how the language changes back and forth between majority and minority language occur naturally, depending on the status of the languages and the values attached to them. In the Sámi case, and that of many other indigenous peoples', the colonial past and the negative language attitudes are reflected

in the willingness of the people to use and be seen using the language. When the status of the language improves, the visibility also improves.

Similar stories of collective historical trauma are familiar from all around the world in indigenous communities, and in Australia the forcible removals of indigenous children traumatized whole communities at the time. Among Aboriginal populations these generations were not just lost for the language and culture, but for their parents and communities. To ensure that the Aboriginal children received European style education, the Australian colonial authorities removed Indigenous children from their families, institutionalized them in dormitories, and limited their contact with their home communities. According to Burns et al. (2004), this was justified on the basis of the belief in the superiority of European education as well as Darwinist ideas of racial ”half-castes”. It also included active efforts to sever the children’s family ties, forbidding the use of Aboriginal languages, and teaching them that Aborigines were inferior (Burns et al. 2004, 191-193, see also HREOC 1997). It was only after the rising awareness of the stolen generations in the 1980s that the traumatic nature of the removals was recognized and eventually a National Inquiry was set up to investigate the effects of child removals (HREOC 1997). In this the Finnish society and state operated in many ways similar to the Australian colonial government, though in many cases the Aboriginal treatment was even more extreme than the assimilation policies adopted against the Sámi.

After the wars, the Finnish government justified the development and language policies in the Sámi and Skolt areas with social and economic advantages, and tied many of the social benefits to promote these policies in the remote areas of the country. Scott (2008) discusses how the inaccessibility of remote areas has been seen in the eyes of the modern nation-states as an indication of their backwardness and need for order. Using an example from Malaya and Vietnam, he describes how after the World War II the residents of remote villages were transported and resettled in ”strategic hamlets” in identical houses of straight lines (2008, 188). Scott sees this as an attempt by the state to create and maintain a ”legible, bounded, concentrated state space” (ibid.), using direct control and discipline rather than appropriation.

These ”villagization” projects, and others mentioned by Scott, aimed at reorganizing communities in order to make them more accessible for political control while at the

same time targeting them for developmentalist projects and bureaucratic management (Scott 2008, 224). As Scott points out, these state-informed modernization projects required the concentration of people into standardized units, i.e. villages for the states to oversee and administer (ibid. 231). Though this administration often brought along social services and monetary benefits, it also had a strongly centralizing agenda, causing people to be highly dependent on the state benevolence for their subsistence.

Itkonen (2012) also discusses the state projects and their tendency for centralizing services, standardizing reindeer herding and production lines, and increasingly administering people's lives in Sevettijärvi. He describes how the state policies (influenced by the European Union) have prioritized larger units in agriculture (which reindeer herding is considered part of), and created subsidies and development programs to help these units achieve these goals (ibid., 229-232). But as Itkonen also points out, the reindeer herders are rarely listened to in these processes, rather, the power over these issues is in the hands of only a few, and the reindeer herders have very limited influence on the decision-making process. Because the state influence in the reindeer herding has little accountability, the circumstances for reindeer herding and the intergenerational transference of traditional knowledge concerning it have dramatically worsened in the past years (Itkonen 2012, 241).

One of the parents also brought up the state influence on the Skolts in the interview, describing how the state's prominent role in the resettlement process also made the Skolts in Sevettijärvi dependent on the state:

> *It was all so coming from the top, everyone got the same kind of house, no matter how many people lived in there. And also the way gave the aid, the mechanisms of the aid, they made people very dependent on the benefits and the state.*
> – E´ll and Veâra's mother

Though the ideas behind the state benefits and aid programs have had good intentions, often they have caused havoc on the social order and the traditional way of life. As Scott (2008) illustrates, the designs of the state programs and especially the villagization programs have historically paid very little attention to the local knowledge and traditional practices. According to him, the success of social engineering programs – and the Skolt resettlement could be called a program of this sort – is heavily dependent

on the response and the cooperation of the people they directly affect (Scott 2008, 225). If this collaboration fails, the response is most likely to be hostile and the project ends up a failure, no matter how good the state intentions.

In this context, it is understandable that the Skolts still feel disoriented, burdened, even traumatized by the for the most part forced resettlement process. As Scott (2008, 325) notes, the very purpose of forced resettlement is disorientation followed by reorientation, with the aim of transforming the subjects in a fundamental way. As the Skolts had to leave their traditional reindeer pastures behind in the resettlement process, the aim was to give them a stationary living situations and thus revolutionizing their way of life from that of following annual cycle with the reindeer and other modes of subsistence to that of state appointed, ”legible” (to use Scott’s term), housing and villages. Officially this was to provide the Skolts with access to the services of the modern welfare state, with schools and a village nurse, with the side-benefit of ”taming” their migratory patterns. This, however, created many challenges for the transference of the traditional Skolt practices and culture, followed by language attrition and eventually even the loss of the language for many of the community members. As Scott (2008, 7) claims, the authoritarian, utopian state projects have historically rather ignored their subjects’ values and desires, and instead posed a threat to their wellbeing.

The process of breaking the cycle of the ”transference of the burden” is a topic of discussion among the Skolts these days. At the same time, many younger Skolts seek to explore their roots and identities through learning about the language and culture. As mentioned in 4.3, many Skolt families travel back and fort to Sevettijärvi to visit with relatives and to be surrounded by other Skolts and what is left of the Skolt ”traditional way of life”. The stories that people share of the Skolt villages beyond the border are also part of that. How people are related to each other is very much tied to where their family is ”originally from”, and the remembrance of the places and villages is not only about places and spaces, but also about the kinship and connection (Armstrong 2004). The Skolt Sámi leu´dds also tell the stories of the relatives long gone, about places that no one visits or even remembers anymore, outside the songs. According to Sanila-Aikio (2016), the hindrances to the revitalization of Skolt language and culture are primarily psychological, so processing the trauma collectively and including all the generations is a requirement if the Skolts are to move forward in the 21st century.

Alexander (2004) suggests that the key to restoring the psychological health of a community is through lifting societal repression and restoring memory through a trauma process. The importance of commemoration, cultural representation, and public political debate is helpful in terms of promoting public discourse (Alexander 2004, 7). Trauma as a sociological process defines the injury, establishes the victim, attributes responsibility, and discusses the material consequences, and through this process the collective identity will be revised. (ibid. 22). This process of construction and reconstruction is understood in terms of not only the present and future but also of the past, and there will be a need for integrating the collective process to the imagination of the community. According to Alexander (2004, 23), in those cases when historical reasons have prevented the trauma process from realizing fully, the processes of reconstructing representation and working through commemoration can help with reconstructing a new identity.

There is promise, however. The social significance of cultural traumas is by no means lessened by the trauma process, rather the reconstructed identity remains a resource for the community for resolving problems in the future. Indeed, their true possibility lies in allowing others to participate in the pain of others and broadening the realm of cultural understanding and sympathy (Alexander 2004, 23). In the Skolt Sámi context there remains a need for understanding, discussing, and working through the different aspects of history, to create new meanings and connections between places and events, actions and actors. It is through this process that the ”transference of the burden” is lessened, and the true possibility for revitalization is achieved.

In the recent times even people who seemed suspicious of the Skolts in the beginning have come to terms with them and their needs for revitalization. The success story of the Inari Sámi has been a beacon of hope for many of the revitalization activists around the world, and especially for the Skolt Sámi. Having the state acknowledge their history and its role in causing harm for the language has also been an important step towards finding a way forward. As Alexander points out, ”however tortuous the trauma process, it allows collectivities to define new forms of moral responsibility and to redirect the course of political action” (2004, 27). Ensuring sufficient funding and resources for the language nests has been of a primary importance for the Skolt Sámi so far, and the situation seems to have stabilized as the Sámi Parliament has allocated more people and money to support language nest work.

6. Discussion: language nest as a symbol of revitalization and hope

At times I feel despair when I think about it all, but then I just keep working.
- Maa´ren (caretaker) to me during a coffee break

An illuminating aspect of this discussion is to compare the Skolt Sámi language revitalization processes to those of Inari Sámi, as it was a comparison that many of my informants brought up in the interviews etc. In this case, language nests and the surrounding community (including the parents, local people and the wider society) have a complex and intertwined relationship that is situated within a certain political, economical and social context which can be seen in the interactions within and around the Skolt Sámi language nest in Ivalo.

Here my aim is to discuss how the Skolt Sámi language nest, and all language nests in general, performs as a place, space, and organization, and how this is is reflected in the connections and the meanings the language nest has in its own context. An additional interest is in showing how this process builds (or is used for building) a certain ethnic identity, namely the Skolt Sámi identity. I draw on the discussion by Gupta and Ferguson (1992) on place, space, and postmodern identity, as well as examples and discussions mentioned previously in this study.

As discussed in the chapter 4, the situation with the Skolt Sámi is more dire than that of the Inari Sámi. The difference with these two small language communities is that Inari Sámi speakers have managed to organize their activities around the language nest and language learning, which in turn has enabled cultural aspects to revitalize as well. As Pasanen (2015) points out, the principle of language neutrality and welcoming all language speakers no matter their skill level or ethnic background has been beneficial for the language and cultural revitalization of Inari Sámi. At the same time, for one reason or another, the Skolt Sámi community has not been able to engage its members to the same degree, with discernible results. As more and more the members of Skolt communities live outside the Sámi homeland area, they increasingly suffer from a lack of support and access to services in Skolt Sámi, which makes the language and the culture consequently less relevant to them in their daily lives.

The question often asked of me during and after my fieldwork, the question all language revitalization workers hear all too often, is what is the benefit of revitalizing a language or a culture. As Dorian (2002, 137-138) notes, for linguists the extinction of a language can be painful, and many efforts have been paid to document the disappearing languages, but for the community members who the language shift directly affects, the loss of a language can be that of identity as well. They may be unable or have difficulties expressing themselves in the ways they have been used to, they will have increasingly fewer people to speak the language with, and may never see their children speaking the language. This can be an incredibly painful process to go through, and causes heartbreak in the whole community. The process affects especially elders who lack caretakers who understand them and their needs in their own language. Liizz told me of Skolt Sámi elders who were in the carehome in Ivalo, who had forgotten their Finnish and reverted to Skolt in their elderly age, and rarely had anyone taking care of them in their mother tongue. This, among others, is a reason for taking care of the intergenerational language transference, and language nests are one way the Sámi are attempting to address it. The generational gaps are dangerous for the language attitudes as well, as if a language is only that of ”babies and grannies” (as one informant described Skolt Sámi to me), its presence and importance in the community will eventually be secondary or at worst, irrelevant.

The role of language nests in the revitalization of language and cultural revitalization cannot be overstated. As Pasanen (2015) points out, the language nests can be considered the reason the Sámi languages, especially Skolt and Inari Sámi, are even as widely used as they are currently. They have had the important role of having the symbolic value for the whole community, not only as places where the language transference is ensured, but also as places where the Sámi cultural skills and knowledge are passed on to both young and older generations. Their importance in encouraging the parents to participate and learn the language is especially apparent in the case of the Inari Sámi, where several of the parents have engaged in language learning courses and started using the language at home, having been inspired by their children learning and speaking the endangered language. Ideally, and in many ways also in practice, language nests are centers of action for the whole community to come together and learn and teach each other about the language and culture. Now the only question is ensuring their continuance also at national level and giving access to all Skolt and/or Inari Sámi to children to participate.

6.1 Places of action and identity building

In addition to being physical places, language nests are spaces where the language and cultural socialization happens. But even as physical places, they get meanings beyond their actual locality, as symbols of the Sámi revitalization. Gupta and Ferguson (1992, 11) present a view of the world as a space of relations and interconnectedness, as opposed to localized communities as entities. Their argument is for giving up on the idea of community as a literal entity for a more complex concept that acknowledges the global networks of political, economic and social connections. Based on Gupta and Ferguson's position, Olvig and Gulløv (2003, 15) claim that in the everyday lives particular places and sets of relations emerge as communities of special meaning that are anchored in specific localities. Based on the meanings the Skolt Sámi give to the nest, I would argue that language nests are an example of such communities of special meaning, interconnected with the local and global networks around them. The Sámi also use these global connections to their benefit, and building spaces like language nests is one example of using a global (indigenous) network and practice for claiming their own space and voice and as a building block for their identity.

But 'space' and 'place' are hardly neutral terms in themselves, as Gupta and Ferguson (1992) point out. Instead, according to Gupta and Ferguson, these terms have been used in anthropology and social sciences as central principles around which communities are built, with cultural differences and historical memories assigned to them (ibid. 7). Gupta and Ferguson criticize this view for its shortsightedness on the reality of people's lived experience and the fact that people have always been more mobile and their identities more flexible than the static approaches favored by classic anthropology, and urge to consider space and place as sociopolitical constructions rather than something that can be taken as "given" (ibid. 9, 17). With the increasing mobility brought by the globalization, territorial and cultural distinctiveness have given way to more nuanced identities. Gupta and Ferguson call this process "deterritorialization of identity" (ibid. 9), and link it to the phenomena of transnational cultural influences and mass-movements of populations (such as refugees, migrants, and displaced people) in the recent times.

The reasons and motivations for movement need not be so dire, however. The line between the "metropoles" and the "colonies" have become blurred in a similar way in

the Sámi population movements. Due to economic, social, and political reasons, the Sámi have in increasing numbers moved away from their homeland area to the bigger cities of their respective countries in search of better quality of life and work opportunities. As shown in chapter 4.3, this is very much the reality for the Skolt Sámi as well. It is here that the importance of the ”imagined communities” created by the remembered and imagined homelands, as well as in the recent times the mass and social media, hold sway (Armstrong 2004, 2-3). The idea of the Sámi as a culturally and ethnically clearly bound group with traceable roots and history is recreated not only in the media and the discourse over the Sámi identity, but in the language nests as well.

In the Skolt Sámi language nest the more distant past was present in the everyday life in the stories and the practices the language nest aimed to transfer to the children. The stories of the Orthodox saints, the leu´dds, and the family genealogies all create a story of continuity from the times before the displacement and the wars. The traditional livelihoods and the Skolt way of life is present in the language and the activities organized according to the traditional Skolt Sámi yearly cycle. For the Skolt Sámi community the past is recreated in the memories of the elders and the leu´dds lamenting the loss of the Skolt homelands beyond the national border. In the interviews and the way people related to each other, the old villages of *Suõ'nnjel* (Suonikylä (Finn.)) and others still live on as a way of giving context to the relationships between people and their relatives. If places and spaces are not neutral, as established earlier, then neither are these remembered places. Rather, they often serve as ”symbolic anchors for dispersed” (Gupta & Ferguson 1992, 11), and gain importance through the meanings attached to them.

Gupta and Ferguson discuss the space and place as localities and the process that goes into creating them, claiming that the process is similar to that of creating an ”imagined community” (see Anderson 2001 [1983]). They also argue that understanding the spatial distributions of hierarchical power relations allows us to better understand the identities of places as created in the intersections of hierarchically organized spaces and their cultural constructions by a community (Gupta & Ferguson 1992, 8). These hierarchical power relations are visible in the language nest in the relations they have with the surrounding community and especially in relation to Sámi Parliament and the Finnish government. The identities of the places such as language nests are reflected in the

identities of the people related to them, just as the power relations are reflected in the places as well as in people's lives in a similar fashion.

A language nest is more than just a physical place where the language and cultural revitalization happens. Through the language nest as a physical and symbolic place the people related to the nest build their identity and reality of what being a (Skolt) Sámi means. In the everyday life, the children learn about the words, stories, and actions of importance, while the adult caretakers create the expression of Sáminess through the actions and yearly plans and their interaction with the children, their parents, and the other community members. This continuation of stories, meanings, language, and practices is what the revitalization process aims for, though acknowledging that the revitalization is always a partly failed effort is important. A revitalized culture always differs from the original, and the revitalization as a process means placing the traditional in the sphere of the modern. Revitalization aims at placing traditions, such as language, in new contexts that are no longer traditional (Eriksen 2010 [1995], 302).

As Eriksen (2010 [1995], 302) points out, the Sámi have managed to bring their issues to political, national, and international agendas only after having mastered literacy as well as a certain level of modern mass media and ways of navigating in the national political system. Indeed, indigenous groups need to be resourceful and pragmatic when it comes to their traditions, in order to create an effective strategy to handle the relationship with the hegemonic nation-state. But here again, the argument against groupism is relevant, as Brubaker (2002) notes. Though using a group identity to advance a political agenda is a powerful and highly relevant strategic tool for many minorities, it also easily conceals the diversity of interests and identities of the people it claims to represent. As discussed below, the dilemmas of politics and identity are highly controversial yet ever present also in the Sámi context.

6.2 Struggles of politics and identity

Daycares (including language nests) and other children's places can be seen as sites for opportunity and control (Olvig & Gulløv 2003, 9-12). This is the case in state or municipality administration governing over these places, but also in attitudes and ideologies of discipline, good behavior, and other socialization related issues. One example of this is the case of Sámi schools in the earlier times, when the state heavily

regulated the language used and the content taught in schools. Even these days, with teachers working in education in Finland enjoying relatively unfettered autonomy, the state still provides the curriculum and the parameters for the operation even in Sámi organizations such as language nests.

Olvig and Gullov (2003, 12) note based on Foucault (1977) that the process of the individual being responsible for the regulation of itself instead of external punishment and public control is informed by the development of Western modernity, and in parallel created the concept of the child as a subjective being. The language nest method is informed by this ideology of children having agency in their language learning and socialization process, and language nests are considered a ”natural”, traditional way of transferring the language and culture to the new generations. An aspect that has been less visible in the discussion on the language nests is their role in building Sámi identities in the children participating in the language nest. Though Pasanen touches upon this in her discussion on the ethnic neutrality and the Sámi and non-Sámi children's right to wear *gákti* (2015, 317-319), her focus is more on the linguistic capabilities the language nest gives to the children.

Just as the language nests give capabilities for understanding the language and the culture, they also initiate the children into the Sámi identity and community. Through participation, play, and everyday activities the caretakers help the children to create their own postmodern identities as both Sámi and Finnish children. In the best-case scenario this identity work carries throughout the children's lives and as they grow up, so that they can also participate and further the cause of revitalization no matter where they end up living and working.

Gupta and Ferguson (1992, 18) use the term ’borderlands’ to describe not only the places between but also the zone of displacement and deterritorialization shaping the identity of a hybridized subject, claiming that the notion of borderlands is the ”normal” locale of the postmodern subject. Here ’borderlands’ is not just the relative fact of being at the border or periphery of a territory, but also the interaction between the different identities and the people who carry these identities. These hybrid intersectional identities are sometimes more than just analytical concepts. Judith Friedlander (2006 [1976], 4) discusses how she observed the dilemma of being both discriminated for being Indian, and admired at the same time for representing the ”indigenous soul of the

nation" in Mexico. Though the use of identity politics as a strategy for organizing indigenous people to combat oppression has been widely adopted, Friedlander worries that at least in the Mexican context it has also proved problematic, as the history and the politics have not always proven to be kind to the indigenous peoples in the country (ibid. xi).

Gupta and Ferguson (1992, 20) also argue that the deterritorialization and displacement of peoples and identities require us to look for the ways in which space is being *re*territorialized and how the connections and contiguity vary in an intersectional way (i.e. paying attention to factors such as race, class, gender, sexuality). These are also relevant questions for understanding the identities of the language nests and the identities they create, as they are by their nature and circumstances a place on the "borderlands" of Finnish and Sámi communities and culture. In this function they also represent the (Skolt) Sámi culture and community to the wider society, and the language and cultural revitalization process as an example to other indigenous peoples struggling to maintain and improve their language rights and social and political conditions.

6.3 Realizing the theory of revitalization

The language nest has meaning as a place for socialization to happen as well as a field for realizing the theory or the ideology of revitalization. The language nest as a locus of revitalization can have an immense importance to the community as a concrete – or common, shared, and connected (Gupta & Ferguson 1992, 16) – place to gather together, as well as a symbol of revitalization and the future of the language and culture. The children who have participated in the language nest grow up and are part of recreating the opportunities and domains for the language use, as has happened in the Inari Sámi community already (Pasanen 2015, spoken communication August 2014).

Even as children, the language nest children have and create local, regional, national, and global ties that they "interweave into complex identity structures that defy classification in society" (Olvig & Gulløv 2003, 16-17). The children in the language nest have various identities starting from childhood, as children in their social and familial environments as well as being Sámi, Finnish, European and so on. They have friends and families of various backgrounds, and some of the children have already lived in multiple locations despite their very young age. Though the purpose of the

language nest is to socialize the children into the local Sámi culture and society, these children are inevitably also part of the Finnish society as well as part of the multinational Sámi community.

The children in the language nest are also involved in the bigger phenomenon of Sámi identity and Sámi identity politics. Within the Sámi community there have been several discussions over the right to wear the traditional Sámi dress (*gákti* (NS.) or *pihttâz* (SS.)) and this has also been discussed in relation to children in the language nests. In Inari Sámi language nests the decision was made that all children in the nest have the right to wear the *mááccuh* (the Inari Sámi traditional dress) if they so wish and identify themselves as Sámi regardless of their background, as it has been considered more vital for the revitalization to increase the number of speakers. The Inari Sámi language nest workers have also claimed it as their a duty to provide the children a possibility to adopt a Inari Sámi identity with both language and culture involved (Olthuis, cited in Pasanen 2015, 111-113). The children who are in the language nest are seen as playing a very important role in the possible future revitalization efforts and as transferers of the language to the future generations (Pasanen 2015, 113).

Pasanen (2015, 123) underlines the role of the social media in creating new domains and opportunities for language use and interaction. The Finnish national broadcasting company has a Sámi language media channel (Yle Sápmi) that include news broadcasting, radio, news website as well as social media channels. Yle Sápmi produces material in all three Sámi languages spoken in Finland and thus creates an important outlet for the language speakers and learners to have more exposure to the language(s) in addition to being an essential provider of employment opportunities to fluent Sámi speakers, both native speakers and those who have gone through the trouble of learning the language in adulthood.

Revitalizing language and culture can also bring certain possibilities and problems to the fore. As Toivanen and Saarikivi (2016, 7) discuss, the process of revitalization happens in the context of change, both in the linguistic and social environment. This requires the creation of new vocabulary, domains, and even functions for the language (Olthuis et al., 2013; Pasanen 2015). Though this process of modernization is natural – no language or culture is immune to change – it can be upsetting or even painful for the community as a whole. As shown by Pasanen (2015) and Olthuis et al. (2013), and

discussed above, for a revitalization to be a success story, these new ways of using the language, in the (social) media, for example, are necessary even if they come at the expense of some other aspects particular to that culture. In a (post-)modern society languages have become tools for learning, working, and habitus creation, rather than just instruments of communication (Toivanen & Saarikivi 2016, 7).

Electronic and social media can be one answer in creating networks and opportunities for language learning and cultural sharing in geographically dispersed (language and ethnic) communities. At the same time, the problem remains that education and administration are available in only a limited number of languages and access to these services is dependent on an individual's language capabilities, causing language shift to dominant languages (Toivanen & Saarikivi 2016, 8; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Similarly to Scott's (2008) argument on state control and standardization, Toivanen and Saarikivi (2016, 8-9) argue that the state education often aims at standardization of world views as well as language, while also transmitting and standardizing the (dominant) values and knowledge.

The locality of the language rights and practices is problematic as well, as Baker (2001) points out, as it is related to the question of who gets to define the boundaries of people, languages, regions, and territories. As Baker asks, "do languages belong to regions and territories and not to the speakers of those languages, or to groups of speakers of those languages wherever they may be found?" (2001, 48). The Sámi rights are very much bound to their traditional territory, the Sámi homeland area. Toivanen and Saarikivi (2016, 15) claim that the identities of indigenous peoples have become localized in such ways that may be harmful for the ultimate goal of revitalization. The fact that increasingly many Sámi children and their families move back and forth from the Sámi home land area complicates the way revitalization is realized at a practical level. Language nests in the cities may prove to be an answer to this issue, but the true difficulty lies in providing strong language community/communities even outside the nests, and ensuring the continuity of language learning also in schools.

What makes the Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest of interest then? Compared to Sevettijärvi its location is relatively central, as it is located in the town, but the nest still struggles to find enough Skolt families to support the full number of children in the nest every year. Compared to Inari Sámi there are possibly even fewer adult Skolt Sámi

speakers, especially those who have or would be willing to learn the language as an adult. Here the language attitudes play a role as well, as the Skolt Sámi is often considered more difficult to learn compared to other Sámi languages (and to be fair, it has a relatively complex orthography with 36 characters). Comparison to North Sámi is hardly fair, as the resources for North Sámi are much more easily available. When comparing the Ivalo Skolt Sámi language nest to the North Sámi daycare group located just downstairs from the Skolt Sámi nest, there were many more substitute carers, more resources, more children waiting for a place in the North Sámi daycare group. In cities, situation is once again different, as in Helsinki for example the Sámi is a very small minority, small enough to be invisible in the big city. Though Inari Sámi's footsteps have been an inspiration to the Skolt Sámi speakers and language nest workers, the language and also the culture remain severely threatened by the language change and language attrition for the causes outlined above in chapter 4.

Thus the theme or a central question threading itself throughout this study is that of how culture and language and their transference are related to socialization and revitalization processes in the language nest. These questions are at the core of the anthropological questions of how we as humans, and specifically here, the Skolts as a people, continue to create and recreate our/their community, culture, and language. I hope that in the discussion above I have also been able to show how identity and ethnicity are shaped in these processes as well.

7. Conclusions

In this chapter, I aim to answer my research questions based on the argumentation above and explain how it all relates to the wider anthropological context of cultural socialization and revitalization as well as discussions on the meanings of place and space in the context of identity building. Here I will also discuss the possible future research areas considering the limitations of this study and the perspective chosen. An important aspect of the indigenous approach is the ideology of "giving back" and making sure the people involved can recognize themselves in the study and if at all possible, to use the research observations and the results to further their own aims from their own perspective. To recognize this aspect of the methodological choices, I will also consider possible practical uses and interests of the study for developing this research further.

I started out with the aim of finding out what practical, social and societal matters influence the language nest and what kind of meanings the language nest gets in these social contexts within and outside the community. At a practical level I found that the questions of resources, the number of children at a given time in the nest, parental and community involvement, as well as the families' work situation and family dynamics all play a role in setting the context for the language nest work. The social context of the local community, the network of language nests and the support of other caretakers in them, and the relative status and attitudes towards the language nests in general also matter in the ways in which the language nest is able to reach its goal of revitalization. The highest level of the society decision-making, i.e. the role of state and municipalities, show in the everyday of the language nest in complex ways, namely in the resources, the number of children allowed on the premises, what food is eaten and how it is prepared, and so on. The society also affects how the continuity of the language and learning is seen, as the language nests by themselves are hardly sufficient to give the children full capabilities in the language and culture, and the schools and other domains for learning are also required.

I also asked what kind of a role the language nest as a method and a place of socialization plays in the Skolt Sámi efforts to revitalize their language and culture. Based on my observations, I would argue that the language nests are central to many of the arguments, emotions, and meanings concerning the language revitalization (as

shown in the parents' opinions and discussions in media). They are also used as an argument and an example for how well the language revitalization efforts are working – though they are but one piece in a complex puzzle of the Finnish and Sámi education system. What makes the Skolt Sámi language nest in Ivalo special from other language nests is its location in the administrational center of the municipality, and thus relatively far from both the "traditional" Skolt areas of Sevettijärvi – the village lies some 150 kilometers from Ivalo – and also the increasingly important cities of the south, where more and more (Skolt) Sámi families move to, and struggle to find a community for themselves. Still, its importance for the Skolt Sámi language and culture revitalization is unquestionable, both as a symbol of action and as at least one physical location where the community have a chance to get together and speak or be exposed to Skolt Sámi language and culture.

The question is then, what makes the Skolt Sámi revitalization so challenging? Parents and their (lack of) participation is at the core of this answer, as shown in chapter 4, but also the attitudes of the Sámi community and the Finnish society play a role, as shown in Chapter 5. The Skolt Sámi have historically occupied relatively widespread areas, and after the wars the migration from the Sámi homeland area to bigger cities and after better work opportunities has kept the community spread thin. Though the Skolt Sámi rights are marginally protected in the Sevettijärvi district by the village meeting and the Skolt trustee (as accorded by the Skolt Act 253/1995), in practice the majority of the Skolts live outside the Homeland area and thus their access to services in Skolt Sámi is more restricted. The issues related to the collective trauma caused by the resettlement and the changes to the culture and the community have also affected both the language and cultural attitudes and practical language choices and strategies.

I also have aimed to explore the question of how the Sámi use the language nests to build their (and "their" – including the children who are not ethnically Sámi) identities and awareness of the language and culture. Based on my observations and the discussions I had with the caretakers and the parents of the children in the language nest, the actions within and outside the language nest are the key to this question, as the Sámi identities are built through and in relation to the language nest with the help of the language nest activities. Thus the Skolt Sámi socialization as a process plays a role, though the caretakers are also aware and actively support the fact that children are also part of and grow up to be involved in the Finnish community and society.

Language nests have an important role in giving legitimacy to Sámi identity and revitalization efforts. As language is one of the main defining factors in Sámi identity and thus their claims to indigenous legitimacy, the language nests can be seen as a strategic tool for building a shared identity, starting with the children. The language nests also strengthen the involved families' self-identification as Sámi – another important aspect of Sámi identity – as their interaction with the nest often results in active involvement in language and cultural revitalization at large.

The importance of this study lies in its ethnographic detail of the everyday life in the Skolt Sámi language nests as well as in analyzing its connections to the surrounding Sámi community as well as to Finnish society. So far there have been very few studies on the language nests in Finland and worldwide, which makes this a valuable contribution in understanding the different aspects of language and culture revitalization in language nests. I have also discussed the various ways in which the language nests are affected by and contribute to the Sámi community's language attitudes and ideologies, as well as the role of language and culture revitalization in the language nests to the Sámi identity.

I presented some of the ethical and practical considerations related to studying the Sámi as an indigenous people in chapter 2, but I will deliberate some of them here. The questions of participation, representation, ethics, and understanding are threads that are woven in the background of this study. Though the study started as a relatively common kind of anthropological thesis, my thinking evolved throughout the process especially when it comes to indigenous ethics, participation, and empowerment. Though I regret that I was not able to collaborate with my informants right from the first steps of research planning, my hope is that they and the Sámi community as a whole will find this study useful and/or insightful.

Though the many discussions covered here have covered such issues as discrimination, identity politics, and cultural/community trauma, my hope is that the study has also contributed to the ”anthropologies of the good” as promoted by Ortner (2016) and indirectly by Robbins (2013). Studying children is by default studying the future, studying how the society and the community around us comes to be, and how we all do our best to imprint ourselves in these subjects of the future. Socialization as a process

necessarily covers topics such as values, ethics, morality, and kindness, and these were the topics that I saw the children struggling to learn with the caretakers' help in the everyday life of the language nest. The care and love of the parents and the caretakers for the children informed the decision-making and ultimately the way language nests function as a place and an organization.

In the future it would be important to find out what happens to these children after the language nest, and how and if they identify as Sámi. This study also leaves the question of language competence almost unanswered, so for the language revitalization purposes a more thorough analysis of the language competence of the children in the nest as well as those school children and adults who used to participate in the language nest is needed. Inari Sámi has already seen some of those children who started in the language nests when they first were founded in Inari returning to work in the nests, as well as contributing to the revitalization of the language and culture in numerous ways in schools, media, politics, and traditional livelihoods. Could this happen to Skolt Sámi too?

The role of the school has also been missing from many of the studies. The Skolt Sámi face the problem of finding enough (or even any) teachers to teach Skolt Sámi, and they have an urgent need for resources and materials in various school subjects, but very few people to make them. The questions of resources and their relation to language nests and language learning is not a new issue facing the Skolt Sámi community, but with the current discussions on the collective trauma and the relationship to the State and national history, these topics have gained new urgency. The questions of identity, ethnic boundaries, power relations and pluralities of place, space, and sense-making are also present in the many layers of the Sámi discourse in academia, media, and local talk.

Annika Pasanen has done a thorough work in elucidating the different aspects of the Inari Sámi language nests and Inari Sámi revitalization, and such work about the Skolt Sámi would surely be welcome among the community (see Pasanen 2003; 2015). As Pasanen has shown, the questions of ethnic neutrality and the access to language nest for non-ethnic Sámi children has become an increasingly current issue, and will continue to be so as long as there are few enough speakers for the language nests to accept also non-Sámi children. As it came to my attention while conducting the fieldwork, the issues of discrimination and community trauma have affected the

attitudes and the feelings people have towards the Skolt Sámi as a people, culture, and language, and they continue to do so until these issues have been addressed within the community and by the state. Though in the recent years there has been more and more discussion concerning the history and the relations between different Sámi groups and the Sámi and the Finnish, there still remain many unresolved issues that also affect language nests (i.e. funding, resources, number of families interested in placing their children in the nest, the involvement of these families in the activities etc.). As such language nests play an important role in symbolizing the language and cultural revitalization and also being a place for the Sámi to continue transferring their language and cultural practices to new generations.

Though in this study I have brought up many problems and few solutions, my hope is that this study will in the future prove helpful for the Sámi community in improving the language nests and help in the decision-making concerning them. I also hope that the community, the parents and their children, the caretakers and all the wonderful people who gave their time for this study can recognize themselves here and use this knowledge in bettering their situation. If the results of this study encourage people to study the language and culture and bring more people to be active in the nests, all the better. To ensure the access for the people in this study, my aim is to make a Finnish summary or a field report of my observations, so that the language nests themselves can use the results.

Though there are issues of collective trauma, lacking resources, problems of timing and space, my main finding is this: the Sámi, and especially the children, are very resilient and have weathered well the changes to their community and the culture, if not always in a linear fashion. In the future more and more Sámi children will grow up and live far away from the Sámi homeland area, which means they will have a harder time to access the services in Sámi or find other people to speak Sámi with. Fortunately there are also better opportunities for keeping in contact with the cultural and language community, for example though associations such as City-Sámit, which can help to bring people together and bring people hope for the future of the language and culture.

The Six Times of the Eastern Sápmi

"In the distant and close time before time began in Sápmi, in the Sámi, Sä´mmlaž homelands;
It is remembered how humans and animals spoke each other's languages,
It is remembered how the first reindeer and the first men agreed on their roles and responsibilities,
It is remembered how humans could transform into animals such as the two men who walked as bears one Autumn close to Čeeu´resnujuu´nn down to the Lake Lounnjäu´rr when the ice had just set in,
It is remembered how the Spirit Men and Women took part in the creation of Äinisuâl Island
It is remembered how a Great Food came to the shores of the Arctic Sea and threw the boats and ships deep inland into Käärablekk, Ââgažjäu´rrpääutaž and Peäccam-moorâst,

All of these things and many more are remembered of the distant and close time before the time began.

In the time of arriving peoples in Sápmi, in the Sámi homelands;
It is remembered how the ones called söörnets or monks arrived in the River Peätsam and along the lakes such as Vue'll Äkkjäu'rr and Pâ'jj Njannamjäu'rr,
It is remembered how the first iron items were seen in the trade with the ones called Pomor which in the later Times were called Russians,
It is remembered how the ones called Karelians came to the lands of the Sámi,

All of these things and many more are remembered of the time of arriving peoples.

In the time when others came to Sápmi for taxes, advice, fish and trade;
It is remembered how Great Leader of the ones called Russians, the All-Mighty Tsar, invited many of Spirit Men and Women to the city of Moscow far to the South to tell him of the things to come,
It is remembered how the Sámi spoke to Tsar about Sámi rights and responsibilities to the lands, waters and air of the Sámi homelands and how the Sámi signed a treaty with him to guarantee these rights to these things for all time,
It is remembered how much trade was done with the arriving peoples to Sápmi,

All of these things and many more are remembered of the time when others came to Sápmi for taxes, advice, fish and trade.

In the recent time when a great silence befell on Sápmi;
It is remembered how many new people arrived to Sápmi,
It is remembered how these people wanted more and more of the things that are in Sápmi,
It is remembered how their borders divided Sápmi and the Sámi had to change,
It is remembered how many people came to Sápmi to take Sámi things and lands away,
It is remembered how war came to Sápmi and a brother was against a brother, a sister against a sister,
It is remembered how Skolts had to go to Finland and others stayed in the lands of the Russians
It is remembered how the Finns ignored the Sámi in their need,
It is remembered how a great silence befell on Sápmi.

All of these things and many more are remembered of the recent time when a great silence

befell on Sápmi.

In the time when Sámi remember again;
It is remembered how newly born children cry in joy again in the camps and towns of Sápmi,
It is remembered how reindeer run again with the Sámi,
It is remembered how the salmon spring in the rivers of the Sápmi,
It is remembered how Sámi remember again who they are,
It is remembered how all of this was made,
It is remembered how all the damages were inflicted on the people, lands, waters and air of Sápmi,
It is remembered how these damages are stopped, repaired and healed,
It is remembered how the things which are about to take place will look like,
It is remembered how the Sámi live again strong, proud and in peace.
It is remembered how the silence ends.

All of these things and many more are remembered of the time when the Sámi remember again because this is the time in which the Sámi, Sä'mmlaž are living right now and all the other times are present now as well."

– Timo Mustonen and Kaisa Mustonen (2013). Eastern Sámi Atlas. Vaasa, Finland: Snowchange. Pp. 22-23.

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Interviews:

Ritva Kangasniemi 14.8.2014
Annika Pasanen 13.8.2014
Tiina Sanila-Aikio 14.8.2014
Pia Ruotsala 14.8.2014
Pirkko Saarela 13.6.2013

Language nest visits:

Skolt Sámi language nest Kuuskõõzz (Sevettijärvi) 10.6.2013
Inari Sámi language nest Piervâl (younger children, Inari) 15.8.2014
Inari Sámi language nest Piäju (older children, Inari) 14.8.2014
Inari Sámi language nest Kuáti (Ivalo) 22.8.2014
North Sámi language nest Máttabiegga (Helsinki) 20.10.2014

For parents, see Appendix 1.

Letters to the editor in Helsingin Sanomat (fall 2013):

Ante Aikio 17.9.2013 ’Saamen kielten elvytys vaakalaudalla’.
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Jukka Korpela 19.9.2013 ’Taantuvien kielten elvytysinto ihmetyttää’
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Sami Lakomäki 22.9.2013 ’Kuka päättää, mikä kieli on kuoleva?’
http://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000002675908.html [online] (accessed 25.5.2015).

Annika Pasanen 22.9.2013 ’Kieli ei ole pelkkä kommunikaation väline’
http://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000002675908.html [online] (accessed 25.5.2015).

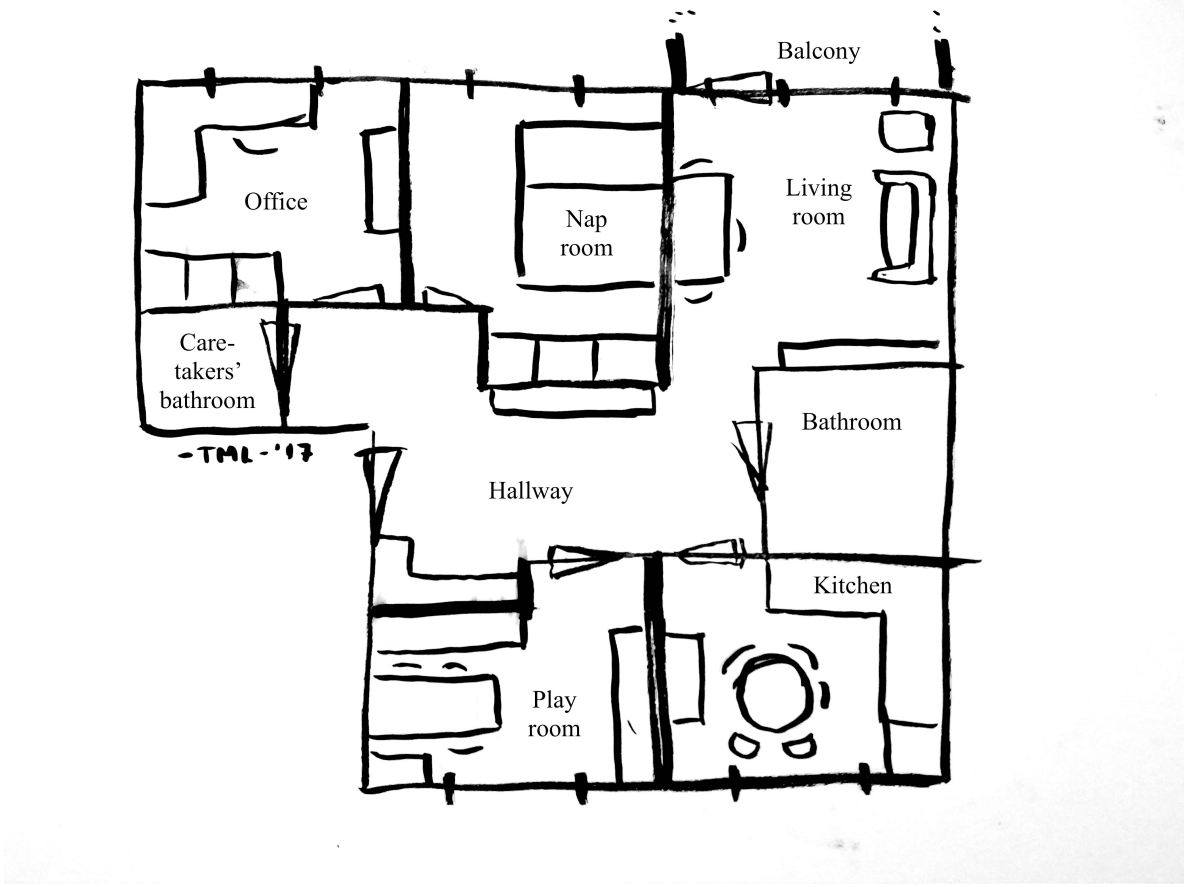
Anneli Sarhimaa 22.9.2013 ’On huolehdittava oikeudesta omaan kieleen’
http://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000002675834.html [online] (accessed 25.5.2015).

Picture 1. The food cards on a wall

Picture 2. Two of the children at a berry picking expedition

Picture 3. The Orthodox chapel of Keväjärvi

Picture 4: The layout of the language nest



(redrawn from the fieldnotes, not in scale)

Appendix 1: A list of the children and the parents' interviews

Pseudonym	Parent's interview	Notes
Veâra	16.6.2014	
E´ll	16.6.2014	
Kai´ssi	20.8.2014	Also a brother previously in the nest
Pietar	28.8.2014	Also a brother previously in the nest
Nättli	No interview	In the nest only in 2013, also a brother previously in the nest
U´stten	28.8.2014	
Såff	No interview	
Temm	No interview	Finnish parents, in the nest only in 2014

Appendix 2. The consent form sent to the parents (in Finnish)

Hyvä koltansaamen kielipesälapsen huoltaja,

Olen 25-vuotias maisteriopiskelija Helsingin yliopiston sosiaalitieteiden laitokselta ja teen sosiaali- ja kulttuuriantropologian alaan liittyvää pro gradu -työtäni koltansaamen kielen ja kulttuurin ylläpitämisestä ja elvyttämisestä (=revitalisaatiosta). Tähän liittyen kerään aineistoa työtäni varten pääasiassa koltansaamen kielipesästä ja sen ympärillä käytävästä keskustelusta. Kerään aineistoani pääasiassa kesän 2014 aikana, mutta haluaisin tutustua kielipesän toimintaan jo nyt tämän kevään/kesän aikana, joten tarvitsen kielipesään osallistuvien lapsien huoltajien suostumuksen aineiston keräämistä varten. Haluaisin mielelläni aikanaan myös haastatella kielipesän lapsia ja heidän huoltajiaan, ja tätä varten tarvitsen kiinnostuneiden huoltajien yhteystietoja.

Tutkimuksen tavoite ja kohde:

Työn aiheena on Ivalon kielipesätoimintaan osallistuvien kolttasaamelaislasten kieleen liittyvät asenteet ja valinnat. Työn tavoitteena on selvittää, miten koltansaamelaiseen kielipesään osallistuvat lapset käyttävät kieltä, toisin sanoen millaisia kielivalintoja he tekevät, millaisissa tilanteissa ja millä perusteilla. Laajemmin katsottuna tavoite kattaa myös kulttuuri-identiteettiin ja kielellisiin asenteisiin liittyviä kysymyksiä. Kiinnostavaa on tarkastella myös kulttuurirevitalisaation ja kielen revitalisaation välisiä yhteyksiä. Tarkoituksena on, että työn tuloksista voisi olla hyötyä myös kielipesätoiminnan kehittämisessä ja mahdollisesti myös laajemmin koltansaamen revitalisaatiopyrkimyksissä.

Miten tutkimus tehdään?

Alle kouluikäisten kielenomaksumista on mielekästä tutkia ennen kaikkea havainnoinnin ja osallistumisen keinoin, sillä luottamuksen rakentaminen lapsiin vie aikaa ja kyselyiden ja testien käyttäminen on hankalaa. Käytännössä seuraan ja osallistun kielipesän toimintaan mahdollisimman normaalisti, teen muistiinpanoja kielipesän tapahtumista ja kuvaan ja äänitän lyhyitä pätkiä käydyistä keskusteluista ja tapahtumista. Muistiinpanot yhdessä kuvien ja äänitteiden kanssa muodostavat suurimman osan aineistostani. Edellä mainitun lisäksi pyrin tekemään ainakin muutamia haastatteluja lähinnä kielipesään osallistuvien lasten vanhempien parissa selvittääkseni osallistumisen motiiveja ja kokemuksia.

Tarkoituksena ei ole kuvata täi äänittää ketään vasten tahtoaan, eikä tutkimukseen osallistuminen ole missään nimessä pakollista. Seuraan kielipesän toimintaa pääsääntöisesti ryhmän tasolla, mutta todennäköisesti lopullisessa työssä saattaa olla viittauksia yksittäisiin lapsiin esimerkin omaisesti. Ryhmän ainutlaatuisuuden ja pienuuden huomioon ottaen lasten identiteetti pyritään suojelemaan käyttämällä pelkkiä nimikirjaimia tekstissä ja mahdollisissa kuvateksteissä.

Lopulliseen työhön käyn aineistoa läpi tutkimuskysymysteni näkökulmasta ja pohdin kielipesän toimintaa ja käytäntöjä muuhun aiheeseen liittyvään kirjallisuuteen peilaten. Näillä näkymin lopullinen versio pro gradu -työstä olisi valmis vuoden 2014 loppuun mennessä ja se julkaistaneen Helsingin yliopiston e-thesis -palvelussa, jossa se on kaikkien aiheesta kiinnostuneiden luettavissa.

Vastaan mielelläni kysymyksiin ja kommentteihin tutkimukseeni liittyen. Parhaiten saat yhteyden sähköpostilla (tiina-maaria.laihi@helsinki.fi) tai puhelimella [XXX-XXXXXXX]. Voit myös kertoa kommenttejasi alla olevalla lomakkeella.

Ystävällisin terveisin,
Tiina-Maaria Laihi

Leikkaa ja palauta kielipesään!

- -

Koltansaamen kielipesään liittyvä tutkimus (raksita hyväksyttävä vaihtoehto):

Lapseni ______________________________ saa osallistua tutkimuksen tekemiseen.

Lapseni piirroksia jne. saa __ / ei saa __ käyttää osana tutkimusmateriaalia.

Lastani saa __ / ei saa __ kuvata (valokuvat, videokuvaus) ja äänittää osana tutkimusmateriaalia.

Lapseni kuvia saa __ / ei saa __ julkaista esimerkiksi kirjallisessa tuotoksessa tai internetissä. (Lasten nimiä yms. henkilötietoja ei julkaista missään tapauksessa.)

Olen kiinnostunut tulemaan haastateltavaksi aiheeseen liittyen:

Nimi ___________________________ Puhelinnumero: ______________________

Muita terveisiä / kommentteja tutkimuksesta Tiina-Maarialle:

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