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Boarding School Education of the Sami People in Soviet Union (1935–1989): Experiences of Three Generations

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Anna Afanasyeva

A dissertation for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor – December 2018

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Sami Studies Centre

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The Sami are a people with unwritten languages. Therefore, they do not have their own written history. There is no set of consistent presentations of historical cause and effect. But the history they have is a long story of struggle with nature and neighbors, which is preserved in epic tales partly sealed in literature from different times, cultural groups of peoples, and mostly in the form of oral traditions.[1]

Alymov 1930b: 29–30.

Dedicated to my mother and Anastasia Mozolevskaia

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[1] Citation from the prominent Russian ethnographer V. K. Alymov about the non-literate history of the Sami people. See Alymov 1930b. (Translated by A.A.) The original quote contains the nowadays obsolete, frequently derogatory form “Lapps”, which I substituted for “Sami”.

Front page photos: See description in the list of Photographs and Illustrations.

Abstract

This monograph examines boarding school policies introduced on the Sami people in the Soviet Union from 1935 to 1989. On the basis of field and archival research on the Kola Peninsula and in Moscow, conducted over the course of 2014 and 2015, the study offers historical accounts and experiences of residential schooling among three generations of the Sami people in Russia. Through Sami oral accounts, archival documents, as well as Soviet, Russian and Western sources, the dissertation explores a series of rapid policy changeovers in the boarding school education of the Sami. By focusing on two surpassing but contradictory tendencies in boarding school education of the Sami, the study cultivates notion of residential schooling as a tool for coeval empowerment and assimilation of indigenous peoples and their languages. The study finds that long-term separation of children and parents in result of residential education caused severe disintegration of an indigenous family as social arena for cultural and language transference across three studied generations.

Acknowledgements

This monograph has been a long-awaited outcome of my academic journey. I can compare it with a sea trip to unexplored islands, uninhabited by a single soul, as I moved along the sea waves like a captain, with only one simple paper drawing of my destination and an old compass in my hand. This journey was full of breathtaking views, the unpredictability of weather at sea, and unforgettable memories. When I finally made it to the islands, I knew that my journey had been worth it. I may have discovered a new sea route for those ships that might come after me. I have shared priceless moments with so many people to whom I am deeply grateful.

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Note on transliteration

The system of transliteration of Russian words follows *Sibirica* style. Soft and hard signs from the Russian language are recognized with one apostrophe *'*, such as *natsional'nyi* with few exceptions where I use standardized Russian spellings of proper names.

The Kildin Sami alphabet based on Cyrillic writing system and currently no specific transliteration of Kildin Sami into Latin alphabet is in existence. The transliteration of Kildin Sami words follows *Sibirica* style as well, with exceptions of long consonants and vowels, which I denote with double signs both in narratives of the informants and in the quotes from secondary literatures, e.g. *Tirrv!* or "*Koohht munn oohpnuvve"*, etc.

Chapter 1 Introduction

In this monograph I address one of the most important milestones in the history of the Sami people in Russia: the introduction of boarding school education.

Firstly, I examine how boarding school education for the Sami has developed in local areas of Sami inhabitance – on the Kola Peninsula in the Murmansk region, Northwestern Russia, from 1935 to 1989. I took the mid 1930s as the starting point for my analysis, when the system of boarding school education for the Sami was established, and I proceed until the fall of the Soviet Union. The system of residential education for the Sami was active until 2014, but the changes in boarding school policies in the post-Soviet period are not the focus of this study.

I specifically address how the boarding school developments were locally implemented considering the overarching federal policy objectives of the Soviet Union for the education of the indigenous peoples of the North.

Secondly, I examine the experiences of three generations of the Sami people who underwent the Soviet system of children's education and upbringing in residential types of educational institutions (Soviet boarding schools). I study the narratives of the Sami informants in relation to their use of their mother tongue in the boarding schools, and relevant factors influencing Sami language assimilation.

Thirdly, I investigate how the system of Sami pedagogical cadres was introduced into the boarding school practice during the Soviet period. I specifically focus on how inclusion of ethnic Sami pedagogues contributed to Sami cultural and language preservation in boarding schools.

The major objective of this work is to analyze the boarding school policies for the Sami in Russia through the utilization of new data, i.e. narratives of the Sami informants and unpublished archival materials along with systematized knowledge from secondary literature and other illustrative historical materials on the topic.

In current introductory chapter I provide insight to research subject, identify main research problems of the study, explain major historical concepts and introduce the structure of the dissertation. I discuss the methodological questions and critique of the sources used in this study separately in Chapter 2 of the dissertation.

1.1 Research questions

The primary task of this monograph is to scrutinize the historical development of boarding school policies introduced among the Sami people in the Soviet Union (within the timeframe from 1935 to 1989). To achieve this, I investigate how the Soviet system of residential schooling, targeted at educating the Sami, was realized both in terms of the federal policy and at a local level in the Murmansk region. Therefore, this current dissertation encompasses three main structural layers of analysis: federal, regional, and the level of individual responses.

The federal level reflects the fundamental content and principles of the boarding school education that was introduced for all indigenous minorities of the Russian North during the Soviet period. This layer of analysis represents discussions of policies at the national scale and applies to all Northern regions of the country inhabited by various indigenous groups. The local level of analysis – the level of local municipalities in the Murmansk region – revealed practical, organizational and institutional issues that are important to take into consideration while studying the process of boarding school policy implementation at a local level. In particular, I discuss both regional and federal policy shifts in Chapters 5 and 7 of the current dissertation.

The level of individual response explores the oral accounts of Sami who resided at the boarding schools within the outlined study periods. The development of the system of residential schooling regarded in this study is complex, heterogeneous, disparate and full of contradictions. The federal policies were variously implemented in different regions and among different indigenous peoples of the country what demonstrates a wide variety of processes in space and time.[2] Particularly among the Sami, experiences of informants vary in each generation as well. Nevertheless, there are certain common themes that become visible among divergent boarding school experiences. In Chapters 4, 6 and 8, I analyze oral evidences of three generations of the Sami who have undergone the Soviet system of boarding school education.

In this research, I use primary archival sources[3] and secondary literature[4] related to both the federal and local levels of the study. There are many authoritative works devoted to an overview of educational developments among indigenous peoples of the

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[2] Liarskaya 2013: 159.

[3] For archival sources note a separate subsection 1.4.2 in this chapter.

[4] For detailed description of secondary literature I used in this study, see section 1.3.

Russian Far North that are significant and valuable to address in this doctoral research.[5] However, the federal scope is relatively well studied in comparison with research questions raised at the local level. Therefore, I particularly focus attention on analyzing research issues at the regional level. In turn, analysis of local regional developments requires usage of relevant secondary sources and archival documentation[6] that reveal fundamental federal objectives in the education of indigenous children in the North. Analyzing sources at the federal level is essential to achieve profound understandings of the overall context of the study, e.g. changes of political priorities in the education of indigenous children in the historical timeframes given.

Another aim of the dissertation lies in providing a broader understanding of how the system of boarding school education, and practices within this system, influenced the Sami with regards to their language situation. Simultaneously, I explore relationships between the local Sami and the system of residential schooling as a whole. A deeper understanding of how the system of residential education functioned locally is needed in order to trace these relationships to further identify cultural impacts of the boarding school system on the local Sami population.

Thus, the main research questions this study aims to pursue are:

RQ1. How did the system of boarding school education for the Sami develop in the context of federal educational policies for indigenous minorities of the North during the Soviet period?

RQ2. In which ways did boarding school policies affect three generations of Sami informants with regards to their language assimilation? How influence of the boarding school system on indigenous language assimilation is reflected in oral accounts of the Sami?

RQ3. What was the contribution of the Sami teachers and educators to the system of local residential schooling?

Attempting to understand and invoke contiguity in the dilemmas between policy and practice, I examine the objectives of state boarding school practices in different historical periods. I analyze policy priorities and how federally prescribed educational practices advocated the demands and needs of local Sami pupils. To grasp the complexity of the processes I examine, I scrutinize inner inter-dependencies and interrelations. I further propose analysis of the informants' narratives in subsequent chapters about their experiences with a focus on three aspects: policy, practice and the individual informants' response.

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[5] E.g. extensive monographic works of Bazanov and Kazanskii 1939 and Krongauz 1958. Note detailed discussion of secondary literature on the research subject in section 1.3.

[6] Sources, analyzed during my research trips to Moscow and Murmansk region in 2015 are presented in section 1.4. In addition, I devote separate subsection 1.4.3 to discussion of collected interview data.

The policy aspect regards how the societal needs and conditions of Sami pupils were reflected in the overall content of boarding school policies. The policy level is dynamic through time, and priorities vary during the three core historical timelines studied according to the changing socio-economic conditions and demands in each period (mid 1930s to mid 1950s; mid 1950s to late 1960s; end of 1960s to end of 1980s; see periodization in section 1.5). Additionally, this focus of analysis concerns relationships between government policy, and the local and educational institutions that applied the federal boarding school policies in the Murmansk region.

Thus, the institutional aspect of my analysis mainly addresses local implementation of boarding school practices authorized under the federal policies discussed here, i.e. investigates the role of school authorities and pedagogical staff in carrying out residential schooling. Herein, I discuss the system of indigenous pedagogical cadres and their deployment at the boarding schools. This layer of analysis determines interrelationships between the school's objectives, and the administration, teachers and educators responsible for implementing the federally adopted educational objectives.

The layer of individual (informants') response is aimed at studying the experiences and memories of former Sami pupils about their school education in general, and during their studies in boarding schools in particular. In a nutshell, it represents the level of response of Sami informants in respect to the policies and practices under discussion, with a special focus on factors that hindered or favored Sami language use in boarding schools. In addition, there are certain thematic subtopics that are characteristic for the experiences of each generation of informant.[7] I propose analysis of these subtopics in chapters dedicated to the particular generations (i.e. Chapters 4, 6, 8).

Therefore, the first scope of this dissertation addresses a historical analysis of boarding school policies from the mid 1930s to the end of 1980s at a federal, regional and individual level. The second scope of the study presupposes an analysis of the informants' oral evidences gained through interviews,[8] which I collected during field research on the Kola Peninsula from June to October 2015.

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[7] I outline subtopics that are characteristic for each generation in section 1.5.

Furthermore, it is necessary to address the significance of this study. There is a certain degree of arguability as to whether the system of residential schooling had strictly negative impacts on indigenous minorities of the Russian North. For instance, in dissertation on residential schooling among the Nenets people of the Yamal Peninsula[9], anthropologist Liarskaya (2004) argues that the influences of residential schooling on indigenous populations vary depending on the region of the Russian Federation where these policies were differently implemented in practice. This scholar mentions that "there is no consensus on evaluations of legacy of residential schooling".[10] Liarskaya especially highlights,

> When we speak about education in the North, we immediately visualize boarding schools and children forced into these schools against the will of their parents, torn from their native environment and culture into a completely new environment, where, due to strict Russification, they are forbidden to speak their own language and their teacher's culture is different from their own. Of course, this image complies in part with reality of a certain period, and we should not apply it to the modern situation without additional research.[11]

But at the same time, Liarskaya choses to omit certain very important nuances and research issues. As such, the scholar argues for the omitted focus of her study in the following way,

> Each child, who came to be in a boarding school, inevitably faced two kinds of difficulties. **The first kind** is connected with child's stay in a closed educational institution, separation from family, relatives, where he (or she) was surrounded by completely incidental people. The second type

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[8] In the year 2015, I carried out a series of fieldwork activities in various towns inhabited by the Sami people on the Kola Peninsula. The interview materials were collected during my fieldwork in five different locations across the Kola Peninsula. These are: Murmansk, Lovozero, Teriberka, Umba, and Apatity.

[9] According to Ravna, the Nenets people are one of the thirty numerically small indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East. The traditional economic activities of the Nenets people are fishing, reindeer herding and hunting. The traditional Nenets territory encompasses tundra areas, stretching from the White Sea to the Kanin Peninsula in the west, and up to the Taimyr Peninsula in the east. The Nenets land is administratively divided into three parts: the Nenets Autonomous District in the Arkhangelsk Region, the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District in the Tyumen Region, and the Taimyr Autonomous District in the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Nenets also have traditional lands in the Mezen District of the Arkhangelsk Region, in the Komi Republic and in the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous District of the Tyumen Region. Cf. Ravna 2005: 3, 6. (Translated by A.A.)

[10] Liarskaya 2004: 75.

[11] Cf. Liarskaya 2013: 160.

> of difficulty is conditioned by the fact that enrollment to the boarding school meant a radical change in the way of life of a child, clash with a culture of completely different type than that surrounding the child before. **Problems of the first type, despite all their severity, are not typical only for northern boarding schools**[12], so we will not dwell upon them separately.[13]

Indeed, problems of the first type, mentioned by Liarskaya, are applicable not only to indigenous children, but to children of any ethnic background who experienced *the Soviet system of boarding school upbringing*[14]. Still, influence of these factors on indigenous children's' ability to maintain their mother tongues and practice their cultures is deliberate. Especially in the Soviet conditions, Sami children permanently resided in a closed educational institution for up to 8 or 10 years of adolescence, separated by family members and relatives, without proper opportunities to dwell into a culture of their parents and to practice mother-tongue on a daily basis with them.[15] In such preconditions, the native language loss and cultural assimilation was more likely to occur among Sami children rather than if the children would be of Russian origin. One cannot deny that boarding school children faced the first types of difficulties equally, but its consequences are far more different. Therefore, in my analysis of residential schooling I take particular focus on the type of difficulties, which Liarskaya chose to omit, such as loss of contact and isolation of children from their Sami-speaking families.

Another interview study in Pite Sami area in Norway show that the Sami informants have been able to preserve their indigenous identity and further to consider themselves as Sami due to the fact that they grew up at home, in the Pite Sami area, surrounded by their families and relatives. These studies emphasize the importance of indigenous kinship and family environment as central factors, which contribute to development of indigenous language and identity. The study argues that indigenous family is a main foundation for transmission of indigenous cultural and linguistic heritage to new generations.[16] Thus, through my work I deliberately state that separation of children from parents, practiced by means of boarding school education, had immediate influence on Sami cultural maintenance and language assimilation.

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[12] The term *Northern boarding school* was introduced in the mid 1930's, when the first boarding schools for indigenous minorities of the North started to be established. Even though this terms was no longer applicable by the time of Khrushchev's boarding school policies introduced in the mid 1950s, it is widely present in scientific literature and boarding school discourse as referred to residential schools for indigenous children of the Russian North, Siberia and Far East.

[13] Liarskaya 2003: 110. (Translated by A.A.)

[14] *Sovetskaia sistema internatnogo vospitaniia.* Note definition in section 1.2.

[15] The exception makes Generation 1 (1935-1955) of this study who resided at boarding schools generally in two years from the 5th to the 7th form and received secondary school education. Generations 2 and 3 received both primary and secondary education in boarding schools and normally resided there from the 1st to the 8th (10th) form.

Moreover, as I grew more familiar with the secondary literatures, I began to realize that there is an overall tendency in research on indigenous peoples to focus on external aspects of indigenous cultures, e.g. how particular elements of material culture (indigenous clothing, food habits), economic lifestyles (nomadism or specific indigenous livelihoods) or linguistic situations change through time under influence of certain historical events.

I touch upon such topics in my dissertation as well[17], but when it comes to discussion about consequences of residential education for indigenous cultures, other internal factors play central role, e.g. influence of boarding schools on indigenous children's' personalities and formation of their ethnic identities, attitudes of teachers to indigenous children and their access to parental care, communication with parents in mother tongue, and etc. All these issues predetermined my informants' childhood experiences, which influenced on whether they spoke their mother tongues in adult life or not. If all these factors were positively fulfilled, as in case of Generation 1 of the study, informants have strongest sense of belonging to Sami ethnicity and are fluent in their mother tongue. Such internal conditions of a single boarding school experience affect how indigenous languages develop within a child, how cultural identity grows together with the child's personality and how it later manifests in the same person in an older age.

A few Russian scholars bring up all the severity of difficulties, faced by indigenous children in the boarding schools and its consequences on indigenous languages and cultures. As educationalist Ruslan Hairullin pointed out,

> Children who were forced to live in bigger settlements, boarding schools, have lost continuity in learning from experience of older generation, from traditional culture, livelihoods and customs. The school has ceased to function as a mediator of social experience from generation to generation. With the loss of culture, languages gradually disappeared. Torn from their indigenous cultures, children never made their way to another – Russian – culture. It was a new generation of marginals with deformed system of moral and cultural values (…) Those who lived in boarding schools got

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[16] Evjen, Myrvoll 2015: 186.

[17] E.g. use indigenous vs. European clothes in boarding schools (note Chapter 8).

> accustomed to social dependency and “greenhouse” conditions, and their meeting with real life after graduation from school turned into a severe test, often leading to collapse of their life’s illusions.[18]

In parallel to this, another set of research results are presented in the study of value orientations among Sami boarding school pupils, carried out by Russian social scientist Andrei Kozlov[19]. Kozlov conducted ethno-psychological research among Sami pupils of the boarding school in Lovozero, where he noted negative emotional attitudes of the Sami pupils towards their own ethnicity. His quantitative study showed the poor emotional condition of the Sami pupils as connected to their ethnic affiliation.

In Norway, historian Henry Minde discussed the effects of the educational assimilation policies, such as marginalization, stigmatization of the Sami identity, low status of the Sami languages as well as other socio-psychological consequences among Sami pupils in boarding schools.[20] This is not only relevant from the overall Sami discourse in the Nordic countries, but also in former Soviet Union and modern Russia.

All above-discussed factors construct holistic child’s experience of life at residential institution. The topic of boarding school education is first of all about children’s’ life experiences. The tougher are childhood experiences, the more difficult it is for an indigenous child to preserve his or her mother tongue and identity. Therefore, I pay primary attention to discussion of these questions throughout further chapters, as much as the scope of this dissertation allows.

In conclusive chapter of dissertation (Ch. 9) I present my main findings. Based on the presented findings, residential education, especially in the Sami context, led to a situation of *three generations of language loss*.[21] On the other hand, the system of boarding schools provided indigenous peoples with free school education, which qualified them to receive higher education. This led, as mentioned below, to the developed formation of a whole social class of *indigenous intelligentsia,*[22] who was educated through the Talent Foundry policy[23]. Indigenous intellectuals successfully participated in ethno-politics, education, health, indigenous economies and municipal administration in their native regions after completion of their education. In order to fully demonstrate this argument, I refer to previously cited scholar who stated that,

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[18] Hairullin 2003:7. (Translated by A.A.)
[19] Kozlov 2008: 80.
[20] Minde 2005: 21.
[21] This term is as well mentioned in Overland and Berg-Nordlie 2012: 61.
[22] Note definition in section 1.2.
[23] Note definition in section 1.2 and section 3.5 in Chapter 3.

> At some point boarding schools helped in *liquidation of illiteracy*.[24] This contributed to the fact that among indigenous peoples appeared writers, scientists, and technical *intelligentsia*[25]. And yes, professional artists and musicians graduated from boarding school system. [26]

But was this path to the light of knowledge and modern life worth the broken family bonds, destroyed childhoods, identities and the language, perhaps, forever lost?

The Soviet system of boarding school education is an aforetime reality for the Sami. The narratives of Sami informants, analyzed in this dissertation, are their recollections of past experiences. The Soviet boarding school education is a memory and is a part of Sami peoples' history. Although, the last boarding school for the Sami, located in the village of Lovozero, was closed in 2014. The same year when I started to do research for this doctoral project. When I arrived to my first fieldwork to Lovozero in 2015, the last residential school for the Sami was already terminated. But nowadays, the remnants of the old Soviet system of education are still alive in other regions of the Russian Federation, where boarding schools for indigenous children exist. This makes the issues, which I raise in my research, relevant in the light of modern situation, which is not possible to address without looking back into the past.

1.2 Historical background and major concepts

In this section I introduce the key concepts for the regional history of the Sami people in Russia as studied in this dissertation. For the reader's convenience, I will highlight concepts that I introduce in this section with bold type in the text.

The Sami people have traditionally inhabited the European territories above the Arctic Circle that is divided today by the four national borders of the Nordic countries (Sweden, Norway, Finland) and Russia. As illustrated on Map 1 below, the Sami groups include South Sami (South Sami and Ume Sami), Central Sami (Lule Sami, North Sami and Pite Sami), and **East Sami** (Akkala Sami, Inari Sami, Kildin Sami, Skolt Sami, and Ter Sami).[27]

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[24] Note definition in section 1.2 and section 3.2.1 in Chapter 3.

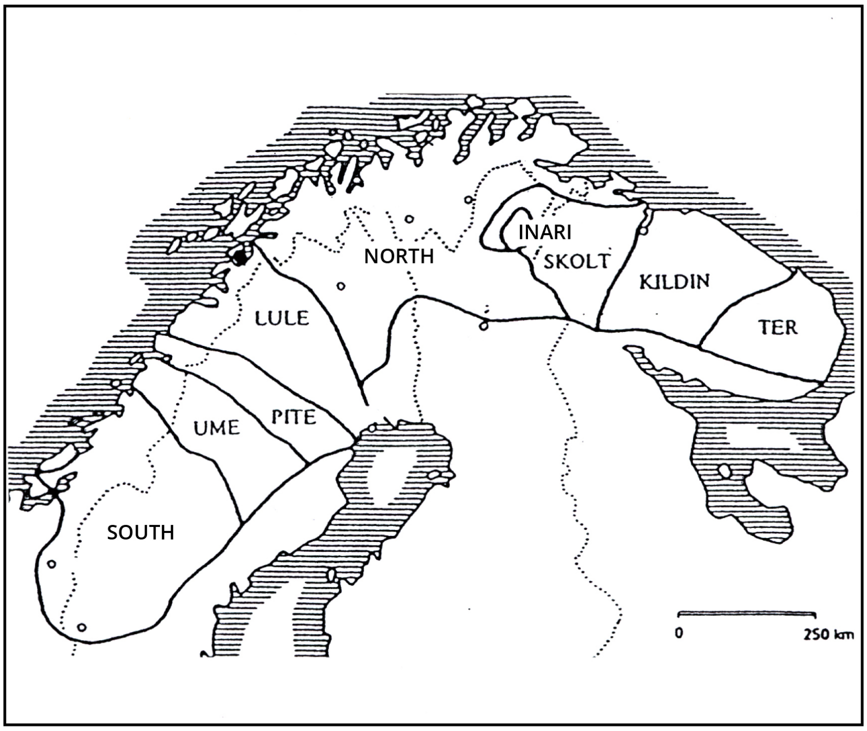
[25] Note definition in section 1.2.

[26] Hairullin 2003:11. (Translated by A.A.)

[27] Nickel 1994:7 in Overland and Berg-Nordlie 2012: 12.

The Kola Sami are an indigenous group with a total population estimated at 1,599 people,[28] who live on the territory of Kola Peninsula in one of the Northwestern regions of Russia: the Murmansk region. The Sami groups in Russia are: Akkala Sami, Kildin Sami, Skolt Sami and Ter Sami. The Akkala group is not indicated on Map 1 because the Akkala Sami language became extinct in 2003,[29] and descendants of the Akkala Sami group do not identify themselves as a distinct Sami group today. Nowadays, the most numerous Sami group in Russia is considered to be the **Kildin Sami**. Therefore, in my research I focus on the Kildin Sami group.

Map 1. Sami groups in the Nordic countries and Russia.



Accordingly, the Kola Peninsula is the traditional territory of four **Eastern Sami languages: Kildin, Ter, Skolt and Akkala**. As I have mentioned above, the last native speaker of Akkala passed away in 2003. Ter Sami has about 5 native speakers, and Skolt Sami around 15 speakers. The Kildin Sami has approximately 400–800 speakers ranked according to different levels of their language proficiency.[30] The saddest feature of the Sami language situation in Russia is that the average age of fluent native speakers is 60 years and older. The age of the youngest native speakers is about 40 years and above.

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[28] RNC 2010.

[29] The last native speaker of Akkala died 29 December 2003. Referenced in Rantala and Sergina 2009.

[30] Scheller 2013: 394.

The younger generation of the Sami, aged in their 20s, at best have a passive knowledge of their native language. According to the UNESCO Red List, the Sami languages of the Kola Peninsula are some of the most critically endangered in the world. In 1996 the Kola Sami languages were included in the first edition of the UNESCO Red Book of Endangered Languages, being under great threat of extinction. In the latest edition – UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (2010) – the Kola Sami languages are already listed in the categories of severely endangered and extinct languages, e.g. extinct language (Akkala Sami[31]), nearly extinct (Skolt Sami[32]), critically endangered (Ter Sami[33]), severely endangered (Kildin Sami[34]).

Through 70 years of Soviet government, the Sami in Russia were subjected to several serious changes in different spheres of their life, mostly concerned with policies implemented in territories they inhabited and in connection to languages they spoke. From the overthrow of the Russian monarchy and the October Revolution in 1917 until the 1930s – the time when the new Soviet government established its power on the Kola Peninsula – the Sami in Russia continued to maintain kinship-based communities or 'villages', known as *sijjt*, in Kildin Sami, and *siida* in Northern Sami. There were 21 Sami *sijt* situated on the territory of the Kola Peninsula and belonging to the Russian Empire in 1850.[35] The majority population in these villages was primarily Sami people engaged in reindeer herding, fishing and gathering.[36] Also, in these villages Sami languages were spoken in the majority, which formed a stable indigenous language environment in the settlements (see map of Sami ethnic settlements in 1931; Map 3, Appendix 6).

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[31] Akkala Sami language was earlier spoken in the village of Babino in southern Murmansk Province, from which the speakers were translocated to Lovozero, the center of Lovozero County. The language was extinct in 2003. As cited in the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, 2010. See code ISO 639-3 code (sia).

[32] Skolt Sami is spoken today in Sevettijärvi region in Inari County in Lapland Province, Finland, mainly by people evacuated from former Finnish territory of Petsamo, now Pechenga County in Murmansk Province, the Russian Federation. The language was earlier spoken in the western parts of Kola County in western Murmansk Province, from where the speakers were translocated to Lovozero, the center of Lovozero County. It was also formerly spoken in Finnmark Province in the far east of Norway, but nowadays is extinct in Norway. As cited in UAWLD 2010. See code ISO 639-3 code (sms).

[33] Ter Sami was spoken in the eastern parts of Lovozero County in Murmansk Province, from where the speakers were translocated to Lovozero. The estimation of the number of speakers is based on recent reports indicating 6 or 11 remaining speakers. As cited in UAWLD 2010. See code ISO 639-3 (sjt).

[34] Kildin Sami was earlier spoken in many locations in the eastern parts of Kola County and the western parts of Lovozero County in central Murmansk Province, from which native speakers were concentrated (relocated; my own notes) to the county center Lovozero. Number of speakers – 787. According to the 2002 census the number includes a very small number of Skolt Saami and Ter Saami speakers (who shifted from use of Skolt and Ter Sámi to Kildin Sámi; my own notes). As cited in UAWLD 2010. See code ISO 639-3 code (sjd).

[35] Karl Nickul 1977 in Johan Kalstad 2009: 26.

[36] Wheelersburg and Gutsol 2009: 222.

However, the situation for the Kola Sami people changed rapidly and inevitably in the mid 1930s, firstly with the implementation of **enforced collectivization and sedentarization.** At this time the state's views on nomadic populations changed. The decision was taken to accustom the semi-nomadic Sami people to a sedentary way of life to obtain control over this uncontrollably mobile part of Soviet society. The policy of sedentarization was carried out in line with collectivization.

The policy of **enforced collectivization** of reindeer led primarily to all private reindeer herds being nationalized and consolidated in **state collective reindeer herding and fishing farms**[37] (*olenevodcheskie i rybolovetskie kolkhozy*), especially established for this purpose. In turn, the establishment of the collective farms resulted in previous owners of consolidated reindeer becoming employed by these agricultural enterprises as collective farm workers, assigned to herd collectivized reindeer flocks for specifically allocated wage rates. Usually the wages proposed for a single reindeer-herding worker were hardly enough to sustain a decent standard of living.

Therefore, the profession of reindeer herder within the context of the Soviet realities was mainly organized in the form of collective **reindeer herding brigades**, providing a productive labor force in herding and grazing reindeer that were previously privately-owned, and then collectivized after the 1930s. The production of reindeer meat along with fish catch and processing as practiced within reindeer herding and fishing brigades was primarily oriented towards the economic growth of national agriculture, with an expansion in the market for reindeer meat and fish for export to other regions of the country and abroad.

Thus, throughout this dissertation I use the term **reindeer herder** with the following connotation – a labor worker of a state farm, employed to collectively herd reindeer in a reindeer-herding brigade, receiving minimal salary wage. This notion of reindeer herding as an occupation is not applicable to family-based forms of reindeer husbandry or private reindeer owners who carry out entrepreneurial trade activities, as widespread in Northern Scandinavia and Finland.[38] However, by focusing on the importance of reindeer herding in this dissertation, I do not discuss the notion of reindeer husbandry in its primary meaning of an agricultural activity. In this dissertation my informants discuss reindeer herding as the cultural arena for the practice of a family-based economic activity, entailing the transmission of Sami languages and cultural values to future generations. The informants emphasize reindeer herding as a type of cultural economic activity, which presupposes traditional education of Sami children through a system of family-oriented cultural practices. This traditional system of bringing up Sami children through the practice of reindeer herding is substantially different to the principles of education experienced by my informants during residential schooling.

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[37] Myklebost and Niemi 2015: 456.

[38] Andresen 1991: 75.

Furthermore, in contrast to their counterparts in Scandinavia, the Sami in Russia have lived in an urban environment for more than 60 years now, as a result of the Soviet policies of **agglomeration**[39] **and enforced resettlement**,[40] implemented in the Kola North from the mid 1950s until the end of the 1960s. I previously touched upon **agglomeration** in my work in 2013, where I defined it as "the policy of industrial and economic centralization of the Kola Peninsula, leading to liquidation of all Sami traditional villages"[41] and reindeer-herding collective farms based in these villages. All small reindeer-herding collectives, established on the Kola Peninsula in the 1930s, were amalgamated and submerged into one reindeer-herding collective farm *Tundra* based in the village of Lovozero. The Sami people were then forcibly resettled from their liquidated traditional villages and centralized in one Sami settlement – Lovozero (in Russian – Lovozero; in Kildin Sami – Lujavv'r; in Northern Sami – Lujávvri).

Simultaneously to the above-mentioned collectivization and forced resettlements in the 1930s, **the system of boarding school education for the Sami** was established. When it comes to a definition of residential schooling for the Sami, in its essence there are many communities around the world whose children were taken away from their parents and placed into types of boarding school institutions as in Canada,

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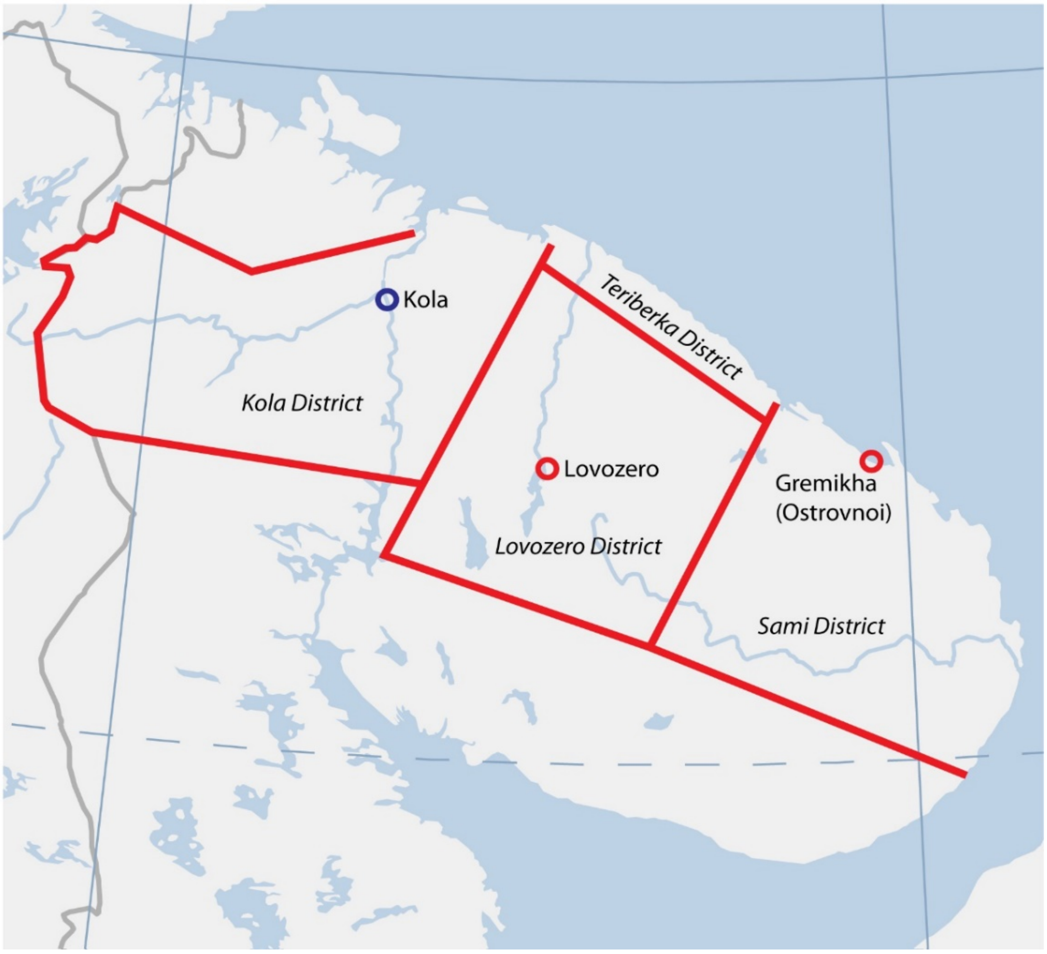
[39] The policy of agglomeration *(Ukrupnenie)*, the policy of agricultural expansion, which started in 1954 and continued until 1958. As a result of agglomeration, smaller reindeer herding state farms in the Murmansk region were merged together to create two central ones – *Tundra* of Lovozero and *In memory of Lenin* of Krasnoshchel'e (cf. Vladimirova 2006: 141). As a result, a number of existing Sami villages, former Sami winter and summer villages *('syit' in Sami, 'pogost' in Russian)*, were administratively eliminated and their populations in the Lovozero District were forcefully resettled to Lovozero and Krasnoshchel'e. The Sami population of the Sami District, except from the villages of Ponoi and Kanevka, was resettled to Gremikha and Lovozero. Afanasyeva 2013: 31–32.

[40] Enforced resettlement and its influence on the educational situation of the Kola Sami is discussed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

[41] Afanasyeva 2013: 27–28.

New Zealand, Australia, USA, parts of Africa, China and Russia,[42] as well as Norway. But as anthropologist Alexia Bloch mentioned, "[children's] plights have been quite different according to the contexts in which the schools have operated".[43] The system of residential schooling for the Sami in Russia is thus common to the conventional understanding of boarding school systems for indigenous children around the world, but it is characterized by local prerequisites, to which I return later in this work.



Map 2. Map of the Murmansk region (Kola Peninsula) showing three Districts where boarding schools operated for the Sami during the Soviet period. The boarding schools covered by this study are indicated in red.

There were three residential schools on the Kola Peninsula that educated Sami pupils during the Soviet period. The territorial distribution of these schools is demonstrated on Map 2. The boarding school in the military town of Gremikha operated for Sami children from the Sami District,[44] in Lovozero – for Sami children from the Lovozero District, in Kola – for Sami children from the Kola District. In this study I concentrate on two boarding schools: the boarding school in Gremikha – in the North-Eastern part of the Kola Peninsula, and in Lovozero – the Central part of the Peninsula.

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[42] Bloch 2004: xiv (Preface).

[43] Cf. Ibid.

However, the boarding school in Gremikha was officially closed in the 1960s during enforced resettlement and closure of all Sami villages in the Sami District. A large part of the population of the Sami District was relocated to the Lovozero District. For this reason, from Chapter 8 onwards I analyze only the boarding school in Lovozero because all the children from the boarding school in Gremikha were centralized and transferred to one boarding school in Lovozero in the 1960s.

The choice of geographical areas for research (Gremikha and Lovozero) was predetermined by several practical reasons. First, I chose to interview informants who studied at the boarding in Gremikha because I was able to contact these informants through the network of Nina Afanas'eva,[45] who comes from the same geographical area and studied at the boarding school in Gremikha herself. The informants of the first and second generation who studied in the boarding school in Gremikha possess unique personal information about the education at this boarding school (in the Sami District) before it was closed. These informants are usually hard to reach. Gremikha town is a closed military area and visits to this area are restricted. To visit the town of Gremikha, one must apply for permission from the regional authorities.

I did not have the opportunity to do fieldwork in Gremikha town, but I had the chance to arrange interviews with two informants from this area who visited the city of Murmansk,[46] and other informants who currently reside in Murmansk,[47] Apatity,[48] Teriberka[49] and Umba[50] (see Map 4 in Appendix 7). I wanted to use this rare opportunity to work with these informants. Their unique experiences of residential schooling in the area of the Sami District have not been previously documented. It was significant to interview them while they were ready to share their experiences. The fact is that all the informants who received boarding school education in Gremikha are of quite an advanced age today. This also gives my choice of Gremikha area the quality of an urgent historical study on account of the large number of deaths with each passing year among people who experienced the boarding school policies in the Sami District before the 1960s.

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[44] As a result of the agglomeration policy, the Sami District was abolished in 1963. More information as follows: *The Sami District*, in Russian *Saamskii raion,* an administrative unit of the Murmansk region. The Sami District was formed in 1927. The Sami District encompassed the settlements of Iokanga, Lumbovka (1927–1950), Ponoi and Sosnovka (since 1927), Semiostrov'e (until 1940), Chal'mny-Varre (transferred to the Sami District in 1936 from Lovozero District and returned back to jurisdiction of the Lovozero District in 1937), Drozdovka (transferred from Teriberskii District in 1936), and Varzino (since 1940). The Sami District was abolished on January 1963 in accordance with the Decree of the Supreme Council of the RSFSR from 26 December 1962 (cf. ADMR 1995, translated by A.A.)

[45] Read more about my connection to Nina Afanas'eva in section 1.5.

[46] Informant I G1, Informant H G1. (See also metadata table in Appendix 1.)

[47] Informant F G1.

[48] Informant C G1, Informant D G2, Informant E G2.

[49] Informant B G1.

[50] Informant G G1.

It would have been of great scientific interest to contact informants who studied at the boarding school in the Kola District, and to examine additional archival materials about the residential education for Sami in that institution. However, such work would require half a year more of additional fieldwork and research activities. Due to the limited time capacity of this study, I chose to concentrate on examining the situation with boarding school education in the Lovozero District instead of the Kola District. After the 1960s the boarding school in Lovozero became the largest and most active boarding school for the Sami. Thus, researching the boarding school experiences of informants from the Lovozero District was of primary importance for this dissertation. At the same time, research on the boarding school in the Kola District can potentially be done in future research projects.

At this point it is necessary to introduce and explain the concept of **ethnic Sami settlements** (or **ethnic Sami villages**) and **ethnic Sami districts**, which I widely use in the chapters devoted to analyzing my informants' narratives in the period until the enforced resettlement (mid 1950s to the end of the 1960s). In the Norwegian tradition, the notion of 'core Sami areas' is immediately connected to official use of Sami languages in these territories. In the Russian context, notions of ethnic Sami areas (districts or settlements) do not indicate that these specific territories are considered to be official Sami language areas as in Norway. I employ these terms in the sense of the Russian tradition, where ethnic areas are usually used to denote "places of residence and traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples of the North."[51] This means that the majority population of these Sami ethnic districts, villages or settlements is Sami by ethnicity, and these are historical areas of traditional Sami inhabitance.

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[51] Kryazhkov 2013: 142.

In parallel to this terminology, **ethnic** (or indigenous) **boarding schools** *(natsional'nye shkoly-internaty)* and **small-sized ethnic** (indigenous) **primary schools** *(malokomplektnye natsional'nye shkoly)* should be understood in this dissertation as signifying that the majority of pupils in these schools were ethnic Sami. Such schools were specifically oriented towards education of Sami pupils, regardless of which language – Russian or Sami – was the language of school instruction.

In their narratives, my informants often use the term **national** (*natsional'nyi*) synonymously to 'ethnic' or 'indigenous' (e.g. they mention 'national villages' meaning 'Sami villages'; 'national language' meaning 'Sami language' or 'other national languages' meaning 'other non-Russian or indigenous languages of Russia'; as well as 'national Sami schools' or simply 'national schools'). This comes from the Soviet tradition of euphemism when the term 'national' in its essence denotes 'indigenous' or 'ethnic'.[52] For instance, anthropologist Konstantinov explains the term 'national' and critically evaluates use of this euphemistic tradition, emphasizing that it implies certain folkloristic understanding of indigenous cultures. In particular, he states that,

> The 'national' character of the school – a Soviet euphemism for 'indigenous'. This (…) tends to be folkloristic, after the well-known Soviet formula for multi-nationality that one could be 'national (folkloristic) in form' while 'socialist in content'.[53]

Following the critique by Konstantinov, I use the afore-mentioned terms synonymously with 'indigenous', 'Sami' or 'ethnic', depending on the context, and specifically in analysis of events during the Soviet period. At the time when the terminology changes in the post-Soviet period from 'national' to 'numerically small indigenous peoples of the North', I use the changed formal terminology accordingly in diverse contextualizations and thematic discussions raised throughout my work.[54]

Numerically Small Indigenous Peoples of the North (*malye narody Severa*)– 30 indigenous peoples of the Russian North, Siberia and Far East are united into the category of **Numerically Small Indigenous Peoples of the North**[55], which is estimated by the numeric principle of population numbers. In order to be on the list of Indigenous peoples of the North, certain indigenous group should have population numbers of fewer than 50,000 people. Today 49 different indigenous groups reside in the Northern areas of Russia with a population of less than 50,000 and are united in this list of peoples. The Sami in Russia are one of the numerically small peoples of the North with population numbers of less than 2,000 people.

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[52] Konstantinov 2015: 22.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Since in the Russian discourse, 'national' or 'ethnic' often means 'indigenous', I use this terminology accordingly throughout my work in a number of contexts, such as 'ethnic' (or 'national', or 'indigenous') boarding schools; 'ethnic' (or 'national', or 'indigenous') elementary schools; 'ethnic' Sami villages; Sami 'national' or 'ethnic' districts, etc.

[55] Ravna 2005: 3.

All **geographical names of the Sami villages** discussed in this dissertation are outlined in Maps 3 and 4 (see Appendices 6 and 7). The first map (Map 3 in Appendix 6) was originally compiled at the Institute of the Peoples of the North in St. Petersburg in 1931. This map outlines the main Sami villages before enforced resettlement, including those where informants of the first and second generations of this study were born (see Map 3, Appendix 6). In particular, my informants were born in the following Sami villages: Varzino, Lovozero, Umbozero, Iokanga, Gremikha, Chudz'iavv'r, Voron'e. The second map (Map 4 in Appendix 7) demonstrates how the geographical distribution of Sami settlement patterns changed after agglomeration and enforced resettlement. This map shows settlements where my informants from the closed boarding school in Gremikha live today, and where I had to travel in order to reach them.

Furthermore, throughout this dissertation I use the following terms to denote various types of educational institutions and measures that were applied to the Sami during the Soviet period. I present definitions chronologically as follows:

Policy of liquidation of illiteracy *(likvidatsiia negramotnosti)* – In the context of this policy special *points for liquidation of illiteracy (punkty likbeza)* were opened in the 1920s in remote villages of the Kola Peninsula. Such educational points were organized in the form of separate offices, usually located in the buildings of local Sami Village Councils. In these points, most Sami adults learned how to put their signatures on official documents. Mostly, this policy concerned teaching Sami adults basic knowledge of the Russian language, i.e. how to write and to read along with simple conversational speech. (Ch. 3, section 3.2.1)

Talent Foundry *(kuznitsa kadrov)* – From the mid 1920s, as a result of state measures for the "Education and Training of the National (Indigenous) Professional Cadres" (also called *Talent Foundry*), the first Sami teachers started to receive higher pedagogical education. These teachers were supposed to fill up the missing niche of teaching staff in Sami primary schools in the Murmansk region. (Ch. 3, section 3.5)

Indigenous intelligentsia *(natsional'naia intelligentsiia)* – A social class of highly educated indigenous intellectuals, which was formed by the Talent Foundry policy, providing state support in higher education of indigenous minorities of the North. These representatives of indigenous peoples completed their higher education and became indigenous leaders, teachers, doctors, poets and painters, lawyers who made outstanding contributions in local ethno-politics, education, health, indigenous economies and municipal administration in their native regions. (Ch. 3, section 3.5)

The Soviet boarding school system (*sovetskaia sistema shkol-internatov*) – The school system that existed in the Soviet Union. The wide system of boarding schools for the Soviet children was created in the mid 1950s. (Ch. 5, section 5.2)

The Soviet system of boarding school upbringing (*sovetskaia sistema internatnogo vospitaniia*) – The system of pedagogical methods, practiced in boarding schools of the Soviet period. Numerous Soviet pedagogical literatures were devoted to discussion of methodology of upbringing of the Soviet children in residential schools. The term evolved in the Soviet period, but remnants of this system still apply to upbringing of indigenous children in certain regions of Russia. (Ch. 5, section 5.2)

Communist upbringing (*kommunisticheskoe vospitanie*) – The Soviet boarding school was designed not only to solve general educational problems, teaching students to know the laws of nature, society and thinking, labor and skills, but also to form on this basis the communist views and beliefs of students, to educate students in the spirit of high morality, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism.[56] This had its fundamental aim as the creation of a new modern type of Soviet person. (Ch. 5, section 5.2)

Russification (*rusifikatsiia*) - The policy aimed at linguistic assimilation of non-Russian speaking population. In the Soviet Union, Russification started from the end of 1930s when the indigenous primary schools were eliminated and school literature in indigenous languages stopped to be published. The Soviet national policies were at first aimed at formation of one unified Russian-speaking society (in times of Stalin) and later sought to build a new “Soviet nation”.[57] The Russification directives were actively introduced into boarding school education of the Sami and other indigenous minorities from the mid 1950s to the end of 1970s. (Ch. 5, section 5.2)

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[56] BSE.

1.3 Overview of previous scholarly literature

As I began working with the secondary literatures, I realized that there is a challenge, which other researchers have already faced before. The dominant tendencies in Soviet, Russian and Western literatures about indigenous peoples in the Soviet Union are very well described in dissertation by Bruce Grant, leading scholar in Soviet cultural history. On the basis of his arguments and my own analysis of sources, I make conclusion that the observed academic tendencies have not greatly changed since the 1990s. The dilemma about choice of appropriate secondary sources is still the same, as Grant pointed this out in 1993,

> With the exigencies of censorship both induced and imposed, the Soviet literature from the 1930s onwards gave us little sense of how Soviet policies, particularly those aimed at internationalizing the small peoples of Siberia and the Far East, affected people’s lives at the local level. There are few accounts where indigenous voices play a role, save for effusive testimonies to the success of Soviet government, which tell us mainly about the formulae of patriotic texts. Western literature on Soviet nationality policies is not readily helpful in providing answers given the predilection for studies of the larger nationalities in the non-Russian republics. Moreover, while Soviet works were largely approving of Soviet policy, there was often an inverse tradition in Western scholarship, which denied the legitimacy of Soviet institutions altogether.[58]

That is why first of all I concentrated on working with primary archival materials, excerpts from relevant laws and empirical data, such as oral testimonies of the Sami.[59] However, there were number of academic works, which contributed to my analysis. In the course of the dissertation, I mostly used Soviet and Russian works, which were not colored by censorships[60] and those works that neither heroically approved the benefits of the Soviet projects nor radically denied the Soviet legacy.

Henceforth, I provide critical overview of the secondary sources used in this dissertation.

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[57] Mikhal’chenko 2006: 189.

[58] Grant 1993:4.

[59] I provide detailed overview of these sources further on in section 1.4 of the Chapter.

[60] Exception make works of historian Kiselev, published during the Soviet period (1979, 1987).

Indeed, as mentioned earlier by Grant, among the works about the Sami, published during the Soviet period, there are strongly politicized historical works that were intended to demonstrate the benefits of Soviet projects on Kola Sami well-being.[61] The works of local historian Aleksei Kiselev are heavily affected by the Soviet censorship. As cited in Berg-Nordlie's doctoral dissertation, "The elder Kiseljov would later recognize the book's discourse as resulting from Soviet censorship".[62]

In order to avoid getting affected by the plot of Soviet propagandistic thought, richly coloring his works, I double-checked the data from his publications with other sources about Marxist-Leninist nationality policies, Soviet minority language policy and education of northern indigenous peoples in the Soviet period. These topics have been the subject of a number of studies, e.g. Bazanov and Kazanskii 1939; Krongauz 1958; Kleshchenok 1968; 1972; Tsintsius 1958; Gurvich 1971, Kappeler 2001. It is important to stressed that works of Bazanov and Kazanskii 1939 and Krongauz 1958 represent by far the most comprehensive monographic studies on the history of education of Russia's indigenous peoples. However, the Sami are not discussed in detail, but rather briefly mentioned in these monographic as well other above-demonstrated literatures.

Another challenge of this study was a large number of works devoted to reconstructing Sami society at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. There are numerous local studies of folklore and material culture that place the Sami way of life firmly in the past. In contrast to this, there is a paucity of literature, containing comprehensive analysis of boarding school policies implemented among the Sami in USSR. The number of secondary sources provides sparse information about the boarding school education and the Sami. Therefore, I had to compile together fragmental data from different sources and construct analysis piece by piece from various sources, where there were discussions about education of the Sami and boarding schools.

In addressing the topic of educating the Sami people at the local level, I turned to works of the following local scholars, e.g. extensive descriptions of the famous ethnographers Vasilii Alymov 1924, 1925, 1930a, 1930b, 1930c; Zakharii Cherniakov 1933, 1998; Nikolai Volkov 1996. Articles in periodicals published by the Committee of the New Alphabet (*Komitet novogo alfavita*) and the Murmansk Committee of the

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[61] Kiselev and Kiseleva 1979; 1987.

[62] Berg-Nordlie 2017: 20, cited from Larsson-Kalvemo 1995: 29.

North (*Komitet Severa*), such as Cherniakov 1933 and Luisk 1934, provide extensive data on the activity of the committee; creation of the Sami alphabet and Sami mother-tongue education; articles about school education of the Sami in the 1930s. Consideration of these works provides access to valuable historical data, neatly summarized and systematically presented material about the introduction of school education among the Sami. Alas, these works lack analysis of boarding school developments. In order to embrace the topic of boarding school education in the 1930s, I turned to archival documents and letters.

The disruption of Sami mother-tongue education at the end of 1930s and the study of "Alymov case"[63] was produced by a well-known scholar, Leif Rantala. Rantala addressed this topic in by far the most detail, by translating, analyzing and publishing works of the Russian scientist Sorokaderzhev, other materials documenting interrogations of Alymov etc. In his book *Dokument om de ryska samerna och Kolahalvön* from 2006*,* Rantala provides translations of documents from the Committee of the North, and presents various articles of the Committee leader, Vasilii Alymov and others. There is another work from 2002 that I used in order to approach the topic of Stalinist repressions of the Sami by author Aleksandr Stepanenko, *Rasstrelianaia sem'ia. Istoricheskie ocherki o Kol'skikh saamakh.* [The Shot Family. Historical essays about the Kola Sami].

Some newer Russian sources, such as Ogryzko 2010 and Beliaeva 2001, provide modern insight and overview of the activity of the Committee of the North, discussions about Sami literacy and alphabets, e.g. transition from the first Latin Sami alphabet in the 1930s to the second Sami Cyrillic alphabet in the 1980s, and new forms of indigenous-oriented schooling for the Sami. The article by Fomina 2011 "Iz istorii obrazovaniia Kol'skikh saamov" [From the history of education of the Kola Sami] discusses education of the Sami in schools of the Soviet and the post-Soviet periods. But these publications do not provide insight into boarding school education, which is in turn offered by the current doctoral work.

The topic of boarding school education of Kola Sami is thoroughly discussed by anthropologist Yulian Konstantinov. In his book *Conversations with Power. Soviet and Post-Soviet Developments in the Reindeer Husbandry Part of the Kola Peninsula* from

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[63] Repression and execution of the Committee of the North's leaders, ethnographer Alymov and linguist Endiukovskii. Note section 3.3 in Chapter 3.

2015, Konstantinov discussed several central aspects related to upbringing of Sami children at boarding schools: deprivation of parental rights (*lishenie roditel'skih prav*) and administrative separation of Sami boarding school pupils with their parents; stigmatization and low social status of boarding school pupils. Konstantinov as well provides precise analysis of content of the boarding school activities, including elements of ideological and communistic upbringing, leading to separation of Sami children from parents. I discuss these themes in current monograph in Chapters 5 to 8.

There is one article from 2014, published by PhD scholar Ksenia Kazakova at the Kola Science Centre in Apatity. Kazakova's article examines oral testimonies of the Sami about their boarding school experiences. This article brings up a number of important issues that I discuss throughout chapters of in this dissertation. The article briefly outlines historical development of educational policies for the Sami in the 1920s and 1930s. In turn, the current dissertation offers analysis of boarding school policies throughout the whole of the Soviet period. Another issue that I approach differently in my work is discussion about pedagogical cadres of the boarding school. While above-mentioned article studies interrelations of Russian teachers with Sami pupils, I address experiences and practices of the Sami teachers – an ethnic minority within a bigger picture of Russian national cadres at the boarding schools.

I make extensive use of studies about sociolinguistic aspects of the situation with Sami languages in Russia produced by Elisabeth Scheller (2011, 2013), who discusses boarding school system in her latter article from 2013. In this article Scheller provides short analysis of education for the Sami from 1917 and establishment of boarding schools for the Sami. Most importantly, the scholar outlines consequences of boarding school education, in particular: isolation of children from parents, their culture and language; disruption of generational transmission of family culture and values; broken social networks and loss of contact between younger and older Sami generations; social problems at boarding schools and its negative influence of personalities of those who once resided there.

The disruption of transfer of Sami culture from parent to children in result of boarding school education is also briefly discussed in a book about ethno-politics among the Sami in Russia by authors Mikkel Berg-Nordlie and Indra Overland 2012, *Bridging Divides: Ethno-Political Leadership Among the Russian Sámi*.

Another recent article by oral history scholars Lukas Alleman and Stephan Dudeck (2017) provides brief information about one aspect of the school system for the Sami in Soviet times, such as remedial school (*vspomogatel'naia shkola*). The authors rightfully pointed out that classes in remedial school were created for mentally dysfunctional pupils, and some Sami children misfortunately appeared to finish their school education there due to their bad knowledge of Russian and low academic performances. However, the article does not reveal how remedial schools functioned locally. A brief description of problematicity in this methodological article does not offer analysis of the school routines, functions, educational content and thus clear impacts it implied on the local Sami population. Nevertheless, the scholar Lukas Alleman comes back with a deeper insight into this topic in his new article in *Acta Borealia 35 (2)*, published online in November this year.

I used articles by local specialists in Sami literacy and school education, such as works by Antonova 2010 and Afanas'eva 2012. The reflections about personal experiences from the boarding school in Lovozero are presented in biographical memoirs of the first Sami poetess, Oktiabrina Voronova (1934–1990), published by Bol'shakova 2012: 28–31, also in Voronova 1995; 1996; along with memories of one of the first Sami pedagogues of the boarding school, Lazar' Iakovlev in Afanas'eva and Riessler 2008. I use these personal chronicles accordingly to complement the analysis of my informants' narratives, gained from the oral data I collected.

Apart from this, I used some major works about enlightenment policies in the Soviet Union, such as Fitzpatrick 1970, and the same author's book from 1999, *Everyday Stalinism. Ordinary Life in Extraordinary times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s.* I also draw upon articles discussing boarding school policies in the USSR during the 1960s and 1970s, such as R.S. 1956; Ambler 1961; Kaser 1986. These works do not focus on indigenous peoples and the Sami, but it was essential to consider such works in order to evaluate the Kola Sami situation of residential schooling within general scope of the Soviet boarding school studies.

In order to analyze the influence of boarding school education on Sami language maintenance during all of the studied periods, I turned to some major studies of native language policy and school education of non-Russian peoples in the Soviet period, such as Grenoble 2003; Forsyth 1992; Bilinsky1968. I likewise covered studies about native language policies and Sami language assimilation in the Soviet Union and the Russian

Federation, such as Trosterud 2008 and recent articles of Riessler and Wilbur 2017, Siegl and Riessler 2015, and Riessler 2013, including one of my own articles on the topic of Eastern Sami language maintenance, published in Murmansk in 2008.

In addition to academic articles, books and periodicals, I analyzed doctoral dissertations and Master's theses. Tremendous doctoral research that contains comprehensive analysis of boarding school education was produced by the anthropologist Elena Liarskaya at the European University in St. Petersburg. Her dissertation, published in 2003, contains substantial material on the research subject, although her focus is on the Yamal Peninsula. It provides analytical descriptions of informants' narratives, presents rich field data and can absolutely be used by researchers willing to contribute to studies of the history of indigenous minority education in the Russian Far North. I have to mention that I have been greatly inspired by this author, and reference Liarskaya's works a number of times – Liarskaya 2003; 2004; 2011; 2013. Later in this dissertation, one can notice that I also rely on the periodization made by Liarskaya (see section 1.5).[64] Although, Liarskaya omits one important focus of the study, as I previously discussed it in section 1.2 of the Chapter.

In addition to this, the doctoral dissertation from 2006 by Vladislava Vladimirova, *Just Labor* was useful in the discussion of Soviet concepts of labor, as realized through the activities of reindeer-herding collective farms on the Kola Peninsula. Another dissertation that I paid particular attention to was doctoral dissertation of Norwegian scholar Astri Andresen (1991), which contributed to my basic understanding of the difference in situation of reindeer herding among Sami in Russia and in the Nordic countries.

I was greatly inspired with doctoral dissertation by scholar Bruce Grant "Memory and forgetting among the Nivkhi of Sakhalin Island" from 1993. The dissertation studies situation of Nivkh people though their oral accounts as well as secondary literatures in Russia and in the West, along with local archival materials. I cite Grant's dissertation several times throughout my work.

The doctoral collection of articles of scholar Mikkel Berg-Nordlie (2017) provides robust analysis of the Soviet indigenous minority policies and Soviet principles of cultural convergence. Also, I used Berg-Nordlie's and Kristine Nystad's (2016) dissertations to broaden discussion on "insider-outsider" dichotomy in research, done by indigenous scholars themselves.[65]

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[64] Liarskaya 2003: 70

For discussion of my role in this study and indigenous perspectives in research, I use the work of Bjørg Evjen and David Beck in the book by Kathryn W. Shanley, Bjørg Evjen, and S. James Anaya (2015): *Mapping Indigenous Presence: North Scandinavian and North American Perspectives.* Including one of the works of the Kola Sami scholar Jelena Porsanger about methodological aspects of indigenous research, such as Porsanger 2004b, as well as leading Maori scholar Linda Smith, such as Smith 1999. These studies are devoted to the important debate about new ways to approach research, which could be relevant for indigenous peoples themselves. They also explore various methodological forms for research that facilitate indigenous interests, cultural preservation and revival.

Recent contributions to studies on state minority policies towards the Sami people in a comparative perspective (Russia and Norway) is offered by historians Kari Aga Myklebost and Einar Niemi, in the period from 1917 to 2014 (Myklebost and Niemi 2015) and in the pre-revolutionary period 1814–1917 (Myklebost and Niemi 2014). In addition, I turned to the corresponding article from 2013 by historian Kari Aga Myklebost "From preservation to colonization: Russian and Norwegian policies on Sami minorities (1814–1917). Comparative perspective", published in the Russian language in the digest *Barents Miscellany 1(1)2013.*

In order to compare the Sami situation of residential schooling to other indigenous peoples of Russia, another work by Alexia Bloch from 2004 appeared to be useful. The book by Bloch, *Red Ties and Residential Schools: Indigenous Siberians in a Post-Soviet State*, provides solid analysis of Soviet socio-economic projects, with an emphasis on residential schooling introduced among the Evenk people in central Siberia in the Soviet and post-Soviet periods.

In order to compare the situation of boarding school education for the Sami in Soviet Russia and in Nordic countries, I used works on the education of the Sami in Norway, such as by scholars Veli-Pekka Lehtola (2001) and Henry Minde (2005). Historian Henry Minde mentions the policy of Russification[66], and bases his study on a comparative perspective between Sami and Kven in Norway. I also used the relevant study of informants' narratives about experiences of boarding school education of the Sami in Sweden, by Ellacarin Blind (2005).

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[65] Note in section 1.6 of the current Chapter.

[66] Minde 2005:7.

In addition, I called upon some major studies on assimilation policies in education of indigenous peoples in the USA, such as Adams 1995; Child 1998; Lomawaima 1994; Lomawaima and McCarty 1955; Stout 2012. These works contributed to comparisons, which enrich the current dissertation, and were necessary in understanding the general dissimilarities in residential schooling for the Sami and other indigenous peoples in different nation-state contexts.

The current study is to a greater extent based on the local knowledge of those who experienced boarding school policies as pupils. Thus, to adopt the language of historians of anthropology in Europe, many of the former studies tell us more about the "cultural implications of the researches", which as we know could be different from the implications of the native people directly involved in a given event.[67] The study addresses the Soviet Era, which reflects the period of time that many elderly informants born in the 1930s remember and can comment upon. Thus, in order to work with oral data, I regard theories reflecting mainstream methodological and other contemporary debates on the role of narratives in historical studies, principles of objectivity, causation, interpretation of narrative materials, etc. I used works by Roberts 2001; Samuel and Thompson 1990; Tonkin 1992; Perks and Thomson 1998, and others. At the same time, these works argue for justification of oral history as a valuable research method, which I apply in this dissertation.

1.4 Classification of sources

In order to answer my first research question – that is, to investigate the historical development of boarding school policies for the Sami during the Soviet period (mid 1930s to the end of the 1980s), I analyzed relevant political documents and statistical data from national and local archives. The substantial amount of knowledge reviewed in the study is found in sources that I present in the sub-sections below. Due to the variety of explored material, I find it necessary to offer an additional classification of sources with detailed descriptions presented in subsequent sections as follows.

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[67] Barnard and Spencer 2002: 181; Spradley 1980: 65.

1.4.1 Published sources

In the course of this research I rely on scientific works, publications and dissertations that address education of indigenous peoples of the Russian North and the Sami in the Soviet period collected during my research activities, at the following institutions:

The Russian State Library (The Lenin Library), Moscow, Russian Federation;
The Murmansk State Scientific Library, Murmansk, Russian Federation;
Tromsø University Museum (UiT– The Arctic University of Norway), Norway.

Most of the published works were collected during research trips to the Russian State Library (The Lenin Library) in Moscow and the Murmansk Scientific Library in the city of Murmansk. The main state library in Moscow contains extensive material about the schooling and higher education of indigenous minorities in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia, including the Sami people. A great number of these publications are not available in the Murmansk State Scientific Library, for instance examples of schoolbooks for educating the Sami, the Mansi and the Nenets people,[68] various editions discussing pedagogical and practical aspects of educating indigenous children in the Far North[69] along with pedagogical guides for teachers of indigenous schools of the North.[70]

Thus, if we compare material concerning the topic of the current study, there is a substantial amount of scientific literature on the theme available in both libraries. But collections at the State Library in Moscow contain many more sources devoted to various aspects of education of the indigenous minorities of the Russian North in Soviet and Post-Soviet periods in general. Collections at the Murmansk State Scientific Library mostly contain published sources specifically in the field of Sami studies, along with valuable periodicals published during the Soviet period (magazines, journals and newspapers), which are not found in the State Lenin Library. In the course of my research I found it necessary to use published works collected in both of these libraries as the data thus gained enhance each other.

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[68] Russkaia 1986; 1997.

[69] E.g. Digest. *Enlightenment in the Far North.* Compendium to help teachers in schools of nationalities of the Far North. Recommended by the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR, “Enlightenment”, Leningrad. This current study used analysis of No. 8 (1958); No. 15 (1967); No. 19 (1981); No. 20 (1983); No. 21 (1984); No. 21 (1985).

[70] E.g. Digest. *In help to teacher of the schools in the Far North*. State Educational and Pedagogical Publishing House of the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR, Leningrad. This current study used analysis of Vol. 1 to Vol. 14 (1949–1966).

The same applies to Master's and PhD dissertations that examine issues concerning the education of indigenous peoples in Russia, which are represented in broader coverage in the library in Moscow. In particular, I use the following theses in the course of my research, Lukovtsev 1975; Shirshova 1978; Liarskaya 2003. Apart from those already mentioned, there is also a good collection of published sources on the Sami and other indigenous studies worldwide at the Tromsø University Library and Tromsø Museum Library.

I used some materials of Johan Albert Kalstad, former curator at ethnographic department (Tromsø University Museum), which he collected during field trips at ”Kunstkamera” The Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St. Petersburg. Kalstad shared materials during our personal meeting at the museum in Tromsø in 2007 before he passed away in 2008. I express warm gratitude to him for giving me the opportunity to reveal some of his materials in this dissertation (in particular Cherniakov 1933, Luisk 1934).

1.4.2 Unpublished sources and archival materials

In addition to work with published sources on the topic, I engaged in collection and analysis of unpublished archival documents. This study uses knowledge found in federal institutional records, government reports, protocols, letters, regulatory and legal documents, statistical data and reference materials located both in federal and regional archives. On the basis of these documents, I have attempted to frame theoretically how federal prescriptions on boarding school education for indigenous people in the Russian North were implemented locally. In particular, how these policies were realized for the Sami in local districts of the Murmansk region, and how policy priorities changed over time.

I used the records at the following archives:

1) GARF – The State Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow, Russian Federation;
2) GAMO – The State Archive of the Murmansk region, Murmansk, Russian Federation.

Besides, I used historical-illustrative material, such as archival maps (see in Appendices 6, 7) and photography materials from private archives of my informants. In this dissertation I make extensive use of photographs, excerpts from local newspapers, journals and other relevant pieces of materials of a private and family nature, which were generously provided by my informants from their private archives during the fieldwork. In a similar way, Tsianina Lomawaima, one of the leading scholars on boarding school policies in USA, uses a lot of data from private archives of former boarding school students. In her work, Lomawaima underscores the value of private documents, which make it possible to fill in “the black holes” of information missing in the archival documents. In particular, in her book *To Remain an Indian* Lomawaima pointed out that the value of private informants’ materials have often been underestimated or neglected in research about indigenous peoples.[71]

1.4.2.1 GARF – The State Archive of the Russian Federation

The archival sources in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) analyzed in the course of this study can be divided into two groups:

1. Documents of higher authorities of Public Education (RSFSR Council of People's Commissars (SNK RSFSR) and the RSFSR Council of Ministers);
2. Documents of ministries, such as the Ministry of Education and the Board of Education of RSFSR, the RSFSR People's Commissariat of Enlightenment.

The collected documents contain protocols, minutes of meetings, resolutions, decisions, reports, conference abstracts, circulars, instructions, methodical letters of the Departments of Education of Finno-Ugric Peoples (1918–1926); protocols of the school committee of the Central Executive Committee of the North and local committees of the North about the organization of schools and boarding schools for northern peoples (1926).

These collections of records are useful for the current study in order to analyze the federal structure and priorities of educational policies introduced locally. In particular, I was interested in documents concerning the use of indigenous languages in the school system, and other minority questions of school education. Using these documents makes it possible to trace how policy objectives changed over time. I examined a total of 120 cases in different record collections of the State Archive of the Russian Federation.

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[71] Lomawaima and McCarty 2006: 12.

Thus, the analyzed archival documents can be chronologically divided into several groups according to historical periods:

1. Documents on Public Education in 1917 (pre-revolutionary documents and documents of the Provisional Government);
2. Documents on national issues in school education. Lenin's policy 1927–1933 (documents of the RSFSR Central Executive Committee, Committee of the North);
3. Documents from the post-war period about national issues in school education and boarding schools 1967–1988 (reports of ministries, departments of the USSR and the Union Republics, reports on numbers and composition of employees in boarding schools of the USSR, statistical information about students in boarding schools and summary reports of boarding schools in the USSR and the union republics.

1.4.2.2 GAMO – The State Archive of the Murmansk region

During fieldwork in the State Archive of the Murmansk region (GAMO), I worked with different types of documents. I examined a total of 12 record archives. The analyzed documents include: a) documents from the pre-revolutionary period, such as letters, protocols, reports about missionary and parish schools on the Kola Peninsula (1910–1917); b) documents from the Soviet period, e.g. documents about establishment of the first elementary schools in the Sami villages, activities of boarding schools in the two study areas, school materials and lists of pupils in the boarding schools of Lovozero and Gremikha along with minutes of meetings, plans and reports of the District Committee of the New Alphabet; documents about development of literature and school education of the Sami in their native language (1933–1936); reports about activities of the Committee of the North (1938–1939), of the Department of Education of the Sami District (1950–1965), the Department of education of the Murmansk region (1970–1979).

The studied documents in the State Archive of the Murmansk region can be divided into two groups:

1. Documents of higher authorities, institutions, Committees, Ministries and Commissions, the Communist Party departments across the Peninsula

responsible for education of the indigenous minorities of the North in the Murmansk region;

2. Protocols of the Sami meetings in different state collective reindeer-herding farms of the Peninsula and letters from the Sami representatives of these state farms stating their claims about conditions of schools and education in their villages. Reports and letters of local teachers and directors of schools in the Sami areas of the Kola Peninsula during the above-outlined periods.

Some of the record collections and documents studied have never been published and are therefore of special scientific interest.[72] Certain collections are devoted to the status of education in the Sami District and to the activity of the boarding school in Lovozero. They contain confidential information, and there are several cases in these collections that are under restricted access and temporarily not available for public users, including researchers. These confidential cases include personal information or involved individuals in higher positions of power and personally sensitive information, which is usually closed for a period of 75 years from the time when the document is placed in the archive. However, after expiration of the confidentiality period, these documents will probably be available for scientific use.[73]

1.4.3 In-depth interviews and oral data

I conducted interviews with 25 informants: 23 of whom belong to the three generations of the study (see Chapters 4, 6, 8) and 2 informants of the fourth generation[74] (see Metadata in Appendix 2). In addition, I conducted two formal conversations.[75] During my fieldwork trips, I collected and subsequently analyzed 20 hours of raw interview data. In addition, conducted 4 hours of interviews without digital recording (notes on paper). In section 2.4, I propose criteria for selection of informants. In addition, in

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[72] Documents of the fond GAMO R877. The Department of Education of the Sami District Council Working Class Deputies of the Murmansk region (1955–1961), also some cases in GAMO P2030. The primary organization of the Communist Party of the boarding school in Lovozero, the Murmansk region. Party archives of the Murmansk Regional Party Committee (1967–1976).

[73] However, some of the documents from single cases of confidential collections are in open access and can be studied. For instance, I use the following cases from the confidential fond GAMO P2030-1, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17.

[74] Read about experiences of Informant A G4 in Epilogue. Informant B G4 is not cited in current dissertation. Nevertheless it was necessary to conduct interview with the latter informant in order to gain general considerations about the research subject, which I used in my analysis.

[75] See section 2.3.

Appendix 2 I provide the metadata table containing type of collected data and basic biographical information on the informants, such as years of birth, place of birth and school years. The metadata table provides an overview of all informants who participated in the interviews.

I also used such methodological approaches to oral data collection as informal conversations, discussions and participant observation.[76] In addition to interviews with the former boarding school pupils, informal conversations, interviews and discussions are carried out with educationalists and teachers of the schools in order to bring the opinions of both sides involved into an educational process. This choice was made in order to provide a more solid basis for objectivity of the analysis.

I offered to my informants two options: direct usage of their first and family names, or anonymity. Most informants wished their names not to be mentioned in an open access study.[77] Therefore, according to these considerations, I will keep my informants anonymous. However, I state their birth years, original place of birth, and assign letters and numbers in order to introduce them, such as *Informant A G1, Informant B G2, Informant C G3*, etc. The generations are introduced as follows: G1 denotes informants of Generation 1, G2 – informants of Generation 2, and G3 – informants of the third generation of the study.

I return to detailed methodological discussion about interview procedures, the course of interview work, criteria for selection of informants along with critique of oral sources in sections of the methodological Chapter 2. Meanwhile I proceed with questions of representativeness and use of oral data in this study.

In this monograph, oral evidences of the Sami play two principal parts: 1) as supplementary source to secondary literatures and primary documents, which I used to reconstruct the historical development of the policies under study and 2) as central source used to analyze responses and experiences of the Sami regarding the introduced policies. In such a way, one finds certain citations of the narrative material, which I used as supportive data to primary and secondary sources in Chapters 3, 5, 7 addressing historical background and further the main policy shifts. In turn, Chapters 4,6,8 deal with oral sources as central material containing the individual and collective responses of the Sami.

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[76] Berreman 2007: 147.

[77] Read more about anonymity procedures in section 2.6.

The representativeness of oral material is thus problematized according to these two scientific needs. In the first case, as I pointed out in 1.3, there is no comprehensive monograph focusing on the development of the boarding school policies among the Sami in Soviet Union, which is in current existence. Consequently, there was an evident need to schematically structure and draft the policy shifts on the local level of the study since this have not been done earlier by other researchers. In pursuing the ambitious aim of historical reconstruction of polices and historical events about which almost no written evidences are previously known, I utilized any possible reference material that was available. In this sense, the timeframe of the study reflects historical events that many elderly informants born in the 1930s remember and could comment upon.

The task of the study was therefore two-fold. It would have been impossible to study the experiences of the Sami when cause and nature of policy shifts remain undocumented. It was almost a compulsory need to draw and document the development of the policies in the first place, i.e. before proceeding to analysis of the effect of these policies on the Sami language and culture. The latter focus was in turn richly proposed by use of oral evidence as a central source. In situation of extreme paucity of literatures and other monographic studies on the subject, usage of oral material as supplementary to written materials and as a central source was an evident yet problematic choice.

The oral evidences in both cases are used to the extent of its limitations. Firstly, the narratives are representative not for all of the Sami people, but logically only for those informants with whom I worked in this project. Secondly, the analyzed narratives represent experiences of not all of the Sami people within the drafted generational boundaries in this study, but exclusively experiences of those people whom I interviewed. That is why it is possible that more opinions, different findings as well as more supplementary oral data might come up in case the study would be expanded in terms of numbers of the interviewees. If the study would be extended in terms of time, certainly a more thorough work on exploring greater deal of primary documents on the topic could be conducted. Then the use of oral sources perhaps could have been reconsidered. All in all, this study is a first monographic study about boarding school policies of the Sami and should be treated as the first academic work, which documents the policies itself and explores the responses of the Sami informants. Simultaneously, oral material does not provide the full picture of historical events and its use should be critically questioned. I address this discussion in detail in section 2.1 of the dissertation.

There is another unique methodological aspect of the study that I shall turn to. This monograph is based on clear combination of Western and Indigenous methodological traditions. In time one finds these two traditions as contradictory or at time conflicting with each other, current study is based on ultimate combination of both. In this way, as I outlined earlier, the first scope of the project aimed at documentation and analysis of the development of the policies is done by means of classical research methods that are used by any researcher, e.g. analysis of literatures, archival work, analytical comparisons of different periods of the study and interview research.

Still, chapters where I focus on oral evidences as central source are based on the indigenous methodological tradition that seeks to set the indigenous narrative material in forefront of a researchers' representations and interpretations of the facts.[78] In indigenous research tradition, the written records are often perceived as material that "have been filtered through" different scholars, authors and interpreters.[79] Thus in the latter scope of the study, I chose to openly cite my informants in order to provide room for indigenous voices what I discuss further in section 2.5. In complementation to it, the analysis is produced from my own perspective as a Sami researcher what I discuss in detail in 1.6.

If there was firmly in place a clear structure of the historical development of the boarding school policies among the Sami when I started to do this research, I might have chosen a different style of work. For instance, I would work with development of indigenous methodologies as framework for my study and then analyze the oral experiences of the Sami about their boarding school education. But due to the reasons of the paucity of classical academic works about the boarding school policies in focus, I was ought to turn to conventional methods of historical research and simultaneously find a new way to adopt the indigenous methodological perspectives.

The current research appeared to be a fusion of Western academic and Indigenous research traditions along with methodological elements of oral history that were practical to use for efficient collection of empirical data.[80] Moreover, the oral history and indigenous methodology in research do intertwine with each other. As leading indigenous scholar Linda Smith pointed out, "Story telling, oral histories, the perspectives of elders and of women have become an integral part of all indigenous research".[81] The both indigenous methodology and oral history seek to give a voice to those who experienced the historical events (the narrators), members of minority groups as well as researchers coming from such communities.[82]

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[78] Smith 1999: 145, Lambert 2014: 31.

[79] Whealdon et al. 2001: Disclaimer.

[80] Read more in section 2.2.

This monograph combines two academic traditions, which in fact appeared to benefit each other rather than contradict. In this sense, I would call my work for "an academic compromise" that bridges different movements and scientific cultures. The Western tradition richly proposes solid analysis of facts and its truth assessment, while Indigenous tradition makes it possible to explore new research sources and shows the "diversities of truth".[83] That is why in certain chapters of the dissertation I chose to provide more room for informants' narratives than in others. The chapters where I did so intend to provide analytical narratives of informants and to demonstrate how informants themselves come up with analysis of facts rather than I would produce an almost purely "impersonal analysis"[84] of narratives.

As scholars Bjørg Evjen and David Beck underscored in their recent book *Mapping Indigenous presence: North Scandinavian and North American Perspectives* from 2015, there is no monopoly on scientific use of Western or Indigenous methods. In fact, in our time the paradigm of subject-to-object relations in research has shifted. The new generations of researchers come up and work with conventional academic theory in research about indigenous peoples and sometimes "they are reshaping that theory". [85]

Thus current project argues for beneficial combination of Western and Indigenous academic perspectives. These traditions not only coexist as separate methodological developments in contemporary science but also can be richly combined. Such combination makes it possible to cover a certain previously unexplored field of knowledge, where the main research challenge is the paucity of prior research contributions on the subject.

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[81] Smith 1999: 144.

[82] Portelli 1998: 72, Evjen, Beck 2015: 48.

[83] Smith 1999: 144.

[84] Tonkin 1992: 84.

[85] Evjen, Beck 2015: 49.

1.5 Timelines and periodization

The current periodization and the analysis of historical development of the boarding school system were achieved by extensive work with afore-demonstrated archival materials and secondary sources.

There is another periodization of educational developments among indigenous minorities of the Russian Far North, which deserves great attention. The periodization proposed by anthropologist Elena Liarskaya presents robust timelines for educational developments at federal level. It can be usefully applied to specific local studies of each particular indigenous minority group in the North, as I did in my study. Therefore, the periodization, which I have compiled for this dissertation is also based on findings from Liarskaya[86] and own findings from my work on identification of generational boundaries of the informants', structured according to their school years.[87]

I start my analysis with historical background. In Chapter 3, I outline the educational situation for the Sami in the period from 1880 to 1935. I firstly focus on education of the Sami before the October Revolution in 1917, and subsequently on the period of Cultural pluralism in education of the Sami (1920 – 1935). In the period from the 1920s up to the mid of 1930s, early Soviet views on education of indigenous minorities deliberately proclaimed the importance of education in their mother tongues. Sami mother-tongue elementary education was introduced into school practice, but was disrupted by Stalinist repressions in years of Great Terror (1937-1938). The first boarding schools were established for the Sami children, but they functioned as simple pre-school dormitories.

Thus, in attempting to understand and map the system of boarding school education for the Sami from 1935 to 1989, I conducted an analysis of the following core periods, compiled and adjusted to the current study in accordance with its historical objectives:

1) 1935 to 1955: establishment of the first boarding schools for the Sami. The Sami receive elementary education in indigenous schools in their villages and continue secondary education in boarding schools. During this period boarding school policy is not strict. The Sami languages are used freely by boarding school pupils. The boarding

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[86] Liarskaya 2003:70–106; Liarskaya 2013: 160.
[87] Note Metadata table in Appendix 2.

schools of this period function merely as dormitories for schoolchildren from remote Sami areas. School teaching, both at elementary and secondary levels, is organized in Russian. (See Ch. 4 about Generation 1).

However, the period can be subdivided into two auxiliary periods:

1a) 1935-1945: Repressions, native language persecutions and the Second World War. This period is characterized with Stalinist repressions and the war that influenced education and language situation of the Sami.

Repressions in the years of Great Terror (1937-1938) triggered two events on the local level: disruption of the Sami mother-tongue education at schools and Sami language persecutions in indigenous villages (see sections 4.1, 4.2, 4.3).

The pre-war Stalinist repressions were connected with state ideology of the time and affected those individuals, which were considered to be threatening for the national security of the state. Repressions resulted in severe prohibitions of the public Sami language use locally (section 4.3). Simultaneously, the Second World War started in 1941 and boarding school education of the Sami, established in the way it was in the mid 1930s, stopped for the time of war.

Although, repressions and Sami language persecutions did not have immediate connection to the boarding school policies, these events are nevertheless relevant for discussion of the Sami language assimilation raised in RQ2 of the current study.

1b) 1946 – 1955: The first decade after the end of the Second World War. Education in boarding schools was firmly introduced in the Russian language. However, it was still not prohibited for Sami children to speak their mother tongue in boarding school or in the school dormitory. It was a decade of active restoration of the country after the Second World War. Boarding schools served to accommodate orphans of those Sami, who fell in the battlefields of war.

2) 1956 to 1968: Khrushchev's boarding school reforms and Russification, strengthening of education legislation on compulsory secondary schooling. Boarding school education becomes strictly obligatory. The period is characterized by strict fulfillment of compulsory primary and secondary education. Simultaneously, the policy of agglomeration that was introduced results in elimination of indigenous elementary schools for the Sami along with the villages where these schools were situated (see section 5.1). Therefore, Sami children start to be sent to one boarding school in the village of Lovozero from elementary level of education and reside there until

completion of their secondary education, approximately from the age of six years old until 17.

The Russian language substitutes all educational and communicative domains at the boarding school. The policy on prohibition of the native language (policy of Russification) in the boarding school is introduced during this period. Boarding school policy takes its main orientation on promotion of hygiene and discipline. Introduction of legislation restricting the role of parental upbringing is introduced. Most boarding school students reside in the boarding school throughout their study years without opportunities to stay in touch with their parents. During the summer children are normally sent to the Pioneer youth camps and return to the boarding school at the beginning of each new academic year. Additionally, boarding schools of this period are looked upon as a tool for ideological (communist) upbringing of children and increasing productive labor. Education in the boarding schools becomes a political mechanism for the ideological formation of a unified Soviet nation and the country's economic growth. The ideas of cultural convergence are especially actualized during this period. (See Ch. 5 and Ch. 6 about Generation 2.)

Thus, the period from the mid 1950s until the end of the 1960s is characterized by rapid transition to the Russification policy and doctrine of cultural convergence, realized through the boarding school practices of communist children's upbringing. The Russification policy led to the use of native languages in boarding schools being prohibited, and the practice of Sami cultural activities was not favored. This period is characterized with the policy ideas of one holistic "Soviet nation", when all minor cultures were supposed to merge into one Soviet culture.

3) 1969 to 1989: the Russification tendency gradually diminishes, principles and structure of boarding school education take its main focus on the culture of hygiene and discipline. In this period, however, another acute problem occurs surrounding decisions on the convergence of ethnic boarding schools for the children of reindeer herders with orphanages. Numerous social problems occur within boarding school practice when the boarding school starts to function as a fusion of an ethnic boarding school and an orphanage. In result of the new policy direction of this period, boarding school for indigenous children of reindeer herders in Lovozero turns into a closed residential school with functions of a childrens' home, i.e. targeted at the upkeep and education of orphans and children from troubled families (See Ch. 7 and Ch. 8 about Generation 3).

In turn, the last period can be subdivided into two auxiliary periods:

3a) 1969 to 1979: the period of softening of Russification tendencies. Children are allowed to speak Sami at the boarding school, but the active stage of language loss has already begun. Sami children predominantly speak Russian and have a poor knowledge of Sami languages. Principles of military style discipline, hygiene and separation from parents are still acute for local boarding school practice.

3b) 1979 to 1989: end of Russification, language revival, start of improvement of educational programs and boarding school practices. The Sami language is introduced into compulsory boarding school curricula at elementary school level and as a facultative class for secondary level of education. Various extracurricular classes in Sami lore, culture and reindeer herding are introduced into boarding school practice. Children are allowed to stay with their parents during holidays and weekends, and to visit home occasionally. Children of reindeer herders are allowed to travel with their parents to the tundra. Sami pedagogues actively work with children at the boarding school and are allowed to speak with them in Sami, both in the classroom and in the dormitory. Various Sami language-teaching didactic materials start to be introduced into boarding school practice after the official creation of Sami orthography (1982). The boarding school starts to be regarded as a suitable arena for Sami language and cultural maintenance. (See Ch. 8 about Generation 3).

I additionally single out the following stages in rapid changes of the status and functions of boarding schools throughout all three historical periods: a) boarding school status as regular pre-school dormitory (1935–1955, Ch. 4); b) later transition into boarding school exclusively for children of reindeer herders and children of relocated Sami (1955–1969, Ch. 5, Ch. 6); and c) the last transition of these boarding schools into an institutional facility of a closed restricted type ("a children's home") (1969–1989, Ch. 7, Ch. 8).

The core historical scope of analysis of this study is the Soviet period, specifically starting from the mid 1930s until the end of the 1980s. The period from the mid 1930s until the end of the 1980s corresponds to the active development of Soviet boarding school policies on the Kola Peninsula and overall educational strategies targeted at the education of the minorities of the Russian North.

The point of departure in the analysis of this dissertation, however, was chosen to provide short accounts of the pre-Soviet situation concerning education of the Sami prior to the revolution in 1917, and in the early Soviet period from 1920 to 1935. These periods do not concern the primary focus of the study. Still, the situation is revealed in the third chapter of the monograph in order to form a general setting and context for the study, and to trace the developments of the educational processes under discussion. Accounts of the pre-Soviet educational situation of the Sami, organized in church schools, allows for the identification of changes in the educational situation of the Kola Sami starting from the period prior to the introduction of elementary school education in the 1920s and the first boarding school establishments in the mid 1930s.

In the current study I provide chronological cross-generational analysis based on interviews with three generations of the Sami. I worked with identification of generational boundaries between the Sami informants, who experienced residential education. I determined the boundaries of each generation of the informants according to years, when they started and finished boarding schools (informants' school years). However, the chronological definition of generational boundaries, which I further propose, should not be misread as a different periodization of the study, apart from the one presented above. At the same time, as one might notice, the generational boundaries firmly conform to the periods of the compiled periodization, what confirms the validity of the analysis proposed in this study.

Thus I propose the following generation boundaries:

1) Generation 1 (school years 1935 to 1955):

   Informants born before the Second World War. My informants in this age group received school education from 1935 to 1955. These informants attended primary schools in their traditional ethnic villages and continued with receiving secondary education in boarding schools.

2) Generation 2 (school years 1956 to 1968):

   Informants born during the first decade after the end of the Second World War. My informants in this age group received school education from 1955 to 1969. Simultaneously, this group of informants is the first generation that received both primary and secondary education in the boarding schools, which began to be actively introduced in the Murmansk region in the post-war period.

3) Generation 3 (school years 1969 to 1989):

   Informants, born during the late Soviet period. My informants in this age group received school education from 1969 to 1989. These informants are pupils of the

> classical boarding school system that had already been fully established and implemented by the Soviet government up to the 1960s. Their experiences refer to the period from the start of the boarding school era in the 1960s that was then active until the Union's fall at the end of the 1980s.

Some informants fall in between generational boundaries (See Metadata Table in Appendix 2). I classified Informant A G2 into Generation 2, but this informant falls between the boundaries of the first and second generations. Informants A G3 and B G3 were classified into Generation 3, but fall between the boundaries of the second and third generations. The narratives of Informant A G2 reflect the experiences of the boarding school policies in the second period of the compiled periodization (from 1956 to 1968), rather than the first period. That is why this informant shows stronger inclination to the second generation of the study. The A G3 and B G3 informants' narratives to a greater degree reflect the analyzed in this study boarding school process, classified within timeframes of school years 1969 to 1989, what corresponds to stronger inclination to the third generation of the study. Despite this, I actively use data from interviews with these informants in discussions on situations of both generations – Generation 2 and Generation 3.

I have conducted interviews with two informants born in 1981 and 1990[88] (Generation 4), who received boarding school education after the 1990s. However, Informant A G4 falls in between the boundaries of the third and fourth generations (post-Soviet period). The informant started at boarding school in 1988. That is why I cite her in Chapter 8 along with experiences of the third generation. However, I particularly discuss her experiences in Epilogue, as an informant classified into Generation 4.

As I mentioned in section 1.1, there are certain sub-topics, characteristic for each particular generation of informants that I include in my analysis. The usage of interview data makes it possible not only to trace changes in boarding school policies over time, but also to identify the sub-topics relevant to the informants of different generations in all of the three above-outlined historical periods. I discuss the sub-topics characteristic for each particular generation in the chapters about their experiences (Chapters 4, 6, 8).

The sub-topics for each generation are as follows:

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[88] Informant A G4, Informant B G4.

1) Generation 1 (Ch. 4): political repressions, status of the informants as "children of the enemies of the people", Sami language persecutions in their villages, renunciation of Sami ethnicity;
2) Generation 2 (Ch. 6): enforced resettlements, communist upbringing, separation from parents, and labor: child labor, productive labor in boarding schools, labor in reindeer-herding collectives;
3) Generation 3 (Ch. 8): internal and external social differentiation between boarding school children into *homes* and *boarders,* stigmatization, marginalization of Sami students, ethnic and social discrimination.

1.6 Sami scholar, performing research in my own community

My position as a native-born Sami from Russia has been both an advantage and a challenge during my research work. I am a Kildin Sami who grew up in the city of Murmansk, and I study the history of my own people. Below I discuss various nuances of the benefits and challenges of my position in this doctoral research.

Let me start by referring to the historians Evjen and Beck, who argue that "One hundred years ago it would have been unthinkable for a Sami, and somewhat rare for a Native American, to stand up to be an active participant in research."[89] Further, as Sami scholar Berg-Nordlie mentioned,

> Researcher subjectivity becomes especially important in the context of research on indigenous peoples, since scholars in this field have generally not come from the groups under research, resulting in indigenous peoples having been generally described academically from outsider positions.[90]

These scholars persuasively suggest that insider perspectives in research on indigenous people have at best been looked upon as complementary to the position of the academic outsider, where research has been predominantly carried out by foreigners or representatives of the state majority nations.

Indeed, in the context of research about Sami in Russia, the majority of researchers have outsider positions. Research done by representatives of the Sami from Russia about their own people is outnumbered by various researchers coming from different countries and regions of the state. Nevertheless, a few of the Kola Sami researchers have written scientific works about the situation of their own people. For instance, Zinaida Kal'te[91] produced her dissertation in the field of law about the political situation of the Sami in Russia. Likewise, Jelena Porsanger (earlier Sergejeva) has written a number of works about Kola Sami culture and history of religion, as well as indigenous methodological perspectives in research.[92]

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[89] Evjen and Beck 2015: 28.
[90] Berg-Nordlie 2017: 54–55.

In this regard, my study is different from many other works published about the Sami people in Russia by Western and Russian researchers. I take the insider approach in my analysis of the situation. I focus on the experiences of my informants and my vision as the indigenous insider. Moreover, there is a certain information gap and lack of knowledge about the Russian Sami in the West. Therefore, in my work I am interested in presenting local historical information about boarding school policies. In doing so, I use the direct narratives of the Sami people, and subject this data to analysis from my perspective.

When it comes to discussion of my independent work as a researcher, my position might presuppose the so-called 'epistemological", or "ontological" privilege[93]. This is true to the extent that I belong to the same ethnicity, and share the same culture and language as my informants.

I speak both Contemporary Standard Russian, the majority language of the state, and Kildin Sami, one of the local minority Sami languages. To a great extent knowledge of these languages and my understanding of local Sami culture made it possible for me to avoid communication problems with the informants, and minimize ambiguity in interpretations of the information I received.[94] In addition, knowledge of Kildin Sami made it possible for me to work with the secondary literatures published in Kildin Sami language. For instance, I use personal recollections of the Sami teachers about boarding schools system, originally published in Kildin Sami. (Note in section 6.2 of the Chapter 6).

However, I am working with generations of informants who grew up in political, social and economic conditions that were principally different from my own. I investigate the history of the Sami in the light of the politics of the Soviet Union. But I was raised in post-Soviet realities, and belong to a generation that has grown up in conditions after the fall of the Soviet Union. Thus, I have not experienced historical events during the Soviet period, nor the boarding school policies that I study.

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[91] Kal'te 2003.

[92] Sergejeva 1995; 2000; 2002; Porsanger 2004a; 2004b; 2007.

[93] Hammersley and Traianou 2012: 5 (Conclusion, online version).

[94] Spradley 1980: 65; Barnard and Spencer 2002: 180.

In my view, one should differentiate between different aspects of the insider role, e.g. 'insider of a community' and 'insider of a particular situation'. Although I am a Sami and insider of the community, I am not an insider of the boarding school situations I study. Nor should it be assumed that I share equal roles with a community member who has never met me before, and with whom my first communication is research interview. Besides, I am a community member who has been educated in both classical Russian and Western academic traditions, and this influences my thoughts and opinions in the course of my analysis. Moreover, by conducting research as a highly educated member of the Sami community, I bear certain characteristics of the outsider position.

My relationship with the informants can be described in the following way. Some of my informants I first met during our interviews for this PhD project. Other informants I was acquainted with from my work in previous research projects, in particular when I collected data of Sami language speakers as part of the Kola Sami Documentation Project (henceforth KDSP),[95] and some – through other community projects that I have been engaged in since 2006 until the present day.

Therefore, when I started with sessions of fieldwork for the current project in 2015, it was not my first field research in the Kola Peninsula. I conducted individual interviews with Sami speakers for the KDSP project in 2006 until 2010. Later, I collected interview data for my independent Master's project from 2010 to 2013. Having rich experience in field research and oral data collection, made it possible for me to organize all fieldwork activities for current project on my own, including administrating interviews, collecting, transcribing and maintaining the interview data.

I use the help of one local assistant from Lovozero, Ganna Aleksandrovna Vinogradova, to expand my list of informants in Lovozero area in the Central part of the Kola Peninsula. I have met Ganna Aleksandrovna in KDSP project and continued to work with her independently since 2010. I greatly appreciate her assistance in finding more informants of older Sami generations.

One of the other crucial benefits of my position is that I have a network of people in my own community who can help me to find more relevant informants. That is why

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[95] Kola Sami Documentation Project. http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/sami/team/ (accessed 29 January 2018).

I used my private networks as well. Informants who originally come from the Northeastern part of the Kola Peninsula were identified and contacted with the kind assistance of Nina Afanas'eva, the Sami public figure and my grandmother. I used Nina Afanas'eva's network to get in touch with some of my informants from her generation.[96]

Hereby, it is important to mention that I excluded from the list of my informants those people, with whom I am in direct family relations. By interviewing family members, I can be emotionally overwhelmed, and this distracts me from an objective analytical process during my interview work. It is challenging for me to take a critical reflexive distance when narrations of my family members involve sensitive information. A similar professional code can also be found in medicine, when doctors avoid performing surgical operations on family members because of their emotional involvement, and instead delegate these operations to colleagues.

So far, I have shown that there are different aspects and nuances to the insider position that matter in interview research. Apart from 'the insider of an indigenous community' and 'the insider of a particular situation', there is 'the insider of a specific indigenous kin or family'. For instance, the Sami scholar Kristine Nystad pointed out that the acknowledgement of ancestral lines and kinship boundaries stands very strong in Sami communities. This can influence the quality of research data as certain information is preferred to be kept within the family.[97] Moreover, I come from a public Sami family. During the interviews I might have been associated with my grandmother or grandaunt, which could be both an advantage and a disadvantage in the process of oral data collection.

Let me henceforth describe my family background and its influence on why I chose to engage in this research. I am the granddaughter of Nina Afanas'eva, who is an icon and symbol of the fight for Sami rights in Russia.[98] Nina Afanas'eva, daughter of a reindeer herder and a milkmaid, first became Head of the Indigenous Education Department at the Murmansk Regional Institute for Teacher Training (1981–1994), later – President (1994–2010) of the first and the biggest public Sami organization, the Kola Sami Association[99], and finally – the Advisor in Issues of Indigenous Minorities for the

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[96] See more details in section 2.4.

[97] Nystad 2016: 38.

[98] Rossiiskaia Gazeta 2012. Front cover.

[99] *Assotsiatsiia Kol'skikh Saamov* (AKS – the Association of Kola Sami) – the oldest Sami public organization, founded in 1989 in the city of Murmansk (Kulonen, Seurujärvi-Kari, Pulkkinen 2005: 165).

Governor of the Murmansk region, Iurii Evdokimov (1996–2009). She has also worked on cooperation with the Sami across the borders after the fall of the Soviet Union's Iron Curtain. Nina Afanas'eva has worked on elaboration of the Sami alphabet (1989), and has written a Sami orthography, which resulted in publication of the first Russian-Sami dictionary, also known as the legendary Red Dictionary (1985).[100]

Nina Afanas'eva's personality, as one of the talented and enlightened women in the Sami society[101], affected my work on this dissertation in a number of decisive ways. Firstly, her personality inspired my understanding of education as a tool for ethnic survival. The informal conversations with her aroused my interest in the topic of cultural pluralism in education, which is reflected in my analysis (see Ch. 3). Secondly, Nina Afanas'eva inspired me not only as a political leader, but as an indigenous scholar herself. She is the author of various publications about preservation of the Sami language and culture. I use some of her works in the course of the dissertation.[102]

Her persona is an example of how higher education can benefit the promotion of the Sami language and culture, and she is a clear representative of *indigenous intelligentsia*[103] in Russia. Nina Afanas'eva provided me with consultation on relevant issues related to the research subject. Nina Afanas'eva worked as Head of the Indigenous Education Department in the Soviet period. She has an extensive knowledge about how education for the Sami was organized during the Soviet period. In particular, we had a range of informal conversations about the state support for higher education of the Sami during the Soviet period; how and why the Sami elementary schools were organized before and after the Second World War; the Talent Foundry policy and principles for organization of the Indigenous Northern Department at the Herzen University in St. Petersburg (see Ch. 3, sections 3.4, 3.5). I also use photographs from the private archives of Nina Afanas'eva and Anastasia Mozolevskaia (see List of Photographs and Illustrations).

Anastasia Mozolevskaia[104] (1935–2015), my grandaunt and Nina Afanas'eva's older sister, is a prominent Sami artist and symbol of the aesthetics of contemporary

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[100] See more information about this person in Pedagogical Encyclopedia of the Murmansk region (Manukhin et al. 2001: 117), The Kola Encyclopedia 2008: 271; The Saami: A Cultural Encyclopedia (Kulonen, Seurujärvi-Kari, Pulkkinen 2005: 165).

[101] Zaborshchikova 1995: 104.

[102] E.g. Sandra and Afanasjeva 2017; Afanas'eva 2012; Afanas'jeva and Riessler 2008; Afanas'eva 2000; Afanas'eva et al. 1985.

[103] Manukhin et al. 2001: 117.

[104] See more information about this person In: MURGOV 2017 and LP 2000.

Sami arts and crafts in Russia.[105] She was the first Chairman of the Association of the Sami craftsmen called “Chepes’ Saam” (“The Talented Sami”). For many years, Anastasia Mozolevskaia worked in the Northern Professional College in Lovozero. She was the founder of educational curricula in Sami handicraft at this college, teacher of Sami handicraft, author of various art-works, exhibitions, handicraft books. One of her last projects was restoration of old Kola Sami clothing designs that were collected in the archives of ethnographical museums in St. Petersburg (Russia), Gothenburg, Stockholm (Sweden), Helsinki (Finland), etc. This work resulted in the publication of her book *Sami ornaments*,[106] launched during the Sami Cultural Week 2015 in Tromsø University Museum in cooperation with the Sami Studies Centre at UiT.

The personality of Anastasia Mozolevskaia has also affected my work in a number of crucial ways. She was one of those Sami handicraft masters who dealt with the preservation of Sami material culture and traditional knowledge. Likewise, in the data analysis I pay great attention to aspects of Sami material culture as one of the factors for preservation of Sami traditional knowledge. I emphasize the importance of not only the Sami language and culture, but also the sewing of Sami national textiles as a traditional Sami economic activity, as well as the use of indigenous textiles in reindeer herding and in the everyday life of my informants. Therefore, in this monograph I discuss reindeer herding as an important arena for use of Sami language and national clothing (see Ch. 6). Many informants[107] bring up topics related to the importance of preserving Sami material culture. Others speak about discrimination against wearing Sami clothing. In the boarding schools, the European type of school uniform nearly substituted indigenous clothes. At the same time, wearing Sami clothing in public was discriminated against and criticized by the majority society. I discuss this in chapters (see Ch. 6, Ch. 8), when I analyze narratives addressing the importance of Sami clothing vs. the European clothing code introduced in boarding schools. In Chapter 8, I show how these attitudes change by the end of the 1970s, when the Sami started using indigenous clothes in public again.

Certainly, growing up in my family is a privilege and great resource for my research work. First, both my grandmother and grandaunt were educated through the

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[105] Roy 2005, In: Gáldu Čála 1/2005. Front cover.

[106] Mozolevskaia and Mechkina 2015.

[107] e.g. Informant I G1, Informant E G2, Informant C G3, Informant B G3.

Talent Foundry initiative, which I discuss in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. Their examples of activism on Sami issues influenced my interest in investigating the role and contribution of the Sami pedagogues and intellectuals in boarding school education. This is reflected in the third research question of the dissertation.[108] I was especially inspired by my grandmother's work on providing humanitarian aid to Sami people in need during her leadership of the Kola Sami Association[109] (e.g. scholarships; assistance in getting secondary and higher education; aid for Sami families during the economic crisis in Russia in the 1990s; Sami cultural arrangements, festivals, promotion of Sami language and literacy). Growing up in such a family environment influenced my views of social justice and community empowerment. In particular, this affected the selection of informants, as I describe below.

Most informants do not come from influential circles of Sami society. This does not mean that I wanted to exclude the experiences of contemporary Sami ethno-political leaders in Russia. I have written quite thoroughly about the life situation and boarding school experiences of one informant[110] who belongs to the Sami ethno-political elite. However, my main interest is to look at experiences of those Sami people who have little opportunity to make their opinions heard. I wanted to empower the unempowered and to bring up the "silent voices" of those Sami who have less occasion to speak publicly about their experiences. That is why I became interested in the experiences of people who are not preoccupied with politics or research as their main professional activities. In other words, those people who, due to their personal circumstances, have no opportunity to be publicly engaged in the field of Sami affairs.

Here I have to explain that Sami politics and matters of Sami rights are prominent in the context of Sami affairs in Scandinavian countries, where the indigenous language is much better preserved in North-Sami communities than in Russia. In my view, the problems of maintaining the Sami language and cultural preservation are the most burning topics among the Sami in Russia, where the indigenous languages are almost extinct. It takes a great deal of effort for the Sami of my generation to keep their languages alive. The same applies to Sami traditional knowledge such as handicraft and reindeer herding. These are major contemporary challenges for the young Sami in Russia. It is for this reason that I study informants' narratives with the primary focus on Sami language assimilation, socio-cultural transformations, transmission of the Sami culture and language to young generations, and the practice of traditional economic activities (handicraft, reindeer herding). In this respect, ethno-political issues come as secondary in my analysis.

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[108] See list of research questions in section 1.1.

[109] Afanas'eva and Rantala 2013.

[110] Informant C G3. See the story of Elle in section 9.3. A Girl with Guts.

My background influenced my interest in carrying out research specifically into residential schooling. I am the founder and first chairman of the Sami youth Non-governmental organization (henceforth NGO) in Russia "Saam' Nurash",[111] where I worked from 2007 to 2011. Throughout this work I met different kinds of Sami youth. I have heard different stories, attitudes and challenges from young Sami in maintaining their language and culture. I learned about various life situations of many young Sami. I became interested in how other Sami people struggled to preserve their roots, culture, language and identity. This interest in Sami peoples' life experiences later turned into my involvement in Sami research. Likewise, the production of this doctoral dissertation is based on Sami peoples' life narrations and memories of the informants when they were children, and in their youth.

I personally was surrounded by Sami culture at home from an early age. I managed to preserve my native tongue through family communication, studying a great number of Sami language teaching books, working hard on my language skills and participating in various Sami language revitalization projects. Even so, maintaining knowledge of the Kildin Sami language was a long and very challenging journey for me. Because of that, the topic of Sami language assimilation is one of my central interests and is reflected in the second research question[112] of the dissertation.

Nevertheless, I think that it was easier for me to maintain my culture and language because I lived in a Sami family environment. I did not have traumatic childhood experiences, unlike many of those Sami who lived in residential institutions. The closest to my age is the fourth generation of informants. Their fight for Sami culture was much more difficult than for me, barely even possible at all. I tried to show this with the example of Sandra and the analysis of her experiences in terms of Maslow's hierarchy of needs (see Epilogue). The interview with Sandra contains sensitive information about the story of her life. Likewise, I particularly stressed the topic of the isolation of boarding school pupils from their parents in Chapters 6 and 8, and in the Epilogue. I dedicate a separate chapter to change in boarding school policy at the end of 1960s, when boarding schools started to function as orphanages (Ch. 7). I reflect upon questions of deprivation of Sami parental rights and parental custody over children placed in these boarding schools.

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[111] Sam' Nurash. http://samiyouth.blogspot.no/ (accessed 08 December 2017).

[112] See list of research questions in section 1.1.

During my interview work I saw how inconvenient it was for many informants to bring out their sensitive experiences. It is especially necessary to do good background work on finding out more information about the biographies of informants prior to conducting interviews with them. Such preparations can be carried out with the help of a local assistant, who arranges interviews in the field. As a rule, local assistants have more information about the personal situation of informants; they know these people and can advise on sensitive moments of their life experiences before arranging interview appointments. I return to a more detailed discussion of empirical examples from interview communication with my informants in section 2.3 about the methodology of oral data collection and interpretation.

In the interviews it was natural for me to ask questions on the importance of higher education and school education in general. First, members of my family have completed higher education across several generations. Second, I have a Master’s degree in pedagogics, and I worked as a schoolteacher. Such questions made it possible for me to unveil a lot of information about the educational background of the parents of my interviewees, about their attitudes to boarding school education and school education in general.

Another challenge of my insider position is similar to what Nystad mentions in her doctoral dissertation. Nystad states that for her as a Sami doing research in her own Sami community, it was challenging to put her implicit knowledge into explicit form.[113] When a researcher works with a minority group and belongs to this group, one has a certain layer of implicit knowledge about the subject, which should be put into explicit forms, understandable to the outside reader.

This also becomes crucial when one works with sensitive human experiences. Likewise, my informants often had difficulties making their experiences explicit when speaking with a Sami researcher. Sometimes informants expected that I should implicitly understand all the complexities of the cultural, social and economic aspects of their life realities during the Soviet period because I am a Sami myself. They would speak with me from the point of view of their generation. Some informants thought that they did not have to speak explicitly about the topics that are normally avoided within the community, e.g. the topics of social problems. Such unspoken topics are rarely verbalized. As Konstantinov puts it, “The topic [of social problems] tends to be subdued in local society and not shared with strangers.”[114] Thus, some informants had difficulties with formulation and explicit verbalization of their experiences connected to these topics. Some informants assumed that they did not have to express difficult experiences explicitly in interviews with me. Usually, social problems are implicitly understood non-verbally among community members, and they do not have to explain when speaking to each other. My challenge was that, as an interview researcher, I need my informants to articulate their experiences verbally in explicit ways.

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[113] Nystad 2016: 38.

Although, the topic of social problems is not the primary focus in my dissertation, I still wanted to discuss these issues with the informants during our interviews. In the current dissertation, I put emphasis on the social situations of the Sami pupils who lived permanently at the residential educational institutions. I touch upon topics of discrimination, violence, abuse and the various situations of Sami children in difficult family situations, e.g. connected to alcohol abuse in their families, etc. For the further development of Sami communities, it is important to speak about social problems, to critically evaluate them and not leave them unspoken.

To conclude, the challenge of my insider position was that during interviews some informants perceived me as a community member in the first place and as a researcher in the second place. When communicating with researchers from outside the Sami community, informants start to position one and the same question in a different light and express the “unspoken” more vividly. On the other hand, the advantage of my insider position is that the informants shared with me personal and sensitive information that is usually not present in interviews with outsider researchers.

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[114] Konstantinov 2015: 149.

1.7 Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation consists of nine chapters. In addition to the Introduction (Ch. 1) and Conclusion (Ch. 9), there is a methodological chapter (Ch. 2), chapter devoted to historical background (Ch. 3), two chapters that present an analysis of federal policies (Chapters 5, 7) and three chapters based on analysis of the informants' narratives (Chapters 4, 6, 8).

I start analysis with background chapter (Ch. 3), where I provide an account of education for the Sami and the establishment of the boarding schools in the 1930s, whereas the remaining chapters are devoted to analysis of boarding school education in different periods, and my informants' experiences.

Chapter 1 provides an introduction and overview of the main research questions. In this chapter I introduce key concepts, explain the periodization of the study, provide an overview of previous scholarly literature, types of empirical data and proposals for its classification, and a definition of my role.

Chapter 2 is devoted to applied methods of oral data collection. In particular, I provide critique of oral sources; discuss methods of oral history and techniques for analysis of informants' narratives.

Chapter 3 deals with providing the historical background of the study. It touches upon education of the Sami in parish missionary schools during the late Imperial period (1910–1917) and first educational endeavors in the early Soviet period (1920s–1930s). It outlines educational attempts of mother-tongue schooling in Sami languages based on the Latin alphabet, first educational activities of the Murmansk Committee of the North and the first boarding schools. This chapter examines the establishment of the first indigenous elementary schools for the Sami (1920s–1930s) and the first teacher training programs for Sami pedagogues.

Chapter 4 is based on empirical data and addresses the experiences of the first generation of informants, who received boarding school education in the mid 1930s until the mid 1950s.

Chapter 5 approaches an analysis of Khrushchev's boarding school reforms that were introduced in the late 1950s, along with policies of enforced resettlement. The chapter explores how both policies affected the principles for education of the Sami in boarding schools. This chapter provides analysis of the period of maximal activity of the system of boarding schools and the policy of Russification introduced during this period.

Chapter 6 presents analysis of informants' experiences in the second generation, who received boarding school education in the mid 1950s until the end of the 1960s.

Chapter 7 addresses changes in boarding school policy at the end of the 1960s. In particular, it focuses on the changing status of the boarding school in Lovozero – from indigenous boarding school for children of reindeer herders into an educational institution for orphans.

Chapter 8 is based on an analysis of informants' experiences in the third generation, who received boarding school education at the end of the 1960s until the end of the 1980s.

Chapter 9 sees me bring together my findings from the dissertation. This chapter concludes the main arguments and findings related to the research questions of the study. In addition, it provides possible perspectives and proposals for future research in the field.

Chapter 2 Fieldwork methodology

In this dissertation I propose mixed methods, based on an analysis of multiple sources. The analysis encompasses the application of oral history, which I focus on in the second section of this chapter.

I start the chapter with historical critique of oral sources in the first section. In subsequent sections, I proceed with my methodological choices, practice of critical reflexive distance and analytical tools for interpretation of informants' narratives. I provide detailed descriptions of applied interview techniques, techniques for writing field notes, interview transcriptions, and translation of narratives. Finally, I turn to ethical questions related to anonymity and protection of informants' privacy.

2.1 Historical critique of oral sources

The comprehensive combination of multiple sources, when a particular type of data fills research gaps found in other types of sources, is a key to answering the research questions raised. In this study, I analyzed several types of existing sources, such as secondary sources, archival documents, oral data and photography from the private archives, which used to complement each other.

Notwithstanding, this study is principally empirical. The empirical data is collected as a result of in-depth interviews conducted during several fieldwork trips in the Murmansk region in 2015. The collected oral data about experiences of the Sami people in Russia represent a serious contribution to the subject field, and to contemporary understandings of existing relations and influences on the theme. However, when dealing with oral evidences one should always question the validity of accounts they provide.

Therefore, the discussion about principles of oral history, presented in section 2.2, precedes current discussion focusing on critique of oral evidences as material of an historical study. The critique concerns questions of "truth" assessment, representativeness and epistemic legitimacy of narrative as a historical source.[115]

The central task of a researcher is to produce effective knowledge and pursue truth.[116] When speaking about the truth value of oral accounts, validity of narratives is often legitimately underpinned with assertions that reality is no single and tangible, but multiple and constructed.[117]

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[115] Norman 2001, Mandelbaum 2001.

[116] Hammersley and Traianou 2012: 1 (Conclusion).

On the other hand, oral evidences are acknowledged as ‘raw memory material’. As Olsen pointed out, narratives are regarded as “situational ad hoc constructions that could be different already the following day.”[118] The meaning embedded in narratives is preconditioned by the changing unpredictability of social life.[119] As scientific material, a narrative has a fluid structure. Its content can rapidly alternate with changing social, economic, political conditions, opinions and priorities of the informant. What informants discuss today as relevant can appear to be no longer germane tomorrow. Experiences and opinions can be re-approached and re-formulated by informants in different ways in specific moments of time. The informants’ narratives are today’s representations of their experiences in the past. Life narrations are based on memory accounts, reflecting past experiences that are articulated and formulated by the informants in the present. When considering oral sources, it should be taken into consideration that memories can be alternated and distorted through time, and this data should not be considered as ‘absolute historical truth’.

For instance, Lummis writes about dynamics and fluidity of memory constructions, which can be divided into *memory* and *recall on pragmatic grounds*.[120] Where *memory* is a polished layer of information, such as stories or anecdotes, often reflected upon and retold by informants, and can be “integrated with subsequent experience and values”[121] by them. But *Recall* is defined as the response during interviewing that awakens dormant memories of informants. These memories are less actualized in the present value structures of individual informants and provide a lot of circumstantial evidence. Therefore, human memory is not capable of providing the full record of events and other sources that should be used for reconstructing the past.[122] In this respect, memory accounts should not be viewed upon as equal to a written document.

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[117] Ravenek and Rudman 2013: 439; Seale 1999: 468.
[118] Olsen 2003: 6. (Translated by A.A.)
[119] Thomas 2010:578.
[120] Lummis 1998: 274.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Oelofse 2011: 42.

In analyzing interview data, one has to keep in mind the fluid structure of memories. Hence, testing accuracy (validity) of narratives is important.[123] The oral testimony can be supported with additional evidence found in other types of sources. At the same time, a historian should apply principle of historical criticism to oral evidence as well as to all other sources used in the study.

For checking reliability of oral sources that I used in this study, I followed two steps proposed by oral historian Oelofse[124]. As first step, I did thorough background research on the life history of interviewees beforehand. Before conducting the interview, I carried out extensive discussions about each interviewee with my local assistant who knows the life situations of each selected informant. It is necessary to make explicit the individual circumstances of each informant's life. The informants' age, gender, social class, educational background and political views influence their perceptions, opinions and experiences. The experiences presented in the dissertation are as different as the situation of each informant. Nevertheless, in current monograph the emphasis is placed on differences in individual experiences determined by such factors as educational background, social class, age and gender of the informants. The political views in the context of the Soviet Union is not a relevant criteria as informants grew up in the state with strong totalitarian collectivism tradition, which did not accommodate room for an individual political voice.

Let me demonstrate example of difference in perceptions of boarding school education conditioned by gender, social position and educational background. I observed differences in experiences of boarding school education of those informants who have higher pedagogical degrees and were teachers themselves, and those informants who were engaged in reindeer herding as their main occupation. For instance, the Informant G G1 who is a woman and a school teacher underscored that boarding school education was her path to a better life, higher social position and in her phrasing "the path to knowledge, the path in life". The informant stated that she enjoyed academic and social activities at the boarding school. In turn, another Informant I G1 of the same generation, who is a reindeer herding man, had very negative impression from his life at the boarding school. He often escaped from the school because he missed his life in tundra and wanted to dedicate his life to work in reindeer herding. This informant considered that boarding school education interfered with his desire to lean reindeer herding skills from elders, and formal education was no use in this sense.

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[123] Lewis and Ritchie 2003: 269.

[124] Oelofse 2011: 42-43.

Now I return to strategy for testing the reliability of oral testimonies. My second step was to scrupulously cross-check the oral evidence with other sources. I cross-checked the data from narratives of informants with secondary and archival sources of the same historical period when the particular generation of informants attended boarding schools. If I noticed that there was any bias or oral data contradicted with data from written source, I continued to explore and dig more into sources in order to evaluate consistency of the particular oral account.

Speaking about representativeness of narratives as a source, it is noteworthy to mention that it is possible to identify whether experiences are purely individual or collective. It is possible to reveal whether it is a common tendency within a particular study period or generation, or otherwise, an exception concerning only one or two concrete individuals. For instance, Informant I G1 told me that his mother was sentenced to two years' criminal penalty for speaking the Sami language in public in the village of Iokanga.[125] No other informants of the first generation coming from the same village expressed similar experiences. On the basis of this, I make conclusion that this was a single individual experience of the particular Sami family of this informant.

Collective experiences, to a greater degree than individual ones, reflect characteristic changes of boarding school policies described in the analysis. Analysis of collective experiences implies a combination of such techniques as generalizing, analogy and comparative processes. When it comes to examples, almost all informants of the second and the third generations continuously brought up their experiences of the short-hair policy and haircut procedures at the boarding school in Lovozero.[126] I apply both generalization and analogy and conclude that these are collective experiences of the second and the third generations of informants. No one among the first generation of informants stressed the topic of haircuts at the boarding school. Therefore, I conclude that this policy was not practiced during the school years of the first generation of informants.

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[125] I discuss experience of Informant I G1 in section 5.2.

[126] I discuss experiences of informants related to short-hair policy procedures in section 9.1.

2.2 Oral history: Appropriate practice

In this section, I continue the discussion of the oral history perspectives applied in current research.

I proceed with a definition of oral history. Oral history is “a field of study and a method of gathering, preserving and interpreting the voices and memories of people, communities, and participants in past events.”[127] The method of oral history presupposes collection of historical data in the form of spoken memories, recollections, commentaries and opinions of participants of historical events. This data is preserved as historical evidence by means of digital recording. As a field, oral history deals with the study of spoken historical accounts as a way of discovering and interpreting knowledge about the past.

The method of oral history as the applied auxiliary technique of historical study[128] has vastly expanded in recent decades, mainly due to contemporary theoretical acknowledgements of narrative material as historical source that have been recognized, and widely debated and criticized.[129]

Arguments concerning the advantages of oral history as one of the methods for writing history conclude that it opens a whole set of opportunities, exploring new areas of historical inquiry,[130] and contributing to the production of scientific knowledge within these inquiries, providing it is appropriately handled.

The method of oral history fulfills the social function of historical research.[131] It is directed at drawing on personal, local and often unofficial information, which “can give back to the people who made and experienced history, through their own words, a central place.”[132] By working with oral history interviews, the people who have experienced the cause of events are set at the forefront of the historical process.[133] Oral history offers production of knowledge that can fully qualify as what Olsen calls for in good quality interview research, which is “pluralistic, democratic, empowering social diversity and human tolerance.”[134]

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[127] Definition proposed by The Oral History Association http://www.oralhistory.org/about/do-oral-history/ (accessed 17 December 2017).

[128] Grele 1998: 38.

[129] Oral history research is often criticized for its subjectivity. See Ravenek and Rudman 2013: 452.

[130] Thomson 1998: 22.

[131] Schrager 1998: 285.

[132] Thomson 1998: 22.

[133] Portelli 1998: 64.

The method of oral history creates a multiplicity of people’s voices, making a reader imagine people’s faces while reading their narratives, as one does when reading a literary novel. Research done within oral history perspectives gives the reader the opportunity to realize that there are living people behind the text, and their experiences are narrations of real life. I hope readers of this monograph can share and live through my informants’ experiences.

The use of oral evidences makes it possible to reveal types of information that are often absent in written sources or quantitative data. Quantitative data does not provide the advantages that can be achieved by using oral evidence. The methodology of oral history research is different from the quantitative methods applied in other sciences. Working quantitatively with research material presupposes the specification of clear-cut definitions in research objectives and methods for achieving them at the very beginning of the research process. This is later followed by the testing of hypotheses and the scheduled production of the promised outcomes.[135] For oral history researchers, it is difficult “to anticipate, at the beginning, what sorts of data will need to be collected”[136] at the time when “research typically takes place in ‘natural’ settings, over which researchers have little control.”[137]

For instance, one can never anticipate the actual course of an interview, even if the list of questions has been planned in advance because in-depth interview work has a more dynamic, vivid and fluid structure, carried out in territory that is not controlled by the researcher. This all makes it problematic to foresee what exigencies might occur along the way during the research process.[138] Therefore, collection of oral history data aims at spontaneous, unplanned gathering of information on topics that informants themselves feel comfortable to share.[139]

For instance, Thomson indicates one of the main advantages of oral history, stating that research issues we study belong to realities that are “complex and many-sided; and it is a primary merit of oral history that to a much greater extent than most sources it allows the original multiplicity of sources."[140] Likewise, as I have pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, I use an approach of multiple sources in combination with oral history perspectives.

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[134] Olsen 2003:16. (Translated by A.A.)
[135] Hammersley and Traianou 2012: 8.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Riessler and Wilbur 2017: 37.

This presupposes that one does not reject quantitative data as having no value. Quantitative material in the form of different statistical evidence, as often found in archives, is of great interest and usually provides valuable assessments. I have used statistical data from archives on the numbers of annual occupancy of boarding schools for the Sami in different historical periods, various reference materials on legislative provisions of local and federal education departments and commissions, etc.

Furthermore, statistical and legal provisional data are used in this study as a factual frame, filled with analysis of people's lived experiences and life histories. At the time, interview data reflects informants' personal responses towards the studied policies of residential schooling, available mostly, if not only, in oral unwritten formats. Tracy underscores that high-quality interview research "is marked by a rich complexity of abundance,"[141] while what is appreciated in quantitative data is "its precision".[142] Thus, pragmatic combinations of "written and oral sources are not mutually exclusive,"[143] but ultimately complement each other to create a more precise and unified context.

The combination of the various types of sources applied in this study contributes to establishing well-structured analytical assumptions on how the past is directly or indirectly influencing the informants' present, and how changes occur over time, thus fulfilling the social meanings of history. Most importantly, the oral history researcher can decide on whom to interview and what questions to ask, creating interconnections between different social classes, generations, those privileged and unprivileged – "oral history is built around people"[144]. In the current study I carried out interviews with Sami people of three different generations, different genders, social classes, occupations, educational degrees and life circumstances, but all unified by their experiences of residential education. Interpreting informants' narratives, as Thomas understands it, is the process of:

> Development of stories, which one can connect. (…) It should make assumptions about people thinking, having beliefs and motives, making

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[140] Thomson 1998: 24.
[141] Tracy 2010: 841.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Portelli 1998: 64; Seale 1999: 467.
[144] Thomson 1998: 28.

> choices – people with histories and interests, with different horizons of meaning, people who have agency.[145]

Oral history, like any other research method, has its strengths and weaknesses. It is evident that an appropriate practice of oral history is required. Therefore, the proper practice of oral history is essential and regards the following aspects:

1. Issues of proper interview techniques and accuracy in formulations of interview questions (note the Interview Guide, Appendix 1);

2. Fluidity of informants' memories, where analysis is often aimed at "searching not for the fact, but the truth behind the fact"[146]. This includes questions on validity and reliability[147] of oral testimonies.

3. Quality of interviews. Compliance with professional standards for preparation of interviews. Poor preparatory work by a researcher can lead to misinterpretation of data. The researcher should ensure there is adequate time to study written sources on the subject before conducting interviews. There is certain a critique devoted to application of simplifying journalistic standards in oral history research.

4. Messy interdependences of objective and subjective,[148] insufficient critical-reflexive distance between the interviewed and the interviewer in the research process. In turn, this is criticized in the following way. Many specialists argue that too much distance between participants of research (informants and researchers) exemplifies old-fashioned expressions of superiority in science when the researcher treats interviewees as study objects similarly to conventional, non-human sources of information.[149]

5. There should be clear-cut criteria for selection of interviewees. I outline the criteria for selection of the informants in section 2.4.

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[145] Thomas 2010: 579.

[146] Grele 1998: 39.

[147] Various criteria for validity and reliability of oral data in social sciences, in addition to credibility and generalizability, are widely discussed in Ravenek and Rudman 2013: 442–451; Ritchie and Lewis 2003: 270–276; Tracy 2010; Delmar 2010.Validity of narratives in particular is discussed in Sandberg 2010: 452–454.

[148] Halkier 2011: 787.

[149] Hammersley and Traianou 2012; Thomson 1998; Bengtsson 2014.

2.3 Oral data: collection and interpretation

Thorough preparatory work preceded the interview collection. Before conducting interviews, I carried out one month of preparatory research work in Moscow, where I collected archival materials on the boarding school education of indigenous minorities of the Russian North during the periods under investigation. I concentrated on working at the State Archive of the Russian Federation, and simultaneously collecting secondary literature, PhD works, Master's theses and other relevant works on the topic available in the Russian State Library in Moscow. The research trip to Moscow was organized as a preparatory activity before I started on the collection of interviews. This was the first stage of my fieldwork.

During the second stage of fieldwo rk, I conducted digital recordings of interview data and collected archival and secondary materials available at the Murmansk Regional Archive and the Murmansk Regional Scientific Library. I combined activities in oral data collection with local archival and library work. I carried out interview sessions in five different research localities in the Kola Peninsula, particularly in the Sami village of Lovozero and in other villages and towns where the Sami people live nowadays, such as in Teriberka, Murmansk, Umbra and Apatity.[150] The interviews that I collected in Lovozero mostly concern experiences about the local boarding school. All the informants that I interviewed in other places represent resettled groups of the Sami population from the Northeastern part of the Peninsula, i.e. from the former Sami District. These informants studied at the boarding school in Gremikha town.[151]

The major focus of the interviews was to investigate the daily use of the Sami language, and the social environment and conditions under which pupils were raised in the boarding schools. It presupposed questioning informants on the spaces and arenas where it was possible to use the Sami language – if children had the opportunity of speaking Sami in class and outside the classroom; if they had any possibility of communicating with other adults or children in Sami, including whether the language of instruction in school subjects was Sami; if Sami was their main language of communication with teachers and other workers at the boarding schools.

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[150] See visual representation of my fieldwork locations in Map 4, Appendix 7.

[151] Note Map 2 in section 1.2. and Map 4 in Appendix 7.

I examined how informants were placed at the boarding schools, under which circumstances (e.g. forced or voluntarily), and how children experienced their first years of education with regards to social environment and learning progress, as well as how relations with parents were maintained after being placed at residential schools. I was eager to find out how often children had the possibility of spending time with their parents and if the parents' formal agreement played a role in the institutional placement of their children at boarding schools. It was necessary to investigate the process itself – literally, how Sami children arrived at the boarding schools and how they were placed there. In order to look at the social environment in these schools, I asked if they attended classes together with children of other nationalities or in groups of mostly Sami children, and how they interacted with other Sami and non-Sami pupils, teachers and other staff of the schools. All these questions are reflected in the Interview Guide.[152]

By having prepared the interview questions beforehand, I identified thematic content and the amount of data I wanted to obtain. I compiled this Interview Guide for the purposes of my own thematic navigation during interview conversations. In his article on methodology of interview research, Olsen addresses the importance of a thoroughly prepared interview guide in the following way,

> One risks wasting time reinventing the wheel if one does not develop an interview guide related to existing research. In addition, guides that should be used flexibly, can be adjusted along the way, and which do not exclude empathetic interaction with new unexpected questions and answers, contribute to the involvement of all thematically relevant issues, as well as the possibilities for cross-sectional comparisons of informants' expressions.[153]

I conducted both individual and group interviews with the help of the above-mentioned guide. The approximate duration of one in-depth interview per informant was one hour. However, with some informants I carried out two or three hours of interview work, divided into separate sessions that consisted of one hour each. This was predetermined by the reason that in certain interviews a one-hour session was not sufficient to comprehensively cover all the in-depth topics raised by an informant, and additional interview sessions were necessary.

Especially when working with elderly informants, it is necessary to keep in mind that they can tire very soon, or might have a weaker state of health. It is better to have an additional interview session another day or several shorter interview sessions; for instance – one in the morning and one in the evening, or devote several days to conducting short interview sessions each day. With two informants I conducted several hours of recordings, divided into short interview sessions. In the first case, I conducted a one-hour interview on the same day and additional hours next day. In the second case, an hour and a half in the morning, and another hour and a half in the evening. Both interviews appeared to be very fruitful. It is extremely important to follow the informants' preferences and to be open for them in terms of time. This is an additional challenge because sometimes a researcher has very limited time in the field and the next interviews are already scheduled. Therefore, on the part of a researcher there should be a certain primary flexibility and accommodation to informants' needs, if one wants to work with them in the long run.

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[152] See Interview Guide in Appendix 1.

[153] Olsen 2003: 6. (Translated by A.A.)

The Interview Guide is comprehensive and includes many questions about the background of the informants. I led the discussion with informants in the direction of the prepared questions. Interviews were organized in the form of open conversations. This meant that I flexibly adjusted the questions along the way during each particular interview discussion. In open interviews, one finds disadvantageous opportunities for receiving vast amounts of data unrelated to historical events and experiences under study. With the help of the guide, I conducted concise and informative interviews directed at one specific inquiry. This made it possible for me to collect an extensive amount of data on the subject within the time limits I had in the fieldwork.

Another advantage of having such a comprehensive guide is the possibility of choosing from different types of questions in case an interview conversation goes in an unexpected direction. The guide helped me to keep the informants focused on their experiences of boarding school education. Sometimes, they started to speak about topics unrelated to the research subject. My main task was to navigate and balance between what informants were speaking about at that particular moment, and the actual subject of the interview. In cases when my informants were carried away by other topics, I brought them back to the main focus of our discussion by introducing the next question from my Interview Guide. This work required skills of patience, respect, a friendly spirit of communication and understanding of informants' emotional reactions.

Having the Interview Guide to hand helped to organize spontaneous aspects of conversations. The prepared interview questions worked as stimuli for informants to speak about the research subject. However, by strictly following the order of questions in the guide, it is possible to miss out important data that one can obtain by listening to what informants tell in a particular moment of time. It is important to keep a balance and be a flexible interviewer. In that way, more interesting data can appear for scientific use.

Some informants started the conversation with their experiences of other historical events apart from their boarding school education. For instance, some informants immediately proceeded by recalling their memories about enforced collectivization, political repressions and enforced resettlements. At first sight, it might seem that such experiences of the informants are not directly related to the topic of residential schooling. However, these historical events happened simultaneously to their boarding school education, influencing the difficult socio-economic situation of the Sami people. This made some Sami parents think about residential schooling as a possibility for their children to receive higher education and good professions in order to overcome the existing difficulties.

During interviews I had in mind very specific questions about my informants' life at the boarding schools. However, I did not interrupt informants (e.g. by strictly following the order of questions from the guide) when they spoke about their experiences of other historical events that happened in parallel to the introduction of boarding school education. If I had interrupted them, it would not have been possible for me to receive data about related historical events during the Soviet period. In fact I suggest that not the boarding schooling alone, but all these events (collectivization, repressions, resettlements) played a role in the process of Sami language assimilation (RQ2). This inter-dependency of the events makes the situation of the Sami people in Russia unique when we speak about the role of boarding school education.

On the one hand, the implemented interview strategy made it possible to keep a profound, in-depth focus on the study subject. On the other hand, with no thematic navigation during the interviews, there was a risk of conducting many hours of recordings, and attaining little actual and factual data as a result. This is why a thoroughly prepared Interview Guide was important for my work.

It makes a difference whether digital equipment is used during interviews or not. The data can be different depending on whether the informant's words are recorded. Some informants started to share sensitive data only after the interview was finished and the digital recorder was already turned off. In addition, I conducted three interviews and two formal conversations without the use of digital recording. Three informants wished interviews not to be captured on audio recorder. This should be respected especially in working with elderly informants, who are often suspicious about modern technology. Without the digital recording, these informants were more relaxed to share information.

The formal conversations were conducted without recording equipment because in working with representatives of official state organizations and other authority officials, the use of recording devices is not always a favored practice. Some officials are often skeptical about such activities. During interviews and formal meetings of this nature, I took regular pen-and-paper notes.[154]

I asked the informants about their biographies and boarding school experiences. At the end of each interview discussion, I asked the informants to come up with their own concluding comments about the influence of boarding school education on the Sami language and culture. Some informants provided analytical conclusions, while others gave descriptive answers. Several informants among the third generation[155] have higher pedagogical degrees and worked as boarding school teachers. Likewise, one informant of the first generation[156] is a pedagogue and worked as a regular school teacher. Narratives of these informants are comprehensive and analytical. For instance, an informant of the first generation gave a complete analytical overview of all historical processes that were happening simultaneously to residential schooling among her generation. She also described certain major concepts related to the study subject. In one of her narratives,[157] she outlined that the Sami parents of her generation were already not nomadic in the 1930s [policy of sedentarization] and state farms were established in the Sami villages [enforced collectivization]. The Sami people anticipated that their way of life would change soon. They needed to receive education in order to acquire other modern professions apart from reindeer husbandry [modernism vs. pastoralism]. They understood that in order to receive a profession they needed to undergo residential schooling [boarding school system]. Indeed, times had changed. The village where this informant was born was liquidated [enforced resettlement]. She was grateful for the opportunity of higher education and profession of a teacher [talent foundry]. However, she was torn apart from her language and culture and the lifestyle of her parents [assimilation].

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[154] Note detailed discussion about field notes in section 2.5.
[155] Informant A G3, Informant B G3, Informant C G3, Informant D G3.
[156] See narratives of Informant G G1.
[157] See narratives of Informant G G1 in section 5.2.

Other informants gave descriptive answers on whether they liked to study at the boarding school or not. For example, they answered, “Everything was alright. I liked it.” or “It was OK.” First, I noticed that informants, who do not have higher education, came up with descriptive answers more often. Second, it is possible that these informants did not want to share their sensitive experiences for the purposes of research. Some of them still acted quite reserved during interviews.[158] Finally, it is possible that the informants who gave descriptive answers do not remember their boarding school experiences in detail. As they were telling me about the events they experienced in the distant past, it is possible that they did not have active memories about residential schooling, or they had difficult experiences that they avoided speaking about. When speaking about events from the distant past, people tend to remember those experiences that left the strongest impression. These experiences, as a rule, are very positive or negative. Therefore, it is possible that informants who gave descriptive answers did not have strong impressions of their time spent at the boarding school.

If an informant did not bring up a certain topic during interview, it could be explained by the fact that the informant did not consider this an important topic for discussion. The informants brought up those topics that they themselves consider to be important. At the same time, each generation of informants brought up the topics that are acute for their generation. That is why, in the chapters on experiences of each generation (Chapters 4, 6, 8), I discuss the thematic issues brought up by my informants themselves.

Many informants discussed both positive and negative experiences of their boarding school times with great enthusiasm. Some were glad to receive the opportunity to share experiences about which they had been silent for many years.[159] Most informants among the first generation stated that they enjoyed boarding school education, except one informant who strongly resisted it.[160] The situation of the first generation of boarding school pupils was surprising for me. I did not anticipate that most informants among this generation would come up with positive experiences of boarding school education. In fact, informants of this generation expressed gratitude for the opportunity to receive residential schooling, and enjoyed their school years.

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[158] E.g. Informant B G1, Informant A G2, Informant D G2, Informant E G3.
[159] E.g. Informant I G1, Informant B G2, Informant A G3, Informant A G4.
[160] Informant I G1, see narratives of this Informant in section 5.1, 5.2, 5.3.

There is another aspect that might have influenced how the informants speak about their experiences of residential education. The first generation grew up in Stalinist times, when it was impossible to speak critically about state politics. It is possible that informants tell about their experiences in the light of the period of active Stalinist repressions, when it was dangerous to speak critically about Russian culture, governmental projects and the political regime. Even today, these informants present information exactly in the same way they would have presented it in when they were young.

Another strategy I used was to follow informants' reactions to my questions during interviews. If my informant did not want to answer a question, then we skipped it. Sometimes an informant did not want to share certain information, but did not express it verbally. For example, some informants tried to switch the topic, or avoid answering a question. In these cases, I did not push their limits because I did not want to cause any harm. Instead, I asked the same questions to other informants. Many hours of interviews with different people made it possible to receive eventual answers on the same question from other informants instead of those who did not wish to talk about particular topics.

I carefully observed the participants during my interview work. This primarily concerns the informants' facial expressions, body language and emotional reactions. Participant observation makes it possible to notice knowledge that is hidden, unsaid and non-verbal. According to Tracy, a good interview research,

> delves beneath the surface to explore issues that are assumed, implicit, and have become part of participants' common sense. Noticing, analyzing and unpacking this knowledge are keys to understanding interaction and behavior in the scene.[161]

I handled issues regarding the sensitivity of information in my research practice by following and observing the moods and emotional rhythms of my informants. For instance, one informant had a very strong emotional reaction and began crying during our interview.[162] By crying, this informant released emotional pressure connected to the topic of our interview and her experiences of residential schooling. Then, she expressed an interest in continuing with our conversation. This example shows that especially for those informants who have undergone difficult experiences, it is very hard to speak about these experiences with other people, especially if they know that this information is to be used for research. For instance, the scholar Ellacarin Blind who studied experiences of Sami boarding school pupils in Sweden mentioned that some informants also started to cry during their interview work because they had never spoken about their experiences with anyone before the interview.[163]

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[161] Tracy 2010: 843.

[162] Informant E G2. Note section 6.4.

In my analysis, I openly write about reactions and non-verbal forms of informants' responses to the questions asked during interviews. Although I cannot use this data on an equal footing with the narrative material, I discuss this information in the analytical conclusions I gained through the observation of participants during the interviews.

In order to minimize the researcher's subjectivity, it is essential to keep a critical reflexive distance during interviews and further interpretation of data. I exercised a critical reflexive distance by stepping back from my own ideas, believes and emotions, and creating some distance from it. Especially when working with difficult human experiences, the key is to avoid the tendency to "feed the fire" of subjective thoughts and points of view with additional emotions. But we can note our subjective attitudes in an objective way by simply acknowledging it. And if we do not intensify this spark of "our own truth", we learn to recognize our personal involvement, and then we are able to step back from it during the research process. It starts by just being aware of that initial spark and resist the impulse. Researcher must learn to resist the impulse to "fuel the fire" with own preconceptions and to project it on interview material because we are aware that this can negatively affect the research results. The work with experiences of residential schooling has been extremely emotionally demanding for me, but it is our practice of critical reflexive distance. Exactly by learning to step back, we start to reflect critically about what informants say and why they say it.

I continue with a few examples of practice of critical distance during my interview sessions. For instance, in questions concerning Sami identity and language, one of my informants of the first generation (Informant G G1), a teacher by profession, repeatedly emphasized that she preferred to have Russian friends instead of her Sami peers, that she spoke Russian language very well and enjoyed boarding school education. The way she spoke about the importance of the Russian culture when answering questions about the Sami identity, shows that the informant was in fact ashamed of her own ethnicity but could not verbally confide it. She stressed very carefully that she was discriminated against because of her Sami origin. But for reason of her profession she could not speak openly about the topic of ethnic discrimination that she experienced in her youth and later in professional life. Instead, this informant started to highlight the importance of good knowledge of Russian and benefits of residential schooling.

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[163] Blind 2005: 249.

There could be two underlying reasons behind her narratives. First, she felt guilty about her attempt to hide her ethnicity when she worked at school. When the time of ethnic revival began in the late 1970s, the Sami started to speak up about topics of ethnic discrimination. This was the time when many Sami people started to officially recognize themselves as Sami. Likewise, this informant started to make public her ethnic background only during the time of ethnic revival. Secondly, it was very painful for her to explicitly state that she had been discriminated against in her professional life, and that she had to distance herself from her own community in order to 'fit in' the majority.

The two informants who were teachers at the boarding school under study show similar tendency to speak positive about residential education and to highlight the importance of profound knowledge of the Great Russian language. These informants tended to present benefits of the boarding school education. Still, both of the informants were thoroughly choosing words during our interviews and were trying not to say something controversial. One of these informants expressed the point of view that it was not the boarding school system that impaired the Sami language situation. As a teacher she considers that these were the Sami parents who had responsibility over teaching their children mother-tongue at home, but boarding school have at its best fulfilled all responsibilities it had concerning the Sami language teaching in the end of 1970s. This informant expressed opinion that not the boarding school system but the Sami people themselves did not manage to transfer the language to their children. But the other informant, who is also a teacher, stressed very carefully that the Sami pupils were ridiculed by teachers in the boarding school, but changed the topic of conversation very fast. She continued telling about how comfortable were the boarding school facilities and how good was the job of teachers in helping the Sami children to master the Russian language.

The latter informants still work in education and continue to teach at the local schools after closure of the boarding school in 2014. It might have been possible that these informants could not openly admit negative sides of the boarding school system because they would risk with their employment positions in case they would be critical. Only one teacher told about her own complicated experiences as a pupil of the boarding school and further challenges in her practice as a teacher of the Sami language together with other sensitive impacts of residential education. But this informant is already a pensioner and she does not work in the school system anymore. That is why she was more open to tell about difficult experiences than those informants who still work in education today.

Summing up, it is essential to practice critical reflexive distance and do thorough background research on life circumstances of the informants, e.g. their social position, gender, political views and age. In turn, it is evident that an efficient use of oral testimonies requires critical evaluation and assessment of its reliability, as I discussed it previously in 2.1

Further, I turn to interpretation of interview material. In analyzing interview data, accuracy in interpretation of narratives is important.

Similarly to what I have already discussed above, the analysis of interviews can be explorative or descriptive, although too descriptive a character can lead to trivial observations.[164] My analysis is thus both explorative and descriptive. Thematic interpretation of certain standpoints, opinions and recollections of historical events presented by the informants in the chapters of my dissertation correspond to substantial explorative functions applied to various angles of the analyzed situations.

For the purposes of interpreting informants' narratives, I propose the following analytical techniques, applied in the analysis. In particular, I use a combination of: 1) inductive reasoning and 2) generalization. I combine these methodological strategies with assertions gained during participant observation.

I use inductive reasoning in the analysis of informants' narratives. I produce structured assumptions generated from a particular to common, or in Seale's words,

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[164] Olsen 2002: 7.

"generalizing from a sample to population"[165] – from each informant's life story to the situation of a single generation. In this way, it is possible to systematize the experiences of informants into a common response consisting of a set of each individual experience of boarding school life, and within this context it is possible to identify how various federal and regional educational policies were implemented in local practice. By observing the study processes at the individual level of a single informant's life narration, it is possible to trace interconnections between the processes discussed and the experiences of other interviewees of the same generation.

I wrap up the discussion with generalization techniques. According to Olsen, "Both the number and nature of informants are decisive for subsequent analytical opportunities, including not least the possibilities of generalization."[166] As I have already mentioned in sections 1.4.3 and 2.2, I collected quite a substantial number of hours of recorded interview data (20 hours). According to Tracy, even though generalizability is characteristic of natural sciences, some principles of generalization can be applied in social sciences in a valuable sense. Tracy pointed out that generalization techniques are used in social sciences since "researchers seek resonance not because they desire to generalize **across** cases, but rather because they aim to generalize **within** them."[167] As an example, the author refers to the work of Geertz,[168] who studied the behavior of cocks during cockfights and placed his analysis in a deeper frame of Bentham's "deep play" theories. As a result, Geertz' findings prompt readers to reflect on how violence is connected with issues of power, status and sexuality in their own cultures. Thus appropriate application of the generalization strategy summons "resonance across various populations and contexts, even if it is based on data from a unique population during a specified moment of time."[169] This is because most social situations, relations and processes are both typical and unique at the same time.[170]

I apply what Lewis and Ritchie call "representational generalization". This concept is used "to explore how far the findings from a study can be generalized to the specific population from which the study sample was drawn."[171] At the same time, one seeks “to examine whether the phenomena found in the research sample (for example, views, experiences, behaviors or outcomes)”[172] would similarly be found in other or wider populations. This applies to the study of “content or ‘map’ of the range of views, experiences, outcomes or other phenomena under study and the factors and circumstances that shape and influence them.”[173] It is also significant to use analogy in the course of this analysis. Thomas refers to such advantages of analogy as “the process of bringing together, juxtaposing, seeing similarities across contexts”.[174]

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[165] Seale 1999: 468.
[166] Olsen 2002: 9 (Translated by A.A.); also in Olsen 2003: 5.
[167] Tracy 2010: 845.
[168] Geertz 1973.
[169] Tracy 2010: 845.
[170] Halkier 2011: 788.
[171] Lewis and Ritchie 2003: 265.

The afore-mentioned approach to oral data analysis makes it possible for the final research results to be used in comparative perspectives within more extended categories, such as within cross-regional or cross-country contexts. For example, my research findings can be used to carry out comparisons about how the collective boarding school experiences of the Sami interviewees correspond to the experiences of the Nenets or the Evenk people in Russia, or other Sami in Scandinavia.

In fact, it makes possible to explore historical processes of local, regional, national or even universal significance. To explain the latter universality, this study can be perceived as an analysis of assimilation strategy, imposed on a particular indigenous group, and implemented through residential education with the set of planned, systematic, strategic steps and decisions. Similar strategies of eradication and convergence of ethnic and cultural differences through education are present in other state, regional and local discourses. This constitutes a certain universality of features in the studied subject. Hypothetically, if history were to repeat itself, the same strategic mechanisms could be used and applied again in various other contexts under similar conditions. This conforms to the principle of transferability and generalizability, with its claims that we study historical processes that could, theoretically, repeat themselves under similar conditions in another moment of time and space.[175]

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[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid: 269.
[174] Thomas 2010: 580.
[175] Tracy 2010: 845.

2.4 Recruitment and selection of informants

I carried out in-depth interviews with the former Sami pupils of the two boarding schools in focus who underwent residential education during the outlined historical periods. Thus, the core target groups of informants represent three generations of adults who have experienced the educational policies as pupils of boarding schools. The informants were recruited in two ways: through a local assistant in Lovozero and through networking with potential informants.

It is necessary to mention that I was working with the help of a local assistant, whose tasks were to get in contact with informants and arrange times and dates for interview meetings. As I discussed previously in 1.6, I have worked closely with the same assistant, Ganna Aleksandrovna Vinogradova, since 2010 when I started to carry out interviews with local relocated Sami groups for my Master's project.[176] I always contact her on the telephone beforehand and inform her that I would like to have her assistance in getting in touch with local Sami people in order to conduct research interviews. My cooperation with Ganna has been very positive for almost 8 years now. Her tasks lie in contacting relevant informants and arranging interview meetings. Usually, upon my arrival to Lovozero, we conduct a preparatory meeting, where I inform her about the project details and focus of study. In this meeting we discuss potential interview candidates who might meet the selection criteria. After that, I give a couple of days to Ganna to contact all the potential informants by phone and arrange dates and times for interviews. Further, when the interview arrangements are confirmed, we proceed with interview procedures. Ganna accompanies me when I visit informants and is present during the interview process, unless an informant wishes to talk with me in private. For the sake of clarity, here I have to mention that Ganna's tasks do not imply data collection or collection of interviews. Her role is exclusively connected with helping me to get in touch with local informants of older generations whom she personally knows, along with making a time schedule for interviews that I carry out.

Most of the interviews were conducted at my informants' homes, because I work with many elderly people who often have a weak state of health (Generation 1). They prefer to invite me to conduct the interviews at their home. However, when interviews were conducted with younger informants (Generation 2, 3), some of them preferred to be interviewed in an office setting. Therefore, I contacted the Director of the Sami National Cultural Centre in Lovozero, who has generously supported me by providing a separate office in the building of the Sami Cultural Centre, where I invited those informants who wished to be interviewed there.

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[176] Afanasyeva 2013.

Thus, most of the interviews in Lovozero were organized either in the presence of my assistant or without the presence of any third parties, when certain informants wished to talk to me one-to-one. Still, almost half of the interview recordings (this relates to the focus group and individuals) were made in the presence of my assistant. In addition to the individual interviews, I conducted two group-interviews with my assistant present, and two informants being interviewed together. It is necessary to note that individual interviews seemed to bring up more sensitive information about the personal life of my informants. At the same time, group interviews made it possible to receive data showing how informants agreed and disagreed with each other on different questions. Thus, both formats of interviewing were applied – individual and group interviewing. Both forms have advantages and disadvantages. While individual interviews provide deeper insights into personal moments important for the informants themselves, a group interview allows different angles to be traced, and varied opinions to be heard of several community members on one and the same matter.

When it came to recruiting informants from Umba, Teriberka, Murmansk and Apatity who studied at the boarding school in Gremikha, I initially approached Nina Afanas’eva for her assistance in finding potential informants from this research area. Nina herself studied in this boarding school and has connections with her former classmates, whom I managed to interview with her help. Nina Afanas’eva contacted potential informants by phone and asked them if they would like to participate in interviews. Thereafter, I contacted the same informants myself in order to agree on dates and times for the interviews, and to schedule my arrival in their towns. In order to reach these informants, I had to travel to different places. Simultaneously, when I was conducting interviews I asked my informants if they knew other Sami people who had studied at the same boarding school, and whether they would like to participate in the interviews. These informants then contacted their acquaintances by phone, inviting them to attend interviews with me. Thus, through approaching one informant, I was able to get in touch with subsequent informants who were part of their network. The process of searching for informants was like building “a snowball”[177] – when an interview with one informant led me to the next one, with my body of data growing larger all the time.

All informants were selected according to four main criteria. First, ethnicity (all interviewees, expect for official representatives of the Department for Education, identify themselves as Sami). Second, age (according to each informant’s belonging to one of the three generations of this study[178]). Third, geographical principle of their birth (according to place of birth, i.e. from districts of the two focus boarding schools in Gremikha and Lovozero). The final and main criterion was the informants’ personal experience of boarding school education. Thus, my interviewees were former students of boarding schools in two municipalities of the Murmansk region (boarding schools in Gremikha and in Lovozero). The informants were chosen from two different boarding schools in order to exemplify local regional similarities, differences and variation of the study processes in terms of space and time. Additionally, I interviewed people of different genders, social classes and different educational backgrounds (see Appendix 2).

The studied informants’ experiences are as different as the individual situations of each concrete interviewee. Nevertheless, emphasis was placed on differences in individual experiences determined by such factors as the informants’ family circumstances (full or restricted parental custody), and the social class (educational and professional background) and gender of the interviewed community members. During analysis, it is important not to ignore the differences in informants’ experiences. The informants’ individual situations depend on their family circumstances while they resided in boarding schools, along with their social status today.

The outcomes of my analysis are presented with systematized oral data collected about the boarding school in Lovozero, which was designed to educate the following target groups: children of Sami parents, who were engaged in reindeer herding, relocated children from closed Sami villages and parentless Sami children. In addition, other groups of Sami children, such as those who attended regular secondary school in Lovozero because their families were living a sedentary lifestyle in the village (i.e. Sami children living at home with their parents or under care of other close relatives), are excluded from analysis under this study. They represent a separate group receiving education under conditions not at the boarding school. However, these experiences will be mentioned briefly along the way. Therefore, I interviewed those informants, who lived at residential schools full time and some of those who were attending residential schools only for the purposes of receiving an education, but lived full time with their parents.

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[177] Blind 2005: 249.

[178] Note classification of generational boundaries in section 1.2.

Apart from this, I carried out official meetings and formal conversations with the Head of the Department of Education in the Lovozero District[179] and the representative of the Public Office of Community Education in the Lovozero District[180]. Thus, I interviewed workers of the corresponding institutions who are Russian by nationality. In addition, I have carried out interviews with former Sami language teachers of the boarding school in Lovozero. The interview with one of these informants, who was originally born in Voron'e village[181], was especially valuable as this informant has devoted over twenty years of her pedagogical work to education of Sami and other children in the boarding school in Lovozero.

The analysis of boarding school policies and informants' experiences in the post-Soviet period is not the primary focus of this study. Nevertheless, it was useful to conduct the two afore-mentioned interviews in order to gain a brief insight into boarding school education in timeframes after the research periods examined in this dissertation. I used the data gained from these interviews to form general considerations of the study.

It is important to mention that boarding schools encompassed not only Sami children, but children of different nationalities, including Russian children. The emphasis of this work, however, is concentrated on the situations and experiences of Sami pupils educated in the residential facilities discussed. That is why I highlight ethnicity in the dissertation as a relevant criterion for recruitment of informants. Also, I have worked with several informants of the first generation who had only a few classes of primary education and refused to continue boarding school education in order to work in reindeer husbandry.[182] Their general opinions and attitudes to school education, including education in residential facilities, are carefully taken into account in the course of my analysis.

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[179] See Meeting 1 in Appendix 2.

[180] See Meeting 1 in Appendix 2.

[181] Informant A G3.

[182] Informant A G1, Informant E G1, Informant I G1.

2.5 Field notes, transcription and translation of narratives

Field notes make it possible to render background information about the interviewees and to capture the data from participant observation during the actual course of interviews.[183] I wrote my observations during interviews and formal meetings. I also wrote conclusions after completion of interviews and conversations. My field notes contain information on the biography of informants, observed behaviors of informants during interviews, analytical conclusions and results of the meetings and interview sessions carried out.

Making extensive field notes can be effective to capture valuable information, especially in situations when using a tape recorder or other digital equipment is impossible. For example, the fact that informants were informed in advance about the research purposes of our interviews influenced the type of data provided by them in the course of our discussions. There were certain aspects informants did not want to share during digital recording, and brought certain topics up only after the recorder was turned off. In these cases, I took regular field notes.

Besides, I wrote notes during archival and library work in Russia. I made a descriptive overview of secondary literature and archival materials on the topic. These notes contain excerpts and citations from relevant literature sources and archival documents found in local libraries and archives. I used data from these notes to complement the oral data gained through the interview process.

I conducted the interviews in Russian. Several interviews with informants of the oldest generation started with our communication in Sami, but we shifted to Russian for the recording. This has the following principal reason: Sami languages in Russia are very seldom, if ever, used in public discussions or research domains. The Sami communicative part of interviews for this project presupposed more lighthearted communication about topics of everyday life rather than serious research activity. Linguists Riessler and Wilbur encourage oral history researchers to conduct interviews in endangered languages for the purposes of its further research and preservation.[184] To comment on their assumptions, it is realistic to conduct oral history interviews in Kildin Sami because this language has the largest number of active native speakers compared to other Kola Sami languages.[185] However, conduction of oral history interviews in Kildin Sami and its transcription requires help from local Sami language specialists and assistants. From my experience, speaking about intricate historical relationships in Kildin Sami can require additional effort for informants themselves. That is why there would be need for a fluent native-speaking interview assistant, who could take part in interviews as an active participant of the research, encouraging informants to speak Sami about complex historical events.

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[183] Techniques in writing extensive field notes are well discussed in Bengtsson 2014: 733–735.

[184] Riessler and Wilbur: 2017.

Annotation and transcription of oral history interviews in Kildin Sami is also possible with the help of such native speaker assistants. However, hiring language assistants requires additional resources. In my project I had the capacity only for a regular assistant to help contact informants. In my view, the idea of oral history interviews done in Kildin Sami could be effective for the purposes of language documentation and preservation. It could have been done in terms of a separate project, acknowledging oral history research in Kildin Sami as one of the main project priorities.

I have annotated my interviews myself. I produced interview transcriptions in Russian, and translated informants' narratives into English. I have done detailed transcriptions of full interviews. I chose not to complete selective transcriptions, i.e. when one selects interesting and relevant citations of informants and annotates only these phrases. I have annotated the whole interviews. I realized that through selective transcriptions, I miss out important information, e.g. narratives of informants about historical events that they experienced apart from residential schooling during the same study period, or non-verbal expressions of emotional reactions, like exclamations and interjections. For instance, interjections may reflect a direct non-verbal response of informants to a particular interview question. There are interjections expressing contempt, disgust, distrust or surprise, amazement, excitement. I did not want to miss out such types of information. Hence, I chose to allocate more time for full detailed annotations of interview material, rather than going for selective modes of transcribing. The advantage of such detailed transcriptions is that it will be possible to use the same annotations for other research projects in the future.

I translated the narratives myself. This was another big scope of the project. Translation of informants' narratives into English had its challenges. The translation can alter meaning and the main points embedded in a narrative. In order to avoid misinterpretation of data, I made direct translations and only small edits. I tried to keep the original structure of the narratives. I did not break the narratives into small sequences. I translated the whole body of narrative, so that the main message expressed by the informant could remain unchanged.

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[185] Other Kola Sami languages like Ter or Skolt Sami have very few active native speakers. See more details about the number of Sami native speakers in section 1.2.

For example, there were certain Sami concepts, which are absent in both Russian and English. One of my informants[186] could not find a proper Russian word for such a concept. He pointed out the special spiritual connection of a Sami child with reindeer that was an integral part of his family upbringing. He used this concept to argue that education in boarding schools disrupted the transmission of Sami cultural values to children. That is why many Sami among his generation found the profession of a reindeer herder unattractive. Translation of the main point of his narrative into English was an evident challenge because the single word denoting "spiritual connection of a child or a person with reindeer" is simply absent in Russian or English languages. I chose to provide direct translation of the narrative. In addition, I explain the meaning of this narrative in analysis. The reader can see from the translated narrative that it was challenging for the informant to come up with a substitute of this Sami concept in Russian.[187]

Thus, in indigenous research methodology,[188] oral accounts and citations of informants are usually not reduced into several short sentences. I argue that by breaking one holistic narrative into small sequences, which are subsequently translated, one can lose the main message expressed by the informant. Shortening some specific narratives increases the risk of data misinterpretation. Thus, in Chapters 4, 6 and 8, one finds a great deal of full informants' narratives, which I have directly translated into English.

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[186] Informant C G2.

[187] See narrative of Informant C G2 in section 7.2.2.

[188] Porsanger 2004b.

2.6 Anonymity and protection of informants' privacy

One of the cornerstones of my work with informants lies in preserving their privacy.[189] The different forms of ethical reflexivity are essential to this practice. In the course of the study, it was necessary to introduce informed consent[190] due to the high proportion of personal and sensitive information concerning the lives of my informants. Another aim of signing the consent was to ensure fulfillment of my obligations as researcher in preserving the anonymity of informants' personal information, such as direct dates of birth, their first names and surnames along with addresses, phone numbers and other contact information.[191]

Informed consent forms were signed in two original copies at the beginning of each interview session. Therefore, all of my informants were properly aware that the information they shared was to be used for research purposes. All of my informants kept one copy of the informed consent signed by both parties, and another copy of the consent remained in my possession. Not only interview materials, but also additional use of photos from private archives of informants was negotiated with them in advance. The informed consent procedure gave my interviewees a rightful awareness about sharing particular types of knowledge about their personal life experiences, which they themselves permitted to be published.

This consent agreement ensured additional trust between me and informants on account of the official statements of my obligations to protect their privacy and anonymity. The informants were instructed that they had the right to use the following consent against me in court in case of any infringement of anonymity occurring. By signing this agreement, I admitted my full responsibility concerning anonymous use of their personal data in the current project.

The informed consent was not introduced in communication with the official worker of Department for Education and the Head of Administration of the Department for Education in the Lovozero District, because during these meeting I did not conduct digital recordings. These formal conversations were conducted without use of digital equipment because in work with representatives of state organizations and other officials, use of recording technology is not always positively met. The meetings were not scheduled as regular in-depths interviews. I did not ask for biographical information, but rather conducted discussions where the topic was the principles of boarding school education for the Sami in the Lovozero District. In this case, I was taking regular field notes.

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[189] Hammersley and Traianou 2012: 99. In chapter on "Privacy, Confidentiality and Anonymity".

[190] A different experience on introduction of informed consent, when the author realized that the agreement could not guarantee full and open participation of delinquent youth informants in research, is reflected in Bengtsson 2014: 732. In my case, informed consent worked positively, in particular because I was working with adults, not children. Therefore, introduction of informed consent in certain research cases cannot guarantee successful implementation of research agreement, and should be reviewed thoroughly depending on the specific target group of informants; their age, social status and other probable factors.

[191] The open data that I use is normally place of birth, year of birth, place of current residence and data about their life experiences, which they shared for digital recording during our interviews.

Summing up, methods of interviewing involving digital collection of oral data are principally different from those projects dealing with collection of written secondary or archival sources, where practicing of anonymity through informed consent is not of particularly high relevance.[192]

Conclusions

This dissertation is an historical work, produced using a combination of various methodological techniques. I use multiple sources. I combine several types of data used in this study, i.e. published and unpublished sources, primary archival documents along with materials from the private archives of my informants. These sources are systematized and enhance oral data gained from in-depth interviews with former Sami students of the two boarding schools in the Murmansk region. Most importantly, I focus on the analysis of oral data and informants' narratives as one of the central empirical contributions of my work.

I argue that the combination of conventional sources, which are written and archival testimonies, and interview data, can be used as the basis for people-centered research, which is yet solid in its historical validity. The use of the informants' memories, recollections and opinions considerably enriches contemporary understandings of the studied issues.

The main methodological contribution of this current study lies in a thorough, robust analysis of historical events, presented in the data form of informants' oral accounts, and subsequently analyzed and used as a valuable source. I point out that the method of oral history that I have applied, can open up perspectives for the production of new knowledge in the field.

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[192] Hammersley and Traianou 2012: 5 (Conclusion).

However, for efficient use of oral testimonies a researcher should keep in mind that data we gain from human memory is subjective, situational and one should always put it through a critical reliability test. In this chapter I outlined two-step strategy for testing the validity of oral testimonies, encompassing firstly thorough investigation of informants' backgrounds (gender, age, social status, political affiliation) and further scrupulous cross-check of oral evidences with other primary and secondary source material.

Chapter 3 Historical background (1880–1935)

Until the Revolution and the end of the early Soviet period, most of the Sami population was illiterate. Only a few children had an opportunity to attend church schools. In this chapter, I discuss the first educational developments for the Sami in the period before the October Revolution in 1917 and educational policies that preceded the establishment of the first boarding schools in the mid 1930s.

In 3.1, I turn to establishment of missionary parish schools on the Kola Peninsula and first attempts at education of Sami children. I analyze first records on status of illiteracy among the Sami population and recruitment into education of the Sami children from remote areas with available dormitory facilities at parish school sites. In this section, I demonstrate how superintendents of parish schools underscore in their reports the necessity of establishing primary schools for the Sami children, so that they could have access to school education in their traditional settlements. This idea of establishing primary schools for the Sami was fulfilled but already by the Soviet government, as I discuss in section 3.4.

In sections that follow 3.1, I scrutinize important educational policies for the Sami that preceded the establishment of the first boarding schools in the mid 1930s.

Section 3.2 sees into the education of the Sami in the period from the mid 1920s to mid 1930s. It provides an introduction of the first legislation on compulsory school education, social and educational enlightenment programs for the semi-nomadic Sami in the tundra. In 3.3, I turn to activity of the local Committee of the North and experimental introduction of elementary education in Sami languages.

In 3.4, I address first elementary schools for the Sami in their indigenous villages. I provide an analysis of the establishment of elementary school education as a system, and the start of state programs in educating indigenous cadres as teachers for these schools. In 3.5, I particularly focus on the Soviet programs of higher education targeted at forming Sami pedagogical cadres that were later integrated into the boarding school system. I address training of indigenous school cadres and Sami teachers through the policy of *Talent Foundry*, which started as early as the 1920s and was active up to the late 1980s.

3.1 Missionary parish schools

The first Orthodox missionaries began to spread their activities among the Kola Sami people at the end of the 15th century, when Novgorod, under the principality of Muscovy, established its jurisdiction on the Kola Peninsula in the 1470s.[193] Since then, the Sami villages were administratively divided between different monasteries.[194] The Russian Orthodox Church started to establish church schools on the Kola Peninsula from the 1880s. In her article on the history of encounters of the Kola Sami with the first Orthodox missionaries, the Kola Sami scholar Jelena Porsanger (earlier Sergejeva)[195] outlines that the number of parish schools was estimated as 11, operating across the whole territory of the Peninsula in 1892.[196] According to Porsanger, some of these schools started to close already a few years after opening. This had two principal reasons. First, the schools lacked teaching cadres. Second, there were insufficient means to travel, and poor transport connections for potential pupils living in remote areas of the Peninsula.[197]

For instance, today's Lovozero secondary school has developed from the Lovozero parish school, which opened in 1895.[198] This school was originally organized in a *tupa* – Sámi *toabp*, Russian *tupa* – a small Sami log dwelling with a flat roof; traditional dwellings in winter settlements are known as *'toabp'.* The school was attended by 16 boys (1 – Russian, 7 – Komi[199], 6 – Sami, 2 – Nenets) and 4 girls (1– Russian and 3 – Komi).[200] In 1898, the school was rearranged into a parish church school. The historian Khomich states,

> The teacher [in this school] did not understand Sami and Sami children did not understand Russian – the language barrier took long efforts to overcome. Bible classes were difficult for pupils because they did not understand the meaning of phrases they learned by heart.[201]

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[193] Sergejeva 2000: 17.

[194] Ibid.

[195] Jelena Porsanger (earlier Sergejeva). The early works of this scholar referred to in this chapter are published under the scholar's former last name. In this dissertation, I use her earlier and later works, published under both last names. This is reflected in the footnotes and in the Reference list.

[196] Ibid: 24

[197] Sergejeva 2000: 24.

[198] Khomich 1999: 70.

[199] Fryer and Lehtinen propose the following definition of the Komi people, "Izhma Komi – *Komi-Izhemtsy* (in Russian) or *Iz'vatas* (in Komi) – an ethnic community of northern Komi origin in Northwest Russia." (Fryer, Lehtinen 2013: 21). According to Konstantinov, Komi-Izhemtsy herders together with small number of Nenets herders migrated to the Kola Peninsula in the 1880s. (Konstantinov 2005: 174).

[200] Khomich 1999: 70.

[201] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

Another school for Sami children was opened on 8 February 1888 in Pazretskii pogost[202] (in Sami: *Paaččjokk syit;* currently – the Boris Glebskii settlement on the border with Norway). The priest of the Pazretsko-Lapp parish, Konstantin Shchekoldin, was the founder of the church school. He was well known for his fluency in Skolt Sami and skills as a good educator.[203] The priest learned the Sami language from the Sami Fedotov family in Pazretskii pogost, along with help from other native speakers of the Nuettj´avvr dialect of the Skolt Sami language.[204]

Konstantin Shchekoldin translated parts of the New Testament and St Matthew's gospel into Skolt Sami in 1884.[205] In 1895, he published the first alphabet primer in the Skolt Sami language – "*Alphabet for Lapps".*[206] It contains introductory information about speech sounds, syllables and words for learning Russian, elementary assignments for counting from 0 to 10 and short texts for reading. Some of these texts are introduced with parallel translations in Sami and in Russian.[207]

Education in the parish school was organized in Russian, when most Sami people were monolingual in their native tongues. Porsanger mentions that the Sami children did not know Russian at all when they started school.[208] Therefore, even before the October Revolution, knowledge of the Russian language had become more important for the Sami than previously. The Russian language became necessary as a tool for communication not only for the purposes of trade, negotiations about taxation procedures or interactions with the Church, but also in order to have the possibility of receiving a school education.[209] The list of regular subjects at the parish schools show that mathematics, reading and writing were taught in Russian, and some monastery services were also offered in Russian.[210] As such, Porsanger discusses that already then

> Continual contacts of Sami with the Russian-speaking population had a lasting effect on the vocabulary of the Sami language. There was a great influx of loan-words from Russian into the Eastern Sami languages, i.e.

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[202] Ogryzko 2010: 7.
[203] Sergejeva 2000: 24.
[204] Ogryzko 2010: 7.
[205] Sergejeva 2000: 24.
[206] Shchekoldin 1895: 22.
[207] Sergejeva 2000: 24; Ogryzko 2010: 7 Khomich 1999: 71.
[208] Sergejeva 2000: 25.
[209] Ibid.
[210] GAMO I18-1-2: 95; Myklebost 2013: 83-84.

> the Skolt, Kildin, Ter and Akkala Sami varieties. The Sami vocabulary used for the church liturgy and ceremonies is all derived from Russian.[211]

This is how the priest and the head of the Ponoi parish school, Nikolai Shmakov, writes about the educational situation of the Sami in his correspondence to the Kemsko-Aleksandrovskii Department of the Diocesan Council of Education in the academic year 1894–1895, where he emphasizes that the majority of the Sami children in the district still remained illiterate,

> It is necessary to open a school for the Lapp children of the Ponoi parish in the village of Iokanga as the central one among the other Sami settlements, since the Lapp children are completely illiterate. They do not study at Ponoi parish school on account of the remoteness of their place of residence. (...) The school does not have hostels, which is why children from other Sami settlements did not study at the school, except for one Lapp boy who lived with his parents.[212]

In 1915–1916, in another letter to the Department of Diocesan Council, Shmakov stressed the same educational situation and that special schools for Sami children should be established in their ethnic villages, so that pupils could be educated without the need to travel long distances to existing parish schools,

> There are a few pupils in the school because the Ponoi parish consists of five Sami villages, considerably remote from the settlement of Ponoi (…) The two closest Sami settlements are Sosnovskii and Lumbovskii at one hundred miles distance. The other villages are two hundred miles away. That is why Lapps experience difficulties in sending their children to school one by one. This year only one Lapp boy from the Sosnovskii settlement was educated in school. Actually, in Ponoi, there are few inhabitants belonging to the local school, of total 90 male souls and 100 female souls. Generally, boys of school age are educated in school, which is positive, with the exception of some few girls. In order to enlighten the Lapps and educate their children, it is necessary to open an independent parish or school there. [in the Sami villages].[213]

However, it appears that among school lists of pupils at the Ponoi parish elementary school for 1909–1912, there were pupils with both Komi and Sami descent, who were in fact recorded in the school report lists as Russians. According to these lists, the parish school in Ponoi had 34 students in 1912. All these students are recorded as Russians. There are record lines in this report, stating the category “other tribes”. This category was left blank, despite 17 pupils among the total of 34 being Sami and Komi. In all, 13 students were originally Sami and 4 students – Komi.[214]

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[211] Sergejeva 2000: 25.

[212] GAMO I18-1-2: 41. (Translated by A.A.)

[213] GAMO I18-1-2: 85. (Translated by A.A.)

The question is whether these Sami and Komi pupils had indeed assimilated or were simply listed as Russians in the official documents of the school. For instance, Alymov, a leading researcher on the Kola Sami in the 1930s, states that there was a range of inconsistencies, when ethnic Sami were often recorded as Russians. This was especially observed by Alymov in the documents of the Poona and the Kola-Lapp Districts.[215] However, Alymov makes the presupposition that Ponoi in the 1930s was mostly populated by Sami groups that were already assimilated. In such a way, he writes that "The influence of alien culture is especially deeply expressed in the cultural convergence of Lapps, and the complete loss of their tribal features in the Far East of the Peninsula [Ponoi area], where they have turned into Russians".[216] Thus, the assimilative processes among the Sami in the northeastern part of the Kola Peninsula were observed already in the late 19th century, when most of the Sami in the Ponoi village had assimilated into Russian culture, according to Alymov. It is worth mentioning that specifically Ponoi was the central settlement of the area, where the Ponoi Eparchial Monastery was situated, together with its missionary school.

Until the early 20th century, the Sami were still predominantly engaged in reindeer herding, hunting, gathering and fishing. Most of the Sami were illiterate. The historian Volkov mentions that "Only in the late 19th to early 20th century, in barely visible forms, the state began to show concern for their education. No more than 50 Sami children were enrolled in 7 schools that existed on the Kola Peninsula until 1917".[217]

The historian Khomich demonstrates the following statistics about levels of literacy in the Sami villages. In 1897, the level of literacy among the Sami population was 5%, at the same time as the general level of literacy in Russia among people aged 8 to 49, was 28.4%.[218] The local historian Kiselev mentions that by the time of the October Revolution, children from wealthy Sami families were receiving education in

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[214] See List of pupils of the Ponoi parish school in the year 1909–10 (GAMO I18-1-2), School report and record lists of pupils in 1912, the Ponoi parish elementary school of the Ponoi volost', the Alexander County, Arkhangelsk region (GAMO I18-1-2), also lists of Ponoi school students (GAMO I18-1-6: 6,7).

[215] Alymov 1930c: 73.

[216] Alymov 1930c: 77. (Translated by A.A.)

[217] Volkov 1996: 98. (Translated by A.A.)

[218] Khomich 1999: 71.

6 schools, such as in Lovozero, Iokanga, Kildin, Pazreka and in Songel'skii villages. During the revolution and civil war, almost all schools stopped existing, and public education for the Sami had to start from scratch under the new Soviet government.[219]

3.2 1920s and 1930s: *The Golden Twenties and mid Thirties*[220]

I proceed with my discussion of the content, priorities and objectives of educational policies towards the Sami in the early Soviet period (1920s–1930s). The period of the 1920s and 1930s is characterized with implementation of the set of political decisions and provisions, targeted at: 1) providing education for indigenous minorities in their native languages; 2) creation of written orthographies for indigenous languages of the North; 3) teacher training of indigenous peoples and formation of *indigenous intelligentsia*.[221] The national policy of the Soviet state at the very beginning of the Soviet period guaranteed all nationalities and national minorities rights for "free development of national cultures and native languages".[222]

The introduction of primary education in indigenous languages carried out in this period reflected the idea of harmonious development of personality,[223] which was considered to be possible only when a child acquired knowledge, learned and received education in the mother tongue. In her article about boarding school education among the Nenets people, Liarskaya mentioned that "Teaching children in their native language was considered to be the only worthy decision and the ideal to strive for."[224] Similarly, in the article on native-tongue education among Non-Russian peoples in USSR, Bilinsky underscored that

> Opening a new world to a seven-year old is difficult enough without forcing the child to think, speak, and write in a foreign language. The importance of the native language in elementary education is firmly recognized in Soviet pedagogical literature.[225]

The state policy was directed at creating literacy for the Kola Sami, as well as for other indigenous peoples of the Soviet North, by publishing the first ABC-books and teaching books in the Sami languages. The special teacher training education was established specifically for those indigenous teachers who were supposed to work in ethnic schools of the North (note sections 3.4, 3.5).

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[219] Kiselev 1979: 76.

[220] I use Kapeller's phrasing "The Golden Twenties" (Kappeler 2001: 373). I extend his phrasing to the mid Thirties, meaning the period from 1920 until 1935. Analysis of the sources shows that principle of cultural pluralism in education was applicable to the Sami up to the mid 1930's.

[221] Kleshchenok 1968: 106; Kappeler 2001. Note definition of indigenous intelligentsia in section 1.2.

[222] Tsintsius 1958: 76. (Translated by A.A.)

[223] Liarskaya 2013: 162.

[224] Ibid.

[225] Bilinsky 1968: 413.

As I mentioned earlier in section 3.1, most of the indigenous peoples, inhabiting the remote areas of the Russian North, were illiterate before the 1920s. Their languages were mostly based on oral traditions, without existing orthographies. Therefore, the state proclaimed a move towards "development of languages and orthographies of the numerically small indigenous peoples of the USSR"[226] in order to create literacy and alphabets for indigenous languages. Indigenous alphabets were used to teach literacy in ethnic schools, and for publishing teaching materials and school books. Already by the school year 1932–1933, 16 indigenous minorities of the North had their own system of writing and alphabets.[227] The first school books in native languages were created for these 16 minorities, including the Sami.[228]

The public speech by Professor Bogoraz in 1926[229] emphasized that the first ABC-books for indigenous pupils of the North included educational content based on various aspects of indigenous cultures, their traditional economic activities, local climate and geographical conditions. Professor Bogoraz stated,

> An ABC-book should be adapted to the Northern nature and material culture of the numerically small indigenous peoples of the North. Therefore, in this book material should be omitted that is related to: farming and domestic animals present in areas with temperate climates, e.g. cows, sheep, cats; architectural constructions of Russian villages and houses; Russian household items and clothing. All this should be substituted with material of an indigenous character. The first edition of the ABC-book should include four main elements of the Northern culture: a) reindeer herding, b) fishing, c) inland hunting, d) sea hunting.[230]

The state policy priorities of the time resulted in primary education being introduced in numerous native languages in schools of the Soviet Union republics and regions, e.g. also in Ukrainian, Belorussian, Tadzhik languages etc.[231] The policy contributed to the creation of the first Sami orthography in Latin (1922)[232]. The first attempts to educate and promote literacy among the Sami people in their mother tongues were undertaken in the 1930s.[233] Also, the policies of the 1920s and 1930s contributed to the creation of the system of "national northern schools for indigenous peoples of the Far North."[234] Such schools normally were built in areas of the Kola Peninsula where Sami people lived, and had prevailingly indigenous pupils in the classrooms. I turn to a detailed discussion on the establishment of indigenous elementary schools for the Sami in section 3.4 of this chapter.

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[226] Krongauz 1958: 37. (Translated by A.A.)
[227] Kleshchenok 1972: 9.
[228] Forsyth 1992: 284.
[229] GARF A296-1-144: 99. (Translated by A.A.)
[230] Ibid.
[231] Bilinsky 1968: 418
[232] Volkov 1996: 102.

In the 1920s and 1930s, overarching concern was very acute about how to educate children from cultural minority backgrounds and of the small indigenous minorities of the North, with publication of substantial quantities of methodological, pedagogical literature on didactics and teaching in native languages and indigenous educational school programs[235] and these were applied in educational practice in ethnic schools of the North.[236] Still, teachers in practice did not speak children's native tongues, but this was considered "a temporary phenomenon,"[237] which would disappear as the number of native-speaking teachers grew. According to Liarskaya,

> Teachers were required to study local languages and even a special training of teachers for northern schools was begun. (…) In situations where it was impossible to organize teaching in the children's native language, teachers were asked to pay maximum attention to encouraging pupils not to forget their language, to communicate with each other in it. Teachers were emphatically recommended not only to study the pupils' native language, but also to delve into their way of life, learn about their culture and maintain close connection with the parents.[238]

The illustration 1 below exemplifies one of the first primary school books in mathematics, published in the Sami language by Natal'ia Popova and translated by Zakharii Cherniakov in 1934.[239]

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[233] E.g. Luisk 1934.

[234] In Russian *tuzemnye shkoly Krainego Severa.*

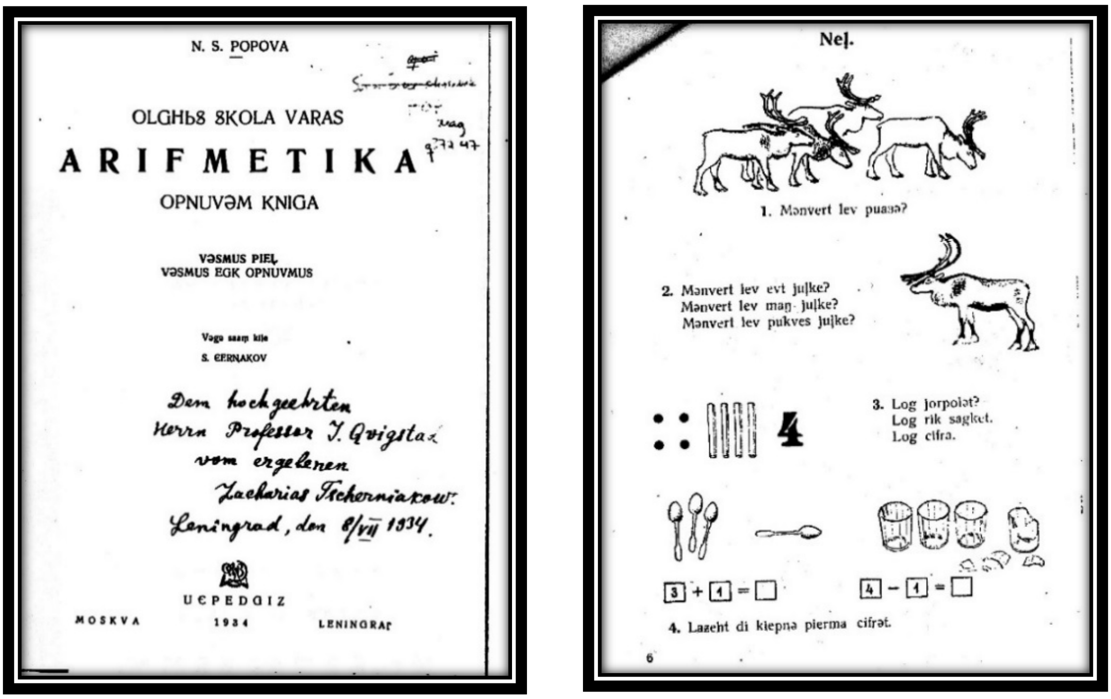
[235] E.g. GARF A296-1-205: 1–2; GARF A296-1-205: 2–10; GARF A296-1-205: 11–15. (Translated by A.A.)

[236] For instance, Cherniakov 1933.

[237] Liarskaya 2013: 162.

[238] Ibid.

[239] Popova 1934. Materials from the Kola Sami collection of Johan Albert Kalstad, former curator at the ethnographic department, Tromsø University Museum.



N. S. POPOVA

OLGHЬ8 8KOLA VARAS
ARIFMETIKA
OPNUVƏM KNIGA

VƏSMUS PIEĻ
VƏSMUS EGK OPNUVMUS

Vəgə saam kijə
S. ЄERNAKOV

Dem hochgeehrten
Herrn Professor J. Qvigstad
vom ergebenen
Zacharias Tscherniakow.
Leningrad, den 8/VII 1934.

UЄPEDGIZ
MOSKVA 1934 LENINGRAГ

Neļ.

1. Mənvert lev puasə?

2. Mənvert lev evt juļke?
Mənvert lev maŋ juļke?
Mənvert lev pukves juļke?

3. Log jorpolət?
Log rik sagket.
Log cifra.

$\boxed{3}+\boxed{1}=\boxed{}$ $\boxed{4}-\boxed{1}=\boxed{}$

4. Lazeht di kiepnə pierma cifrət.

6

Illustration 1. One of the first primary school books in mathematics published in the Sami language (1934).

Although national northern schools experienced practical hardships in the constant lack of teachers who could educate pupils in Sami languages, the methodological base was constantly developing for teaching in Sami as the language of school instruction for other subjects. However, there was little continuity of education in indigenous languages above primary, and especially at the levels of higher and professional education. Introduction of primary education was considered to be a measure for the smoother transition of minorities to secondary and higher education already taught in Russian.[240] Although, scholars Inenlikei, Onenko and Rombandeeva emphasize that "The initiators of written orthographies perfectly understood that instruction in the native language would greatly accelerate and facilitate the process of spiritual and intellectual development of children."[241] Later in their article these authors cite the Soviet revolutionary politician and the wife of Vladimir Lenin, Nadezhda Krupskaia, who stated that the first years of education should be held in native tongues and thereafter education should be continued in Russian.[242]

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[240] Bilinsky 1968: 413.

[241] Inenlikei and Onenko and Rombandeeva 1958: 62. (Translated by A.A.)

[242] Ibid. Cited by authors from: Krupsakaia 1958: 234.

Another political doctrine of *internationalization*[243] was introduced in the early Soviet period and was acute throughout the whole of the Soviet period until the late 1980s. Internationalism was associated with the ideology of the shared building of a "common Soviet identity" and "friendship of peoples". This idea of creating trust and harmonious co-existence based on mutual respect of cultural and ethnic differences is reminiscent of the main ideas of multiculturalism.[244] Generally, this policy had its first aim in creating national unity of the state, complemented with the second aim – to preserve the ethnic and cultural diversity of the country.

The political doctrine of *cultural enlightenment of the numerically small indigenous peoples of the North* was introduced in the beginning of the 1920s, right after the fall of the Russian monarchy and at the establishment of the early Soviet government. Thus, we observe a classical hegemony of ideas of the new political regime that had overthrown the monarchy during the Revolution in 1917. The new Soviet government argued that the ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples had been looked upon as underdeveloped peoples, and had been constantly suppressed by the monarchial government. The indigenous peoples should now urgently be liberated and saved from the oppressive monarchial reign, as well as from their own illiteracy, backwardness and economic misery.[245] At the same time, these "cultural others" were not supposed to be rescued by eradication of their unique culture and identity. Rather, they should be integrated into mainstream society by means of education, literature, arts and modernist professions, which were looked upon as more civilized than their traditional hunting and gathering life.

The conference abstract of the Collegium of Council of National Minorities in 1927 includes statements by the new Soviet government on introducing education of minorities in their native tongues, which were formulated as follows,

> As a result of the centuries-old and crude Russification policy of tsarism in the fields of national politics in general and ethnic enlightenment, we have a sharply expressed cultural and economic backwardness of the areas populated by national minorities. (…) But, despite centuries of oppression and complete suppression of national minorities, despite unrestrained, rigid implementation of the policy of Russification and assimilation,

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[243] Soviet internationalism was a political doctrine borrowed from the French model of a civic nation. In both models, identification and consolidation of the peoples was not supposed to be built on an ethnic, but rather on a civil and political basis. In the French model, it was the idea of national sovereignty, in Soviet internationalism – the idea of cultural peoples and ethnic friendship.

[244] Parekh 2006.

[245] Kappeler 2001: 373.

> individual national minorities, both large and small, have survived, as such, with all their cultural features. (...)The educational enlightenment work widely spread by the Soviet authorities among the national minorities in their native languages greatly accelerates the cultural growth of small nationalities ruined by tsarism, and contributes to the successful revision of material in all educational institutions, which facilitates the process of students' learning.[246]

Finally, the policy of educating and competence building of national cadres, also called the *Talent Foundry*, was introduced (note section 3.5). This policy concerned secondary and higher education. The system of educational quotas at secondary and higher educational levels functioned in the range of universities and high schools, where special educational degree programs, or privileges to admission for various educational programs were opened for representatives of indigenous peoples of the North. Many indigenous students who graduated, returned to their places of birth and became teachers in schools, working with indigenous children and helping them to receive an education. One of the most popular ideas of cultural integration programs of that time was to educate indigenous peoples in order to give them the opportunity to work for the development of their own culture and communities in the sphere of education, healthcare and the economy. After the introduction of *indigenous quotas for higher education,* many indigenous community members became doctors, teachers, economists, engineers and so on.

Integration of indigenous minorities into the new multinational society was greatly influenced by views of a democratic, non-capitalist way of development of indigenous peoples, by giving them the opportunity to receive free higher education. As a result, these people formed various social classes of indigenous intellectuals, for instance within the Kola Sami community.[247] The Sami culture in Russia was greatly developed by the input of all these groups of people, and most of them received higher education with the help of the indigenous quota for higher education at the State Herzen University in the city St. Petersburg – the very heart of Russian science and education.[248]

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[246] GARF A296-1-286: 1–2.

[247] These are: the first Sami teachers and researchers (such as Georgii Dolzhenkov, Zinaida Kal'te, Elena Sergeeva), the Sami poets and writers (e.g. Iraida Vinogradova, Askold Bazhanov, Oktiabrina Voronova, Nadezhda Bolshakova, Elvira Galkina), the Sami singers (e.g. Pavla Konkova, Iarsem Galkin), the Sami politicians (Nina Afanas'eva, Elena Iakovleva, Anna Prakhova), the Sami language specialists (Aleksandra Antonova, Nina Afanas'eva), the Sami artists (Anastasia Mozolevskaia, Iakov Iakovlev) and many others.

[248] Bilinsky 1968: 414.

However, one of the disadvantages of the educational policies about both upper secondary and higher levels of education was that it could only be attained by having a profound knowledge of Russian language. In spite of the strong concern on how to educate indigenous students, its priorities were mostly focused on academic results and achievements in subjects taught in Russian, rather than in their mother tongues. The advantages of these polices, however, are represented in the successful integration of indigenous peoples in all spheres of education and professional life, as well as certain aspects of cultural preservation and inclusion. The international doctrine of "friendship of peoples" presupposed the idea that tolerance and respect between different nations and ethnicities in Russia could only be achieved by direct communication, cooperation and exchange between individuals by attaining "a common linguistic code" and common domains for communication. The Russian language, being the majority state language, bore this social, educational and professional function.

3.2.1 Liquidation of Illiteracy

In the 1920s, various programs were launched for the promotion of written literacy. The main aim of these programs was to eradicate high levels of illiteracy among Northern peoples of the country. Another purpose was to turn people away from religion and inculcate in them the new moral code of socialism. The basic morality was – to use the terminology of the Soviet Union – "the morals of the creator of the communist society,"[249] which emphasized collectivism and materialistic philosophy.

According to Volkov, until the start of the Soviet period, there were no Sami people who would have received even any secondary education. He provides statistics from the National Economic Census (1926–1927), demonstrating the level of literacy of the Sami people as 12.4%.[250] As compared with 1897, when the general literacy of the Sami was 5%,[251] the general level of education had increased during the Soviet period. Nevertheless, these indicators were significantly lower in comparison to the overall numbers across the country.

Thus, in the 1920s special points for liquidation of illiteracy (*punkty likbeza*) were opened in remote villages of the Kola Peninsula. Essentially, this was an office with two or three workers who visited the Sami families at home and arranged meetings and conversations about education and literacy, and taught Sami adults to read and write in Russian. In these points for liquidation of illiteracy most Sami adults learned how to put their signatures on official documents. In the Sami village of Iokanga, for example, such points were first established in 1924.[252]

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[249] Sergejeva 2000.

[250] Volkov 1996: 98

[251] See statistics provided by Khomich in paragraph 2.2, page 2.

In these points for liquidation of illiteracy, adults in the local Sami communities received basic Russian literacy; in particular they were taught the Russian alphabet, to read and write, and they learned how to write their own surnames. The aim of teaching the local Sami population to write their signatures had a practical meaning as it was necessary for a range of official documents. Therefore, many parents of my informants in Generation 1 of this study received education at these nomadic points for liquidation of illiteracy. For instance, two of the informants recall how their parents were taught as adults in the village of Iokanga. The first informant recalled,

> Before, there were students from the Institute of the Peoples of the North who came to the village as teachers for liquidation of illiteracy. They had this type of school – today they're in our village – five or six people gathered at the school. Mother recalled that there weren't many students, and so they were taught the alphabet and how to write. Before, they would simply put a tick, a stick, daggers, but mother learned how to write "LEN", which meant [her surname].[253]

The second informant recalled that some people in his parents' generation who received education for adults could not speak Russian. As well as literacy, adults were taught Russian conversational speech because the teaching in these points was in Russian. However, some local Sami perceived this education of Russian literacy as forced, or carried out against their will,

> When we went to school – we spoke only Russian. The Sami language wasn't taught at all. Everything was taught in Russian. The national language was not mentioned at all. None of these questions were either brought up or resolved by anyone. It was forbidden. My mother also couldn't speak Russian, so she went to school – they were forced to learn Russian, so they could communicate, at least. It wasn't a school – these were stations for liquidation of illiteracy, where everything was taught in Russian so that people learned conversational speech. They were something like educational units for studying literacy (...) She didn't know how to sign papers, and after, she learned to put her signature.[254]

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[252] Mironova 2008: 4

[253] Informant D G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[254] Informant G G1. (Translated by A.A.)

3.2.2 Universal Schooling

In early Soviet Russia, ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity was a basic premise for the system of national education, which was greatly expanded by the authorities in the pre-war years. One of the basic principles of the education system lay in its commitment to make education accessible to all citizens. In this way, immediately after the October Revolution, the Soviet government proposed its chief policy objective of introducing universal education – education available for all citizens regardless of religious or ethnic background and at all levels. In October 1918, the RSFSR People's Commissariat for Education approved the "Declaration on main principles of unified labor school of RSFSR".[255] This declaration unified all educational institutions from kindergarten to universities and high schools into one common educational system.[256] The declaration legalized free compulsory education and co-education at primary and secondary levels, an inventory of children aged between 8 and 17,[257] as well as provision of schoolbooks to pupils, organization of free meals at school and supply of footwear and clothing.

At the end of 1918, the Department of Enlightenment of National Minorities was established under the Commissariat of Public education, which was supposed to coordinate questions of education among non-Russian peoples and the country.[258] In August 1919, The Public Commissariat in Moscow organized the first conference meeting on questions related to the organization of education and cultural enlightenment among non-Russian peoples. This meeting recognized the necessity of establishing schools with residential facilities in regions with nomadic populations, and enrolling indigenous children to these school with the full material support of the state.[259]

The 8th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1919 adopted the party program,[260] which has been tasked with introducing free compulsory secondary and upper secondary or professional education for students of both sexes until the age of 17. Thus, on 14 August 1930, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of National Commissioners of the USSR adopted the Decree "On universal compulsory primary schooling”,[261] which ensured obligatory seven-year education. In order to implement these decisions on the introduction of universal seven-year school education, numerous financial and economic resources were involved, along with extensive activities of social and educational organizations and institutions. Special committees were established, tasked with locally coordinating the process of building schools, and supplying schools with the necessary equipment and teaching staff. Thus the Murmansk Committee of the North[262] was established in 1927, and in 1932 – the Murmansk Committee of the New Alphabet.[263] Both of these Committees worked on building a network of school education for the Sami, creating Sami orthography and native tongue education. By the year 1934, universal primary education among indigenous populations was already widely implemented across the whole territory of the country, including the Kola Peninsula.[264] By the year 1941, the whole population of the Kola Peninsula was already receiving obligatory seven-year (both primary and secondary) school education.[265]

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[255] Holmes et al. 1995. See chronological guide, p. *xviii.*

[256] Ibid.

[257] Mikhailova 2016: 326.

[258] Bazanov 1967: 27.

[259] Ibid: 28.

[260] Digital Archive of Lenin's works https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1919/rcp8th/index.htm (accessed 07 September 2017).

3.2.3 *Cultural Revolution in the Tundra*[266]

Educational and social practices of cultural enlightenment were socio-pedagogical activities introduced by the Soviet system in the 1920s and 1930s. These activities involved educating indigenous populations in remote areas about specific aspects of European culture, such as cinema, arts, music, literature and progressive Soviet political views. It entailed educating indigenous adults by means of social activities arranged in cultural houses or cultural clubs established in indigenous villages. Such cultural clubs were fully functioning in the Sami villages in the 1930s, for instance in Lovozero, Babino, Iokanga and Teriberka villages.[267]

In addition to these clubs, Sami villages saw the building of libraries or special reading houses (*izba-chital’nia*) with a choice of journals, books, professional and educational literature. In addition, in almost every Sami village nomadic “red tents” or

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[261] Liarskaya 2003: 75.
[262] GAMO P169-1-2: 13–14.
[263] Cherniakov 1998: 70.
[264] Kiselev and Kiseleva 1979: 75–78.
[265] Afanas’eva et al. 1985: 11 (Foreword).
[266] I use Kiselev’s phrasing referring to the “Cultural Revolution in the Tundra” from the second edition of his book *The Soviet Sami* (Kiselev and Kiseleva 1987: 130–131).
[267] Volkov 1996: 102

"red lavvus" (*krasnye chumy*) were operating, where groups of teachers, speakers and social workers would travel to the tundra to educate nomadic and reindeer herding Sami about Russian culture and the importance of education.

Various amateur theaters presented theater productions about Soviet ideological motives in the newly erected buildings of the schools in Iokanga, Lovozero and Krasnoshchel'e. As Volkov mentions, in the Sami village of Iokanga, theater productions often portrayed topics of inequality of Sami women and suppression of their rights during Imperial times. Other amateur orchestras played concerts with Russian musical instruments, such as the balalaika, guitar etc., accompanied by dancing and Russian songs.[268] In fact, these measures were introduced to educate the Sami about Soviet ideology and Russian culture, and represent a strategy of the first facultative measures for building Soviet society with common values, based on a common culture and language.

Still, the Sami were not prohibited from speaking Sami or singing *lyvv't*,[269] at least in the 1930s. However, there are two sides to the coin, such as the positive one whereby people learned about the arts and cultural activities, and developed their talents; and the negative side, whereby this cultural exposure was used as a tool to promote and strengthen Soviet ideology and Russian culture as dominant in all spheres of peoples' lives. Thus, the assimilative programs introduced by the Soviet government were complex, comprehensive and thoroughly strategic in implementation. The promotion of Russian language and culture was not only connected to obligatory schooling, but also to various social arrangements in people's free time, such as entertainment, interest clubs, extra-curricular time of pupils and their parents. Gradually it led to perceptions of the Sami culture and art traditions as being less literate, therefore less useful and underdeveloped.

3.3 The Committee of the North

Considerations of national policy towards numerically small indigenous peoples of the Russian North, Siberia and the Russian Far East were regarded and accepted in the light of a general concept for developing the country, both theoretically and in practice. Thus, the Committee of Assistance to Peoples of the Northern borderlands (also called the

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[268] Ibid.

[269] Traditional way of singing among the Eastern Sami groups.

Committee of the North)[270] was established in 1924, under the auspices of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, for the purposes of organizing and implementing Soviet policies among national and indigenous minorities. The Committee of the North coordinated activities on facilitating matters concerning the peoples of the northern exteriors of the country until 1935.[271] The tasks of this federal committee were focused primarily on three main questions: development of native self-government; economic reorganization; education and social enlightenment of indigenous minorities.[272]

As the Soviet historian Kleshchenok writes in his book, the idea of establishing such a state body, which could protect the development of indigenous peoples and their traditional areas of habitat first appeared in 1923, when the collegium of the Nationalities Commissariat proclaimed the necessity of its establishment, highlighting the following aims,

> This decision stressed the necessity of identifying territories inhabited by northern indigenous peoples, to prohibit further settlement in these territories without approval of the Nationalities Commissariat, to eradicate fishing monopolies, to develop concrete measures on the organization of local economies, to contribute to studies of the way of life and everyday cultures of these nationalities.[273]

Therefore, the Committee of the North was established in 1924.[274] According to the Decision of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of National Commissars of RSFSR from 23 February 1925,[275] a network of local Committees of the North was established in a number of regions and provinces of the country to serve as linking institutions between indigenous populations and the Soviet authorities, both federal and regional. Thus, on 30 May 1927[276] the Committee of Assistance to Peoples of the Northern borderlands was established in the Murmansk region under the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Murmansk Region (The Murmansk Committee of the North). The Murmansk Committee of the North's primary tasks were to coordinate economic, educational and socio-cultural issues as well as matters related to modernization of the lifestyles of the Sami and other minorities in the region (also,

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[270] GAMO P169-1-2: 14.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Grant 1995: 72.
[273] Kleshchenok 1968: 89. (Translated by A.A.)
[274] Bazanov 1967: 29; Stepanov 1958: 21; Voskoboinikov 1958b: 209.
[275] GAMO P169-1-2: 13–14.
[276] Ibid.

Komi-Izhemtsy and Nenets).[277] The Murmansk Committee of the North was also engaged in realization of the collectivization and organization network of collective farms in the Sami reindeer-herding villages;[278] and construction and establishment of a network of schools, health points and other social institutions. Apart from the activities mentioned, the Committee worked on development of *the Plan for Establishment of the Sami National Districts.*[279]

The story of the Murmansk Committee of the North and the fates of the famous scientists who coordinated the committee's Sami activities is notorious. The committee supported the idea of establishing national autonomous Sami Districts, which would give the Sami the right for self-determination within the territory of the Murmansk region. The activities on promotion of Sami territorial self-determination were perceived by regional authorities as dangerous political activity. At the time, the leaders of the Committee of the North and the Committee of the New Alphabet were accused of a national-territorial conspiracy alliance aiming to create an independent Sami republic, supported by Finland. In essence, the leaders of the Committee of the North were merely inspired by the overall national policy of the country on providing territorial self-determination to indigenous peoples of the North in the form of state republics or national autonomous districts, which was widely practiced in other regions populated by indigenous peoples. Many larger nations and indigenous peoples established forms of autonomous districts and republics during this period. For example, as outlined by historian Kleshchenok, the Nenets Autonomous District was established in 1929; by 1930 nine national (indigenous) regions and eight indigenous districts of other peoples of the North were functioning in the territories of the Russian North outside the afore-mentioned indigenous areas.[280]

However, the long history of Finnish-Russian transborder conflicts evidently influenced the views on a possible conspiracy of the Sami nation across the borders. These views negatively affected the development of Sami language teaching, education and overall promotion of Sami cultural and economic issues carried out by the workers of the local Committees of the North and of the New Alphabet. Thus, as a result of accusations of conspiracy against the state, the Murmansk Committee of North was abolished 29 September 1930[281] and all of productive activity related to Sami issues had stopped by 1937.[282] The famous committee leader, ethnographer Vasilii Alymov, and linguist Aleksandr Endiukovskii, who worked in the Committee of the New Alphabet, were repressed and executed in 1938.[283] As highlight linguists Siegl and Riessler, "After Alymov's and Endjukovskij's death, all ethnographic and linguistic work on Kola Sami was stopped."[284]

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[277] GAMO P169-1-2: 124–125.
[278] GAMO P169-1-4: 45–46.
[279] GAMO P169-1-4: 63, 72–74.
[280] Kleshchenok 1972: 9.

This tragic story of the committee leaders has been of interest to various researchers. In particular, Leif Rantala addressed the study of this topic in by far the most detailed manner, by translating, analyzing and publishing the works of the Russian scientist Sorokaderzhev, as well as other materials documenting the interrogations of Alymov, etc.[285] This story of a hypothetical and unrealistic Sami conspiracy, which turned into the execution of two outstanding researchers and 15 Sami native speakers who worked with them, is reflected in various literary and artistic works dedicated to the "Sami conspiracy case," the fate of highly-qualified ethnographers and native speakers dealing with Sami issues in the period before Stalin's repressions. For instance, one example of a literary work is the recent prose by Mikhail Kuraev, *Sami Conspiracy*, published in 2013.[286]

3.4 Sami elementary schools

The Sami mother-tongue education on the Kola Peninsula stopped by the end of the 1930s. After that, the Sami received school education only in Russian. However, the process of building Sami ethnic schools and educating Sami teachers firmly continued. In this section, I address the establishment of Sami ethnic elementary schools and first primary schools with residential facilities. In the next section, I move on to the education of the first Sami teachers who worked in these schools.

The building of Sami ethnic schools (*natsional'nye shkoly*) commenced in the Sami villages of the Kola Peninsula soon after the October Revolution, in the mid 1920s. These schools were of three main types – nomadic; elementary schools with residential facilities; elementary schools without residential facilities. First, regular primary schools were established in the Sami villages of the North-Eastern part of the Peninsula, in the study area of Varzino, Semiostrov'e and Iokanga villages. The schools in the Western part of the Peninsula were established in settlements with larger numbers of sedentary population, for instance, in Chudz'iavvr and Voron'e (see Table 3).

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[281] Fedorova 2003: 54.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Ogryzko 2010: 21.
[284] Siegl and Riessler 2015: 17.
[285] Rantala 2006.
[286] Kuraev 2013.

These were so-called *small-sized ethnic schools* (*malokomplektnye natsional'nye shkoly*) providing four grades of primary education. As a rule, the total number of grades at all Sami ethnic schools encompassed three or four classes of elementary school education, depending on the capacity of each primary school. These schools had usually from one to three teachers in service. In this type of school, Sami children received education just as in any other regular school, when pupils attend classes and go back home when school hours are finished. Children could accompany parents to the tundra during the vacations. Such measures even during the school year were not hindered by educational authorities. The educational directive of the party on obligatory attendance of primary schools was not introduced until the 1930s, when the law on obligatory universal schooling was adopted (note section 3.2.2). However, most schools of this type were established in those Sami villages where the population was already sedentary.

In Sami communities that were still semi-nomadic or lacked primary schools in their traditional settlements, education was provided in small-sized ethnic primary boarding schools for the children of nomadic reindeer herders (*malokomplektnye natsional'nye shkoly-internaty)*. These were small ethnic primary schools with dormitory facilities for children whose parents were constantly out in the tundra. These first primary boarding schools were often initiated in small Sami villages or close to indigenous villages where the majority of the population was engaged in semi-nomadic reindeer herding. For instance, schools of this nature were established in Ponoi, Muetk and Notozero (note Table 3). These boarding schools likewise *small-sized ethnic schools* offered primary education, with no more than three or four years of elementary school.

I introduce definition of the term 'small-sized ethnic primary boarding schools for the children of nomadic reindeer herders' earlier in the dissertation in section 1.2. The number of first primary boarding schools was very insignificant. I can draw a few examples of such small-sized Sami boarding schools from the Table 3 in Appendix 3. In the table, we observe that there were a few Sami settlements with such boarding school facilities. For instance, the first primary boarding school in Notozero opened in 1925, in Lovozero - in 1927, and Ponoi – in 1930. Such schools were established in those Sami villages, which lacked regular small-sized ethnic primary schools, and for those Sami children who did not have the opportunity to receive primary school education in their home villages.

Additionally, nomadic schools operated in summer or winter villages, depending on the season. Nomadic schools were organized in Iokanga, Lumbovka and Semiostrov'e (see Table 3). By the 1940s these schools had gradually been rearranged into ethnic primary schools because of the large number of the Sami population that had become accustomed to a sedentary way of life after implementation of the collectivization policy[287] in the 1930s.

According to Volkov, the establishment of a wide network of elementary and early primary boarding schools for the Sami began in 1927 with the allocation of governmental benefits for the education of the indigenous minorities of the North. Special boarding schools were established for better provision of education and material support for the children of nomadic reindeer herders, where children received a daily food allowance, lodging in the dormitory of the boarding schools, clean bedding and some clothing, all free of charge.[288] During this period elementary schools were established for all Sami groups present in the Sami villages of different parts of the Kola Peninsula, such as in Tuloma (in the Skolt Sami area of Notozero Village Council), in Babibskii settlement (Akkala Sami area beside the Imandra Lake) and in the village Chal'mny-Varre (village of the Lovozero District with mixed Sami–Komi population). Thus, some schools had pupils with mixed Sami and Komi background, for instance the schools in Tuloma and Lovozero (note Table 3). As Volkov pointed out in his historical-ethnographical descriptions of the situation of Kola Sami people, during the 1930s the total number of ethnic Sami schools was six, i.e. elementary school in Voron'e (Lovozero District, Kildin Sami area), in Semiostrov'e, Lumbovka, Iokanga (Sami District, Kildin and Ter Sami areas), Kildin and Notozero (Kildin and Skolt Sami areas).

Further in his book Volkov mentions that already by the school year 1930–1931, a total of 150 Sami children were being educated in 14 schools in the Peninsula. In 1933 there were already 17 schools with 260 Sami pupils in total. As Volkov outlines, a written autography for the Sami people was created for the first time in 1922, and the first Sami ABC–book was published. From 1933 to 1934, education in primary classes in the pupils' mother tongue was introduced in seven Sami schools of the Kola Peninsula.[289] As such, the table below demonstrates that from the year 1930 until 1934 a total of 10 elementary ethnic schools were built, providing 239 Sami children with primary education by the year 1934. The numbers of primary schools in Sami villages increased from seven in 1930 up to 17 in 1934.[290]

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[287] Note definition in section 1.2.

[288] Ibid: 101.

Table 2. Dynamics in growth of the network of Sami primary schools on the Kola Peninsula 1930–1934.[291]

Year	Primary schools	
	Number of schools	Number of pupils
1930	7	105
1931	9	145
1932	12	190
1933	15	221
1934	17	239

In just three years, however, according to regional historian Kiselev, the Latin system of the Sami alphabet was considered too complicated, and was removed. As I have pointed out in section 1.3, the works of historian Kiselev, published during the Soviet period, reflect the political agendas of the time very well, and are strongly politicized.[292] As such, with the following citation from Kiselev, we can observe attitudes during Soviet times towards Sami-language school education, which was disrupted in 1937. From then, primary education of the Sami was regarded as a tool for social enlightenment of this backward people of the North, and was carried out solely in Russian. In particular, Kiselev writes that “The Russian language in its objective and subjective need became the international, second native language of the Sami. And for their kids – a real path for enlightenment.”[293] Therefore, according to Kiselev, the first version of the Latin Sami autography was put aside in 1937. The Sami pupils received school education in Russian only and did not receive Sami language teaching from ca. 1937 until the late 1970s, when the Sami language was introduced as a subject of boarding school education (discussed in Chapter 8).

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[289] Volkov 1996: 102.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Cf. Volkov 1996:102. (Translated by A.A.)
[292] See in section 1.3.

Table 3 (see Appendix 3) provides an overview of the system of various educational institutions for the Sami (parish, elementary and primary boarding schools), established in the period from 1910 until the start of the Second World War. I compiled the table for the purposes of the current study, and it encompasses the following data: names of Sami settlements where schools were built, and years of activity of these schools. I do not include in the table the list of all ethnic schools built during the outlined period. I chose to include particular examples of Sami settlements. These examples demonstrate what type of educational institutions existed in the Sami settlements, with an overview of approximate years of activity of the schools in question.

According to the data provided in this table, the introduction of primary school education among the Sami began decades before the Second World War, starting from the 1920s and 1930s. Table 3 demonstrates that the first primary schools for the Sami population started to be established precisely in the years 1925–1927. Prior to that, until the end of the 1920s, nomadic schools were widely applied, and for educating indigenous adults – nomadic educational stations for the liquidation of illiteracy. Though most of the Sami could speak some Russian on an everyday level of communication, many were still illiterate in written Russian. Thus, not only children were supposed to receive education, but adults too.[294] Education for adults was organized not in schools but in the previously-mentioned points for liquidation of illiteracy (note section 3.2.1).

The next picture below exemplifies one of the first primary schools for Sami children organized in the village of Varzino in 1940.[295] The primary school was based in the left corner of the building of Varzino Village Council Administration. This administrative building consisted of three main units as may be observed on the picture: the first three windows on the left were the medical assistance point and the dormitory for one medical assistant; the three windows on the right – the office of Varzino Village Council Administration,[296] where the representatives of the Soviet authorities worked. The Administration of the Village Council usually consisted of one Chairman of the Village Council and one Secretary.

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[293] Kiselev 1979: 82. (Translated by A.A.)
[294] Khomich 1999: 76.
[295] Kiselev and Kiseleva 1979: 78.

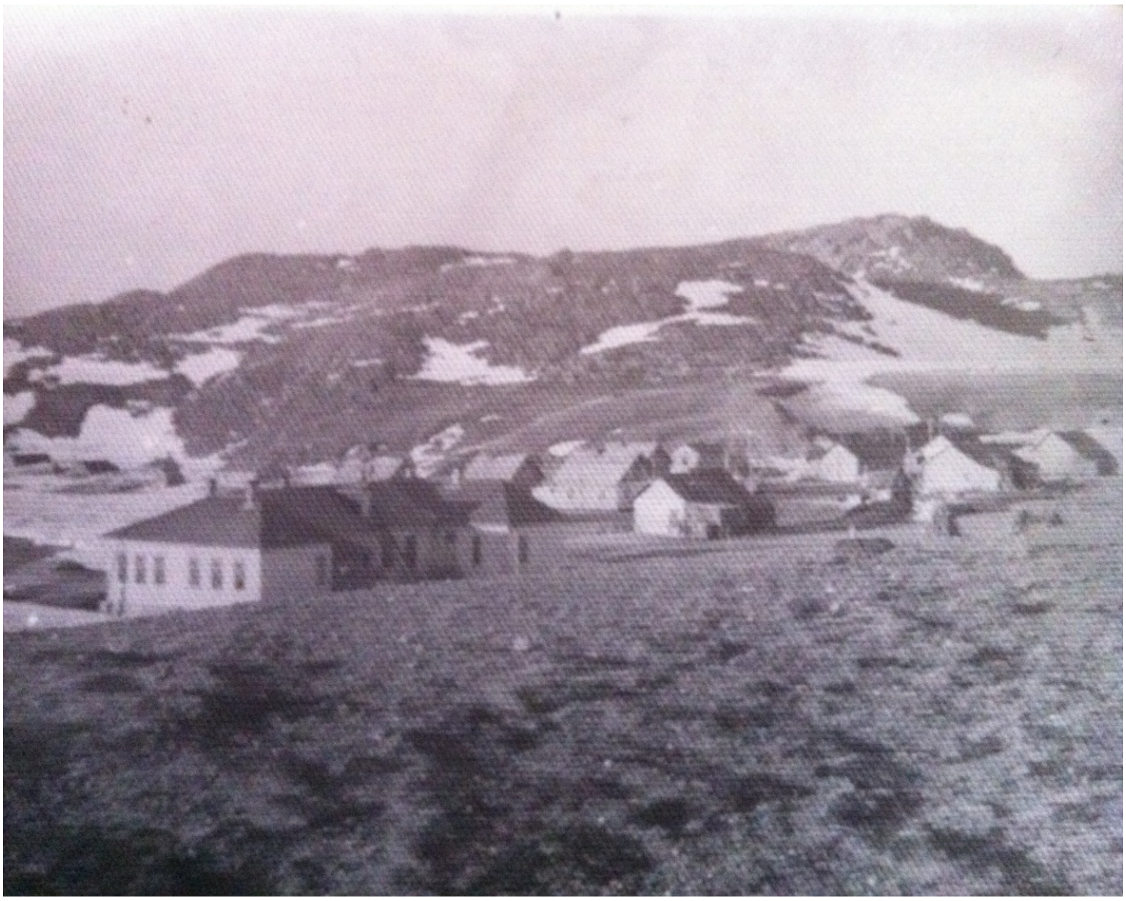

Photo 1. The former building of Varzino primary school. Photo from private archive of Nina Afanas'eva. The photo was taken in (1950s).

A large corridor connected the left and right wings of the building. Inside this long corridor was a cinema station and a library. All the cultural activities, including children school activities, other festive activities and concerts were arranged in the corridor of the building, as well as film screenings and dance evenings for young people at the weekends. The Varzino primary school operated in the right wing of the building with classrooms and dormitory rooms for teachers. Each unit of the building had separate entrances – one for the primary school, one for the cultural club (arranged in the corridor), and one entrance each for the medical point and the Village Council Administration Office.

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[296] See Photo 1 (first building on the left).

The primary school in Varzino village was originally organized in the winter village of Semiostrov'e in 1925, and when Semiostrov'e was closed,[297] the building of the school was dismantled, transferred in pieces, and re-erected in Varzino. The primary school had three rooms, one of which was the classroom, and two other rooms served as dormitories for the teachers. The first teachers to educate Sami children, as a rule, were Russian and came from different parts of the country, and lived in dormitories especially provided for them in the schools. Later, when the Sami were able to receive higher pedagogical education at the Northern Peoples Department at the Institute of the Peoples of the North in St. Petersburg and the Sami Department at the Pedagogical College in Murmansk,[298] more Sami teachers began to work in schools. Education of the Sami pedagogical cadres started in the mid 1920s and was carried out most actively until the end of the 1980s, which I discuss in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

My informants of the first generation still remember how they were taught at the primary ethnic school operating in Iokanga village of the Sami District. The primary school in Iokanga was a small compact school with local pupils from the village, mostly Sami, who were taught such subjects as calligraphy, spelling exercises, Russian, mathematics, sports, etc. At the time, these schools often experienced a shortage of school supplies[299] and other equipment. This can be confirmed by the following citation of one of my informants from Iokanga village.

> We studied in the following way: 1st and 3rd class studied in the first shift; 2nd and 4th grade in the second shift. I remember that one lamp burned over the teacher's head, and one on the side. There was no electricity when we went to school. We wrote. We didn't have notebooks. We took newspapers [from a library organized in the village], sewed them together and used them as notebooks. One line is filled with written letters, and one line is neat – so we wrote between these lines, with ink pens. There was one ink pen, one inkpot. That's how we worked. In elementary school, we had all subjects. Calligraphy, spelling exercises, sports, Russian language,

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[297] See Afanasyeva 2013: 36–41 for more on the background and reasons for elimination of the old Sami villages, and specifically on the summer village Varzino and its winter village Semiostrov'e.

[298] Rantala 2006: 25: Volkov 1996: 102.

[299] GAMO P194-1-4: 27–28.

> mathematics. We were taught everything. There were all primary subjects, literally. We had two teachers in school.[300]

Apart from the difficulties with the shortage of school supplies, some schools experienced shortages of food and wood fuel for heating the buildings. In particular, such evidences can be found in the records of the Committee of the New Alphabet in the State Archive of the Murmansk region. The next archival document illustrates how Olsi Mosnikov, the Skolt Sami resident of Restikent village in the Notozero Village Council, wrote his complaint to the Committee of the New Alphabet on condition of primary boarding school in Tuloma village in 1933, where he stated,

> Padunskaia [Tulomskaia] school does work, but it must be mentioned that the school has no wood. It is so cold that pupils fall asleep right at their school desks without undressing. In the boarding school, children sleep dressed – two people in the same bed, although the number of beds is enough for each. (...) In Padunskaia boarding school, the food is not good. 10 kilograms of flour per pupil are allocated a month, but this is not enough for the whole month because there are no vegetables. It often happens in the boarding school that food products provided by the cooperative often do not enter the children's pot. For example, 160 kilograms of meat was allocated by the cooperative. The meat was cooked two times and they say that it is already finished. White flour has been allocated at 2 kilograms per child-pupil, accounting in total to 120 kilograms per 60 pupils, which the children have not seen at all. It is also necessary to write that the children studying attend bath twice a month and the bedding is changed once a month. Teachers keep firewood for themselves and use it for their personal needs. So I ask the Committee of the New Alphabet to investigate the state of affairs happening in the Padunskaia boarding school.[301]

In response to this complaint, the Committee of the New Alphabet (KNA) sent a request to the District Public Court Attorney for urgent investigation of the situation in the boarding school, where the Committee also notes,

> Padunskaia school was built in 1929 at the expense of funds of the Committee of the North and is of **great political importance for the process of communist education of children of the North**. KNA notes that since the first days of schoolwork so far, due to an unfortunate choice of school leadership and the current unhealthy environment, the work of the school has been systematically undermined. The school has always lacked equipment and food products which, according to available information, have been constantly stolen (...) The situation of the school arouses great disturbance. The KNA has repeatedly received complaints

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[300] Informant D G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[301] The letter is written in the Sami language, using the first Sami Latin orthography. Courtesy of State Archive of the Murmansk Region GAMO P194-1-4: 28. (Translated by A.A.)

> from the local population. (...) Note has been made of the severe state of the children's nutrition, lack of timely delivery of firewood, so that children sleep by two in one bed without undressing. Also, there is available information that the school has applied old-regime methods of education [corporal punishment].[302]

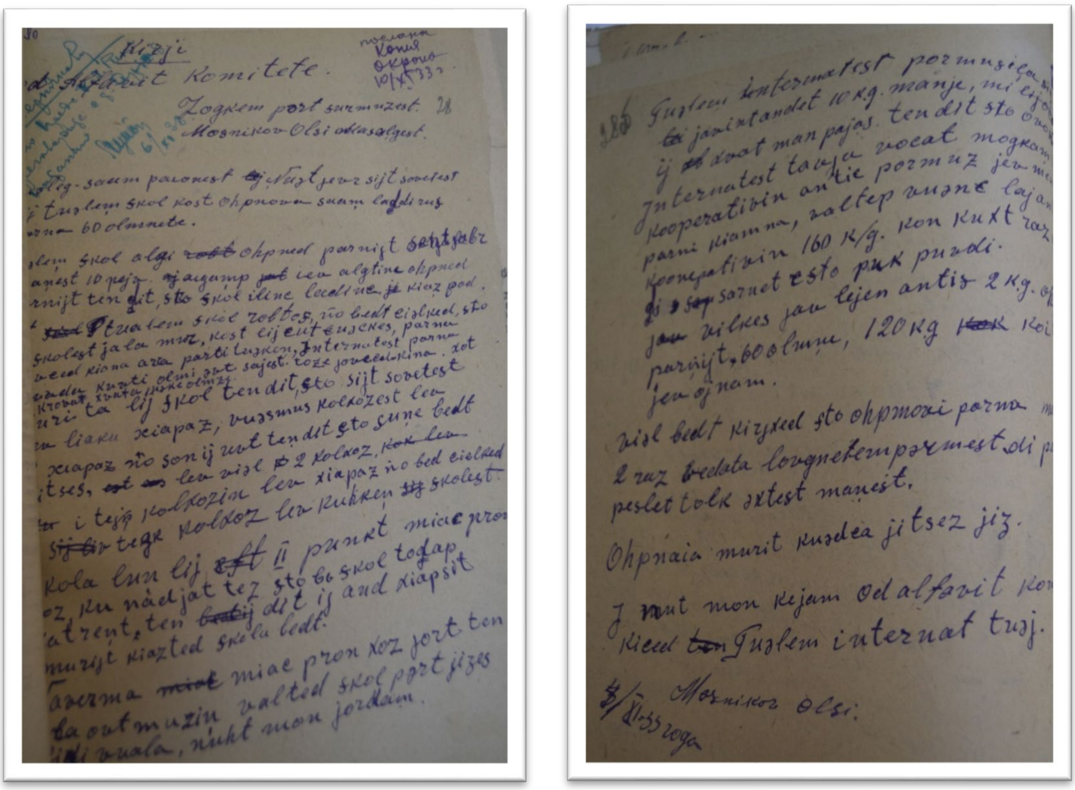

Illustration 2. The original letter of complaint from Skolt Sami resident Olsi Mosnikov to the Committee of the New Alphabet on the situation at the primary boarding school in Notozero Village Council (1933). GAMO 194-1-4: 28.

Normally, each elementary school had up to two or three teachers specifically appointed to educate indigenous children in areas of the High North. For those teachers sent to the Kola Peninsula, the job would entail working specifically with Sami children. The teachers in most cases had no knowledge of the Sami language, which was considered an additional challenge in their work. For instance, the next informant recalled her primary school teacher in the village of Iokanga and how the teacher experienced challenges in her pedagogical work connected to her ignorance of the local indigenous language,

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[302] GAMO P194-1-4: 57. (Translated by A.A.)

> I don’t remember primary school well, but this woman [daughter of informant’s teacher in Iokanga], her mother complained that it was very complicated to work in school because she couldn’t speak the language [Sami language]. But children speak this language! She was from Vologda region, just finished pedagogical institute and came to teach us. Now she lives in Kandalaksha [small town in the Murmansk region].[303]

Additionally, it becomes especially obvious when analyzing interview materials that local Sami children were sent to the boarding schools in Gremikha and Lovozero to complete their obligatory secondary education starting from the mid 1940s, namely, after the end of the Second World War. I address the educational situation of Sami pupils in the period from 1935 to 1955 in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, when I analyze narratives of my informants of this generation. Meanwhile, in the next section I touch upon questions of Sami pedagogical contingents in ethnic elementary schools during the current period, with specific focus on state programs for higher education of indigenous minorities who were educated as pedagogues in order to become teachers in the ethnic schools of this period.

3.5 *Talent Foundry* and first Sami teachers

Soviet plans to implement compulsory school education and equip indigenous populations in remote areas with schools and teaching staff appeared to be even more resource hungry than expected. Often, implementation of the state plan to establish a network of ethnic elementary schools for the Sami showed its shortcomings and limitations. Volkov mentions that the occupancy of primary schools by teaching staff was not everywhere satisfactory.[304] Others, like historian Kiselev and educationalist Fomina, highlight the constant problems in schools from the lack of qualified teachers and educators who could teach Sami children.[305] As historian Khomich pointed out,

> Most teachers and educators worked in schools without relevant education – they lacked competence in working with Sami children; could not explain notions in the children’s mother tongue or take into account the particularities of their national character, psychology and way of life.[306]

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[303] Informant D G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[304] Volkov 1996: 102.

[305] Kiselev and Kiseleva 1979: 130; Fomina 2008: 119.

[306] Khomich 1999: 81. (Translated by A.A.)

In addition, schools experienced a constant lack of teaching books and regular notebooks for pupils,[307] as demonstrated with the citation of one of my informants in the previous section of this chapter.

The early teachers in both elementary and boarding schools for Sami were mostly Russian by origin, coming from different Southern regions to work in the Far North. As I have already mentioned, teachers in ethnic schools of this period predominantly had a poor knowledge of Sami language and local culture. However, from the mid 1920s, as a result of the state measures for "Education and Training of the National (Indigenous) Professional Cadres" (also called the *Talent Foundry*), the first Sami teachers started to be educated. They were supposed to fill up the missing niche of teaching staff in ethnic Sami schools of the Murmansk region upon completion of their pedagogical degrees. A network of preparatory training departments for indigenous peoples of the North began to be created to provide higher education. The so-called preparatory Northern departments were an alternative to the final year of a regular secondary boarding school (9th / 10th class), where the indigenous candidates for higher education prepared for admission exams during one extra year of studies in this preparatory class. It presupposed living in the department dormitory. Student stipends, meals and clothing were allocated by the government, along with free higher education and enrollment privileges upon completion of their preparatory classes.

In his book containing translations of documents of the Committee of the North, Leif Rantala presents an article by the Committee leader, Vasilii Alymov, who states that the first Sami students were sent to receive higher education at the Institute of the Peoples of the North in the study year 1925–1926.[308] Thus, in the academic year 1925–1926 the *rabfak* was initiated – a preparatory faculty to train working cadres among indigenous peoples of the North. Later, in 1930, the faculty developed into a separate Northern Department of the Institute of the Peoples of the North[309] under the auspices of the State Herzen University, located in the capital of Northwest Russia, the city of St. Petersburg.[310] Apart from this institution, Sami students received pedagogical education in the city of Murmansk at the Northern Department of the Murmansk State Pedagogical College, which was opened in 1931.[311]

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[307] Kiselev and Kiseleva 1979: 130.

[308] Alymov, V. K., in: Rantala 2006: 24.

[309] Kiselev and Kiseleva 1979: 79; Liarskaya 2013: 165.

[310] Khomich 1999: 76–77.

Photo 2. Meeting of indigenous graduates and teachers of the Institute of the Peoples of the North, Herzen State University, St. Petersburg. Photo from private archive of Nina Afanas'eva. The picture was taken in (1960s).

There were several main reasons for training the Sami as school teachers. Firstly, it enabled expansion of the system of new ethnic schools, and an increase in the number of schools established on the Kola Peninsula. Secondly, it was supposed to strengthen and harmonize the education and pedagogical work with Sami pupils.[312] Also, these newly-educated Sami teachers were regarded and trained to become indigenous cultural bearers, representatives of the modernist class of *indigenous intelligentsia*[313].

It is noteworthy to mention that the policy of higher education and training of indigenous cadres included not only pedagogical education, but also such professions as doctors and various medical workers, zoological technicians, scientific figures and lawyers, who could work in their own Northern regional conditions and within their own culture.[314] In particular, wide range of Sami students received medical education at the Medical Professional School in the town of Kirovsk (Murmansk region) and the Medical University in the city of Tyumen (Tyumen region, Siberia).

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[311] Alymov, V.K., in Rantala 2006: 24.
[312] Kiselev and Kiseleva 1979: 78.
[313] Note definition in section 1.2.

Furthermore, I refer once again to statistical information compiled by Volkov concerning numbers of Sami students who received higher education both at the Institute of the Peoples of the North (IPN) in St. Petersburg and the Northern Department of the Murmansk Pedagogical College in study years from 1930 until 1934. The data is presented below, in Table 4.

Table 4. Dynamics in number of Sami students receiving higher education (1930–1934).[315]

Year	Number of Sami students taking professional (or higher) education in:		In total
	The Institute (IPN) in St. Petersburg	Pedagogical college in Murmansk	
1930	11	0	11
1931	21	9	30
1932	17	27	44
1933	15	33	48
1934	10	35	45

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[314] Voskoboinikov 1958a; 1958b; Lebedeva 1958.

[315] Cf. Volkov 1996: 102. (Translated by A.A.)

Volkov mentions that not all of the Sami people who received a higher pedagogical education continued as teachers in ethnic schools. He blames this on "limitations of the system".[316] Still, Kiselev indicates that there were several Sami teachers working with Sami children in their ethnic schools. In the first unrevised edition of his book *The Soviet Sami*, he provides the following names of the first Sami teachers who received education at IPN and returned to teach in the Sami ethnic schools in the 1930s–40s, as follows:

1). Ivan Andreevich Osipov (primary teacher at ethnic school in Restikent);
2). Anastasiia Lukinichna Matrekhina (primary teacher at ethnic school in Iokanga);
3). Aleksandr Grigor'evich Gerasimov (primary teacher at ethnic school in Notozero);
4). Matrekhina T. F. (primary teacher at ethnic school in Lovozero);
5). Lazar Dmitrievich Iakovlev (primary teacher at ethnic school in Voron'e).[317]

Some of the Sami teachers became very prominent not only in their own local Sami areas, but across the whole of the Murmansk region and the USSR. For instance, the famous Sami educator, Georgii Aleksandrovich Druzhen'kov, who worked for more than 30 years as a primary school teacher.[318] He was born in 1918 in the Sami village of Sosnovka. He graduated from the Murmansk Pedagogical College, where he received a professional pedagogical education. Afterwards, he completed his higher pedagogical degree at IPN in St. Petersburg as a teacher of primary classes.

Georgii Druzhen'kov was a veteran of the Second World War and a former military officer. In the 1960s he was elected as delegate among Sami teachers of the Murmansk region to the All-Russian Congress of Teachers. For his contribution to education and upbringing of indigenous children, Georgii Druzhen'kov was the first Sami teacher to be awarded the state title of "Honorary Teacher of the Schools of RSFSR", which he received at the Congress in 1960.[319] He worked at schools in three Sami villages – Kanevka, Varzino and Iokanga. Later, when these schools and villages were eliminated as a result of the agglomeration policy[320], he continued his work in the school in Gremikha. An award in his name "Druzhenkov's prize" was established in the town of Gremikha for students graduating from secondary school with gold and silver medals (attaining only grades A and B). A memorial plaque in his name was erected on the wall of the building of secondary school No. 281.[321]

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[316] Ibid.

[317] Kiselev and Kiseleva 1987: 89. (Translated by A.A.)

[318] Biographical information about the prominent Sami teacher Georgii Druzhen'kov can be found in both Kol'skaia Entsiklopediia (2008): 585 and Manukhin et al. 2001: 23.

[319] Kol'skaia Entsiklopediia 2008: 585.

Photo 3. Photo of the honorary Sami teachers Georgii Druzhen'kov, Anastasia Mozolevskaia and Sami pedagogue Anastasia Khvorostukhina. The photo was taken in February 1978 during the Sami Cultural Week, held at the school in the small town of Tumannyi, Murmansk region. Photo from private archives of Anastasia Mozolevskaia.

The photo above portrays Georgii Aleksandrovich Druzhen'kov (born 1918), who sits in the middle of the picture. On the left of the picture sits another respected teacher who received her higher pedagogical education at the Institute of the Peoples of the North – Anastasia Eliseevna Mozolevskaia (born 1935). She trained as a chemistry teacher, and started her career teaching chemistry in the towns of Kirovsk and Olenegorsk. Later, she started to work developing curricula for Sami handicraft at the National Northern College in Lovozero, where she taught Sami handicraft to students for the last twenty years of her life. To the right of Georgii Druzhen'kov sits another

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[320] Note definition in section 1.2.
[321] Manukhin et al. 2001: 23.

Sami pedagogue, Anastasia Gavrilovna Khvorostukhina (born 1953), who is known as co-author of the Kildin Sami–Northern Sami Dictionary (1991), published together with professor in Sami linguistics Pekka Sammallahti.[322] This photo is taken in February 1978 during the Sami Cultural Week held at the school in the small town of Tumannyi in the Murmansk region.

I decided to draw attention to the particular example of Georgii Druzhen’kov as a teacher, because my informants of the first generation remembered and frequently referred to him in our interviews as a Sami teacher whom they admired and wholeheartedly respected. The following narrative of one such informant of the first generation is devoted to a discussion of Georgii Aleksandrovich Druzhen’kov’s life, work and attitudes to the use of the Sami language. I provide a more detailed discussion of experiences of the first generation in the next chapter, but conclude this chapter’s section with the following narrative about one of the most prominent Sami teachers, born one year after the October revolution, who worked with Sami students throughout the up and downs of the Soviet period,

> My father was no longer alive – he passed away in 1945, but I had a mother. She didn’t study at school. She wrote badly in Russian, but learned to sign her surname. But spoken language, yes, because they all spoke together. They started to speak [Russian], mainly after the persecutions began for speaking our native language. It was prohibited. Then we had a Sami teacher, Georgii Aleksandrovich [Druzhen’kov]. He said, “We must proceed to speak! How is it possible to forbid a native tongue?" The Tatars were still speaking! [Tatar language; Tatars are another ethnic group in the Murmansk region, although not indigenous]. But for indigenous minorities it was forbidden. Georgii Aleksandrovich is a Sami man. (...) I was well acquainted with him. Georgii Aleksandrovich always told me, “You should never forget your mother tongue! Even if you speak secretly – somewhere there in the corner, between each other. All this is temporary, later anyway there will be state provisions about native languages.” And then, indeed there were provisions so that the language would not be destroyed, and we were already allowed to speak. But what’s the sense? Old people had passed away. There were still old people, but few of them spoke [Sami]. After such a period![323]

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[322] Sammallahti and Khvorostukhina (1991).

[323] Informant I G1. (Translated by A.A.)

Conclusions

The Soviet educational policies of the 1920s and 1930s demonstrate the introduction of primary school education in indigenous mother tongues. The content, priorities and objectives of the state educational policies outlined in this chapter show how the principles of cultural pluralism were fulfilled and specifically implied in education of the Sami until the mid 1930s. Precisely in this period, the policy of the state was oriented on three main tasks. Firstly, the introduction of primary education for indigenous peoples of the North in their mother tongues. Secondly, development of orthographies for indigenous languages in order to produce teaching materials and implement school education in native mother tongues. Thirdly, the policy addressed the development of teacher training programs and teacher education, preparing native pedagogical cadres for indigenous primary schools.

Various competent pedagogues, researchers and specialists extensively worked on compiling educational programs for ethnic schools of the North, teaching materials and the first ABC-books in indigenous languages. It was officially proclaimed that for harmonious development of cognitive and intellectual abilities of indigenous children, the first years of school education should be held in their mother tongues. Specialists in Moscow and in regions with indigenous populations introduced numerous pedagogical, scientific, practical and methodological developments for indigenous mother-tongue learning in primary ethnic schools, established specifically for children of the North during the 1920s and 1930s. Thus, the 1920s up to the mid of the 1930s was a period of cultural pluralism in the education of minorities of the North with active commitment by the state to make school education accessible for all citizens. All school content was adapted to the unique cultural and linguistic peculiarities of the Northern peoples in the regions of their habitat.

In addition, the doctrines of *friendship of peoples* and *internationalization* had the aim of integrating indigenous peoples, not by segregating them from the rest of society, but by giving them access to common social, educational and institutional arenas. These doctrines served to include indigenous peoples and other ethnic minorities as equal participants of a multiethnic society by giving them the relevant tools to acquire social and economic equality. These tools, such as indigenous orthographies and school education in indigenous mother tongues, were supposed to provide indigenous peoples with equal opportunities for education and a profession in order to enhance their socio-economic interaction with all layers of Russian society. Simultaneously, the state proclaimed the objective of introducing seven years of obligatory primary and secondary education, which should be free and accessible to all citizens, including the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the North.

In the Murmansk region, two special Committees operated (the Murmansk Committee of the New Alphabet and the Murmansk Committee of the North), for the purposes of building schools and introducing elementary education among the Sami in their mother tongues. These two Committees coordinated tremendous activities in promoting Sami mother-tongue education in primary schools. However, the trans-border status of the Sami as an indigenous nation, spread across national borders, played its role. The committees were accused of a conspiracy against the Russian state and attempts to create an independent Sami republic allied with Finland. The Committee leaders and 15 Sami individuals working on promoting Sami mother-tongue education and written literacy, were executed at the end of the 1930s. The positive developments on culturally pluralistic, mother-tongue school education for the Sami stopped. Since the end of the 1930s, all education for the Sami was carried out solely in Russian. Nevertheless, the process of building Sami ethnic schools and training Sami teachers continued.

From the mid 1920s, the first ethnic elementary schools for the Sami were established in Sami villages. The first Sami pedagogues started to work in these schools, educated through the *Talent Foundry* initiative. The ethnic elementary schools were established in villages of traditional Sami habitation with a majority Sami population. The ethnic status of these schools did not in fact mean that teaching was performed in the Sami languages. As I stated above, Sami mother-tongue education was disrupted by the mid of the 1930s, when the Committee of the North was abolished. The ethnic status of the Sami primary schools suggested that they were created specifically for Sami children as the main pupil category.

In the mid 1920s, the state recognized the necessity of establishing the first boarding schools with residential facilities for indigenous children of the North. The state acknowledged that in order to obtain compulsory seven-year education, indigenous students should be materially supported by the state. At the time, the education in ethnic schools was introduced in Russian to ensure a smoother transition from elementary to secondary level of education in the boarding schools, as secondary education was delivered in Russian.

As I emphasized in section 3.4, the system of boarding school education for the Sami originated in the mid 1920s and early 1930s. However, it is important to understand that the number of such schools was very insignificant. The first primary boarding schools of this period were not yet a part of unified educational system, e.g. as residential institutions providing secondary or both primary and secondary school education, as it evolved by the mid 1930's and later on.

Moreover, such first small-sized primary boarding schools can rather be considered as regular primary school with residential facilities, than a boarding school in its classical understanding of an educational institution with strict day routines and disciplining order, as it became acute starting from the mid 1950s. The first small-sized primary boarding schools of the Early Soviet period (the mid 1920s until the mid 1930s) were established only in those Sami villages, which lacked regular small-sized ethnic primary schools, and for those Sami children who simply did not have the opportunity to receive primary school education at home. This state of affairs will change in the mid 1930s and especially by the mid 1940s, after the Second World War, when the first generation of this study started to receive secondary education in the boarding schools. (See Ch. 4).

Despite education being delivered solely in Russian in ethnic schools, the use of Sami languages by pupils was not prohibited. During this period, Sami children were not prohibited from speaking their mother tongue in schools, in contrast to the boarding schools policies of the mid 1950s to late 1960s. The first primary boarding schools functioned as simple school dormitories. They primarily served as hostels for Sami children from remote villages, who traveled to residential schools in order to receive the compulsory seven years of school education. In such a way, the entire population of the Kola Peninsula, including the Sami, received a compulsory seven-year education until the 1940s and the start of the Second World War. This is reflected in the experiences of the first generation of informants, who attended boarding school from 1935 to 1955, which I discuss in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 Experiences of first generation of informants (1935–1955)

In this chapter, I discuss the experiences of the first generation of informants, who attended residential schools from 1935 until 1955.

In my analysis, I focus on the main thematic aspects raised and prioritized by the informants during our discussions of their boarding school experiences. The core aspects in focus are experiences of the informants related to: 1) practice of Sami language both within and outside of the boarding schools; 2) the informants' interaction with teachers and parents; 3) attitudes of the informants towards residential schooling.

In 4.1, I examine attitudes of the informants towards boarding school education in the period from 1935 to 1945. I discuss the educational backgrounds of the informants. In turn, I explore the relation between the informants' experiences and the educational backgrounds of their parents as the factor that influenced their attitudes to boarding school education. In addition, I touch upon Stalinist repressions and reveal how this topic actualizes in boarding school domain.

In 4.2, I focus on encounters of the Sami children with their boarding school teachers. I pay specific attention to experiences of the informants connected to their interaction both with teachers and parents during residential schooling. In 4.3, I wrap up the discussion with the notion of prohibition of Sami language use, and the danger of Sami identity as the main factors outside of the boarding schools that influenced the Sami language situation among this generation.

4.1 Residential education, repressions and the WW2

All topics presented in this section are scrutinized according to three main thematic aspects that most frequently appeared in interview sessions and informal conversations with the first generation of this study. In particular, the core issues connected to boarding school education, language assimilation and Sami cultural practices are examined on the basis of the following priority themes presented by the collected interview data.

This section proposes analysis through the prism of the following thematic elements highlighted by the informants:

- Political repressions and the Second World War;

- Influence of financial and social status of Sami families on acceptance or denial of boarding school education;
- Educational background of informants' parents.

The specific trait of the first generation of my informants is that they grew up in the period after enforced collectivization and during the time of Stalinist repressions. That is why I pay particular attention to discussing how the topic of political repressions was actualized in the boarding schools.

In particular, I examine how the status of "enemies of the people" of politically repressed Sami parents impacted the lives of their children (the informants) at the boarding schools and thereafter. The role of the repressions and labor camps (henceforth GULAG)[324] in Kola Sami history is well explained by Mustonen and Mustonen in their *Eastern Sami Atlas* (2011). These scholars point out that "the impact of gulag camps affected every Kola Sami village, family and individual in the course of history. This process is the most significant of the colonial events in the history of the Kola Sami."[325] In such a way, five out of the ten informants (half of the interviewees) of the first generation had parents who were politically repressed.[326] Three of these informants had the status of "children of enemies of the people".[327]

According to Rantala, the number of victims of the Stalin terror among the Sami of the Kola Peninsula is estimated in total as 110 Sami men, who constituted 10% of the total male population of the Sami in Russia.[328] Furthermore, in his work Rantala provides basic biographical information on each of the repressed Sami victims. In this dissertation, I consider only those children of the repressed Sami who expressed the topic of political repressions as influencing their experiences of boarding school education.

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[324] Mustonen and Mustonen define "The corrective labor camps or GULAG (glavnoe upravlenie lagerei) were a network of concentration and labor camps across the Soviet Union as a part of the administrative body of the Ministry for Home affairs NKVD in ca. 1934–1956. In total it is estimated that approx. 28.7 million people lost their lives under this system. The main reason for these camps was to imprison and control the dissidents and other non-wanted citizens of the Soviet state. Simultaneously, this new labor force was used to acquire the mineral wealth of the state and put it into production." (See Mustonen and Mustonen 2011: 90).

[325] Ibid.

[326] Informants B G1, C G1, E G1, F G1, I G1.

[327] Informants C G1, F G1, I G1.

[328] Rantala 2012: 3.

In the 1935-1955, the two main secondary boarding schools operated in the central villages of the two Sami districts – one in Lovozero and another in Gremikha.[329] Usually children finished primary schools in their Sami villages and were sent to secondary boarding schools in Lovozero or in Gremikha, depending on the original district of their habitation. In my analysis of the first generation I mainly examine the experiences of informants raised in the Sami District (mostly villages of Iokanga and Varzino), who studied at the boarding school in Gremikha, and those informants, born in different Sami villages of the Lovozero District, who studied at the boarding school in Lovozero.

However, I regard the informants' experiences while taking into consideration the different gender perspectives in education. Thus, a man's perspective on education shows more interest in physical reindeer-herding work, while a woman's perspective shows more interest in receiving higher education and working with children as a teacher in regular schools, or in other social or management professions. The informants' stories that I present in the chapter are rich in information about the implementation of boarding school policies and relations between the municipal authorities and the local community regarding matters of Sami language and culture at a local level (in terms of the Murmansk region). The current analysis revealed the main aspects of the informants' lives, educational priorities and choices during the study period, as represented by the first generation of the Sami community members interviewed for this study.

The studied generation normally received up to seven or eight classes of school education. Thus, the first generation of informants predominantly do not hold higher degrees, and not all of the informants I interviewed have higher education. In fact, only two out of the total number of ten informants in the first generation obtained higher degrees in teaching and pedagogy.[330] This is despite the fact that almost all of the informants completed compulsory primary or secondary boarding school education.

All of the interviewed men dropped primary or boarding school education in order to work in reindeer husbandry, while the women generally completed their full education. Two informants[331] completed professional college education and worked as accountants and head administrators at state reindeer herding farms in the Sami villages. Three of the informants with higher or professional degrees come from families of rich Sami merchants, village council officials, directors of state farms or factories, and had literate and highly educated parents. Only one of my informants with higher education in this generation comes from an ordinary reindeer-herding family. Therefore, in the beginning of the study period, attitudes to higher education among the Sami were merely connected to a question of privilege or social status, rather than professional application and necessity.

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[329] Kiselev and Kiseleva 1979:76.

[330] Informants G G1, J G1 (women).

[331] Informants F G1, H G1 (women).

In the pre-war period, most of the parents of my informants were illiterate. The literate people among the Sami were considered those who had three or four classes of elementary school education. As one of my informants with higher education stressed, "Three, four classes at the time before the war was considered to be a good high education. If seven classes, then this person is "Wow!" And three or four classes was already considered not illiterate. So, there was some kind of literacy."[332] Usually, the parents of my informants were interested in their children receiving the same level of education as themselves, or higher. Boarding schools were the only opportunity for this, providing access to education and simultaneous economic support for their children. This is how one informant of this generation from Lovozero recalled her father,

> My mother was completely illiterate. She was only taught to put her signature. My father had three classes. They were rich; the rich people were taught separately [in parish schools]. Here the school was (..) now it's a big wooden building with windows boarded up; there was the school. (…) My father was smart, he had three classes; very good. (…) They didn't make me study, I just wanted to have three classes myself, like my father.[333]

Most of the parents of my informants, except those who were educated higher than elementary school, could only write their signatures. Another informant, similar to many others, recalled *"*My mother she could only put her signature – three letters *"*MLN*"*.[334] However, those Sami parents who were literate and educated reindeer herders, were the first among the Sami people to receive a higher education, in the 1920s. Thus, the father of one informant had been born in 1903, and was one of the most highly educated Sami people of his time,

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[332] Informant J G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[333] Informant E G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[334] All parents wanted their children to receive a school education, to be literate and to have a good knowledge of Russian. Their aspirations for their children's education can be well motivated by the fact that almost all the parents of this generation were illiterate (except for the wealthy Sami families. For example, the father of Informant G G1 with his ancestry from Sami merchants' kin, who was very educated himself. The family of Informant F G1, who came from an enlightened family of officials at a state-run factory. Also, the family of Informant H G1, whose father was the first Sami Mayor of the Sami

> My father studied at St. Petersburg, at the Institute of the Peoples of the North. He wrote very well, he was literate. When I studied in St. Petersburg, at the institute, he always wrote me letters. He had very beautiful handwriting – neat and legible. Every letter glows. (…) He was very educated – wrote, counted, wrote beautiful, distinct letters. He worked as Secretary of the Village Council and in official administrative positions at the collective farm. At the end of his life, he just worked as a reindeer herder. So, he was very literate, but could also work with reindeer.[335]

Another informant[336] who received a professional college education also came from a wealthy and literate Sami family from the village of Iokanga. Although the fates of these families with access to education were often tragic during the time of the repressions. I have stressed that among this generation, each of my informants, with no exception, highlighted the topic of political repressions either indirectly or directly, also referring to literacy, education and their social status. On the one hand, this was the reality of the time in which many informants grew up, and the repressions touched almost every Sami family on the Kola Peninsula, including some of the informants personally. On the other hand, the children of the repressed Sami families were treated in the boarding schools as "children of the enemies of the people". Although these families were often the core resource for the economic and social development of the local Sami communities. Many wealthy and well-educated parents of my informants were accused of being *kulaki*[337] or *enemies of the people*, deprived of their belongings and repressed. For instance, the childhood memories of another informant from a highly educated family appear to come out in strong resentment about what happened with her parents and their house during the deprivation of their property in 1937, and then in 1938, and finally in 1939,

> Well, we had beautiful, wealthy houses. They would come into the house and look for something, and we had a lot of books. The second time we were deprived of property in 1937, and then again some time in 1938, and

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District). The majority of informants' parents could only sign and spell their family names on paper, and did not have enough school education to read and write.

[335] Informant G G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[336] Informant F G1.

[337] Social class of wealthy people, who were dispossessed of private property and repressed. I provide definition of the term *kulak* in footnote in section 1.6.

> in 1939. They came and even took the books. They ripped down all the books, we had so many books… threw them out into the yard and burned them all. Mother was crying so much and yelled, "How can you burn books? Even Nazis don't burn books!" (…) We were literate, as my uncle worked as the director of the fishing factory in Teriberka (…) Uncle taught me to read at an early age [before elementary school].[338]

Repressions influenced the socially unfavorable status of these families and their children. My informants with repressed backgrounds were socially excluded by administrators of the boarding schools, and barred from the state-initiated networks and benefits for young people in which any citizen of the Soviet Union had the right to be represented. One such example would be membership of the Communist Youth Council (*Komsomol*).[339] For the sake of clarity, the *Komsomol* was the main arena for social and politically active arrangements for young people, providing opportunities for youngsters of the Soviet Union to be active citizens, socialize among pupils of their age, attend various social arrangements, festivals, and concerts, create networks and make useful connections for their future life and career. Membership of the Youth Council was prestigious and every young person in the Soviet Union was proud to be included in its activities. It especially concerned participation in vocational summer camps for youth at the seaside of the Black sea or other Southern areas of the country, which was subsidized by the state (*Pioneer camps*). As such, another of my informants who was a member of Youth Council activities mentioned,

> Progressive youth! I was a pioneer, I was in the Komsomol, and at the university I was in the Student Union. Not that is was prestigious, I can't even express it with such a word! I simply believe that we walked in step with the life of our country. Pioneer, Komsomol member, and later the communists asked me very much to join, but I decided that I didn't deserve such an honor [informant smiles].[340]

Contrary to the experiences of the afore-mentioned informant, the girl who was saved by chance from repression because she was pulled out of reindeer sledges by her aunts, recalled that she was not accepted as a member of the Komsomol Youth Council when she studied at the boarding school,

> And later in the boarding school, I was not even accepted into the Komsomol, because I was the daughter of kulaks. My grandfather and my

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[338] Informant F G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[339] I do not concentrate here on an analysis of communist or other political ideologies of the Soviet state towards young people. I discuss the topic of activities of the Komsomol Youth Council with a focus on its social functions, as can be found in any other youth or student union in any other country.

[340] Informant G G1. (Translated by A.A.)

> grandmother were repressed and everybody, even me. Our aunts in Iokanga pulled me out of sledges and hid me away. Even me, I was pulled out of the sledges! And that's how I live, still! And my grandmother and grandfather they were in prison [GULAG] together with Maria's mother (…) somewhere in Arkhangelsk.[341]

The grandfather of my other informant, like many relatives of informants in this generation, was accused of being an "enemy of the people" for protesting against the confiscation of his private reindeer under collectivization. The informant's narrative demonstrates the story of his grandfather and simultaneously tells that repressions of reindeer herders were the reason why some Sami were deliberately excluded from membership of the Komsomol Youth Council,

> I was already drafted into army service. I joined the army, the commander said – "Why aren't you a Komsomol member or a Pioneer?" I was neither in the Komsomol, nor a Pioneer, because my grandfather was an enemy of the people. And, Petr's father was an enemy of the people, because they had a lot of reindeer during collectivization. So, when collectivization began there were a lot of reindeer, but who would voluntarily give them away? (…) So one of my grandfathers was sent to Siberia. (…) He just kept the reindeer for himself and didn't give them to the state. He said, "I have a lot of children. They eat a whole reindeer. What do I have to feed them with?" Reindeer were all confiscated, of course, and that was all. History doesn't say anything about it. He certainly didn't return, people don't return from there. And we were considered enemies of the people. How could I join the Komsomol, if I was an enemy of the people? Well, not me personally, but still.[342]

The overall attitude to these children as "children of the enemies of the people" had impacted their social status at the boarding schools, as well as their lives thereafter. They were the same Sami children from the same Sami villages. They attended the same classes and are standing next to each other on the group picture, but they were treated differently. The Sami children of the enemies of the people were deliberately excluded from their right to be a part of the state-initiated networks and benefits for young people. Hereby, they were excluded from all governmental networks, which were the core channels for educational, professional and social development of youth throughout the Soviet period.

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[341] Informant F G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[342] Informant I G1. (Translated by A.A.)

Воспитанники интерната

Photo 4. Group photo of pupils from Gremikha boarding school. Four of my informants are captured on this group picture. Photo from private archive of one of my informants (study year 1951–1952).

This latter informant,[343] after completing the boarding school in Gremikha, worked firstly as a reindeer herder at the collective farm in Iokanga village. Surprisingly, he is the only informant among "children of enemies of the people" who later managed to make his way into a political career as Secretary of the Communist party, regardless of his family's "dark-spotted" past. This informant demonstrated the most resistance to his education at boarding school,

> I finished seven years at boarding school and said, "That's enough – I won't come to study at your school any more. I'd be better going to twist reindeer tails!"[344] Isn't it offensive? When they say – "You have been given food and water! Your education has been paid for you, and still you don't want to study!" But what if I don't like it? I didn't study very well, but I finished my seven years! At this time, compulsory education was

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[343] Ibid.

[344] *To twist reindeer tails*. Derogatory expression, meaning "work in reindeer husbandry". This phrasal unit emerged during the Soviet period, and was used to denote reindeer herding as an "uncivilized" profession, associated with the use of manual labor. Usually used by informants in context of sarcasm or disappointment.

> seven classes. (…) I decided that it was better to work and make money myself.[345]

This informant finished seven classes of obligatory school education. However, he always prioritized working as a reindeer herder in front of formal education. The informant studied reindeer herding from elders and other herders. Most importantly, he was taught by his grandfather. This informant regarded the activity of working with reindeer as an application of traditional indigenous knowledge, which was every bit as valuable to him as any formal education,

> In 1952 I started to work for the state farm as a reindeer herder. The chairman of the collective farm immediately sent me on courses at agricultural institute to study reindeer herding, and my grandfather taught me. So he taught me, "If you don't know where to wade across – don't go into the water." That's how he taught me. Of course, you must know a lot about reindeer – you must know where to move in spring. In the spring, snow melts and streams appear. Nothing wrong is visible from above, because everything is covered in snow, but underneath it melts down and you can fall through, together with the reindeer. Well, I was taught all of this. To be a reindeer herder is hard work of course, but I was already used to it. At that time, we had many reindeer in the herd – 3,500 head, and the whole herd was 8,000 head in total. (…) And yes, I decided to earn my living by working my back off, but to earn it myself![346]

The second male informant from Lovozero stressed that he had chosen to drop school in order to make a living for his family, "We were seven in the family (…) not enough bread, so I dropped school!"[347] At the same time, the female informant from Iokanga confirms that boys were more inclined to become school dropouts than girls.[348] It was more likely that boys would work and provide for their families. This was the main reason they would often have to stop their school education. However, there is one woman from Lovozero among my interviewees who dropped school education for the very same reasons, and worked all her life in tundra.[349] Therefore, some Sami women were equally engaged in reindeer herding and supporting their families as men.

These two oldest informants[350] have three or four classes of primary education and chose not to continue with their school education in order to work in reindeer herding and to support their families in the harsh times after the war, when the country was devastated by hunger and economic hardship. They recalled the times when education did not seem a valid choice for them and their families to survive,

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[345] Informant I G1. (Translated by A.A.)
[346] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)
[347] Informant A G1. (Translated by A.A.)
[348] Informant G G1.
[349] Informant E G1.
[350] Informants A G1 (man) and E G1 (woman).

> I went to elementary school and finished four classes and I dropped the 5th – went to the herd to work as a reindeer herder because after the war it was very hard. There was hunger and not enough food for the whole family (…) After the war, they issued cards for bread, 400 grams of bread was given per one working man; later 700 grams started to be given to workers, and for those who were unable to work – 300 grams. In the boarding school I don't know how many grams they had, that's why I didn't go there.[351]

Photo 5. Young reindeer herder (born 1933), relative of Informant G G1, at the state farm "Aavv't vaarre" in Varzino. From private archive of Nina Afanas'eva (1957).

It is this generation of the Sami who experienced war, and survived the bombings and death of their parents and loved ones. One of my informants has especially distinct childhood memories about the war and bombings of Iokanga village,

> During the war, how many bombings we had in our village, horrible! (...) They bombed Iokanga, bombed! How was it possible! We don't know, because I was just 5, and how could I know what, where and how? I

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[351] Informant A G1. (Translated by A.A.)

> remember the bombing was announced. We're all running into the bomb shelter. And why they dug the shelter, we also didn't know. They dug it right inside the mountain… and there was a bomb. We were sent to the other side of the mountain. There was also an unexploded bomb – from there everyone ran – some to the farmyard, and others to the school. In the morning we came home, took some bread, whatever one could find! In the morning they announced rations. The food cards were introduced, but we had nothing at home – the cupboards were completely bare! And all the windows were broken, basically everything, everything. With us away, everything exploded there. On the radio, they warned that it was an enemy aircraft raid.[352]

The informants of this generation saw hunger with their own eyes, and especially the oldest ones were grateful for the food and shelter provided at the boarding schools. For the most part, my informants were positive about basic support from the boarding school in terms of nutrition and somewhere to sleep during the difficult years after the end of the War. In the early post-war years, the boarding school system was used by the Sami families in order for their children to survive and not to die from hunger,

> When Sasha [informant's younger brother, fictional name[353]] went to school, do you know how they protected him?! They [informant's family] didn't want to give him away to boarding school. So, my grandmother lived here [in Lovozero] so her grandson would be near her (…) My grandfather lived with her, too. She died in 1942, I don't know whether she was hungry or how she died, but grandfather died of hunger in the hospital here in 1945. And then, (…) we were left; four children under a mother's care, also our mother, grandmother, grandfather, grandmother Iulia – eight people, yes? Only a little bit of bread, there was no other food. (…) The card system for food, a few grams. And so grandmother spared everything for Sasha, everything for her Sasha; didn't eat enough herself. One beautiful day she came home from the shop and she fell down, and she didn't rise again… Later Sasha had to go to the boarding school (…) My mother went to work (…) that's how she managed to raise us, and we didn't die from hunger, nor our grandmother.[354]

Simultaneously, my other informants perceived boarding school education as their "window to the world". They mentioned that education in boarding schools of that time provided them with opportunities necessary for life. They stressed that it was hard for them to study in boarding school, but it was vital to receive an education in order to comply both with social and professional requirements. The informant from Varzino who later became a teacher by profession and Sami politician by dedication, considered that they had a happy childhood in spite of the challenges they had to face far away from their homes. “Anyway, we had a happy childhood! We got an education! There was hunger, it was cold, it was melancholic; how we missed home! Oh, my god!”[355] The other Sami pedagogue from Iokanga underscored that it was necessary to study, because already by that time the Sami communities had begun to live very poorly. They felt an obligation to study in order to receive a profession, and to move towards a better life and economy,

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[352] Informant G G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[353] In the dissertation, I use fictional proper names and surnames in all informants' narratives. The exception make names of public figures.

[354] Informant E G1. (Translated by A.A.)

> But this was the window to the world! How could it be otherwise? We grew, our interests grew, our demands for life grew! We lived among all the other people. We knew how our country lived and what kind of specialists it required. And besides, as I’m growing older, I know that I have to work, and I knew that I liked the teaching profession – it was what I was striving for. (…) Already by then we had started to live in poverty, and our people received 3 rubles per month; but before, they were given their salary in flour, meat and milk.[356]

The same informant, after completion of our interview, posed a question to me. She asked the researcher, instead of the researcher asking her,

> And what do you think yourself? How do you find my path of life, the path of a Sami girl to knowledge? Was it from interest? Or from need? Or was it the way everything should have been, how life was going? My path to knowledge in particular, how is it for you? Was it a thorny path or not? And another thing: the separation of children from their parents. In this case, what should I have done? Should I have stayed with my parents, or should I have gone away to study? [to the boarding school]. I didn’t think about it, I just knew it. The direction came from above, “To study!” It means – you have to study. The direction came from above – “To work!”, so it means you work. We were accustomed to it. We were told what to do and we answered “Yes”. We lived like that in Soviet times.[357]

Nevertheless, education in boarding schools during the period from 1935 to 1945 was not as strictly compulsory as it became in the post-war era. Although there were boarding schools operating, residing in them was not utterly compulsory in the pre-war and early war years. It was still possible not to study at boarding school and choose to work in the collective farm instead. Such as one informant from Lovozero who finished four classes of elementary school and left to work in reindeer herding at the age of 13.

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[355] Informant J G1. (Translated by A.A.)
[356] Informant G G1. (Translated by A.A.)
[357] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

Or the woman informant from Umbozero who received three classes of primary education before she left school to work in the tundra.[358]

Photo 6. Pupils of the boarding school in Gremikha in the 1950s. Photo from private archive of one of my informants.

Yet, the situation changes in the second decade of the study period (after 1945) with the introduction of a law on obligatory seven-year education, with the Sami obliged to receive secondary education in boarding schools. It is during this period that informants repeatedly stressed they were forced to study in boarding schools.[359] For instance, the informant born in Chudz'iavv'r in 1934, who lived in the boarding school in Lovozero from 1947 to 1949, confided,

> When they force you to study, what can you do? You go to school! Back then it was only the beginning of it all (…) Officials forced; you had to

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[358] Informants A G1 and I G1.

[359] Informants D G1, F G1, H G1, I G1, J G1.

> study. They came to parents, “Why aren’t your children studying?” And that was it! Parents were scolded (…) Teachers and school directors came to people’s houses.[360] Another informant, who resided in the boarding school in Gremikha from 1950 to 1952, also felt that he was forced to continue his education, even after completion of boarding school. I don’t like being forced to do something. I understand. It was explained to me that “Education is light, lack of it is darkness.” I perfectly understand this. But sometimes, I don’t want to study – I’d rather go and twist reindeer tails! Of course, it was more important for me to work with reindeer. (…) Then, the employees of the City Executive Committee were involved and had meetings with my mother. They told her, “Your son doesn’t want to go to school!” She said, "What should I do? Should I kill him or what?[361]

This generation represents the first generation to receive compulsory primary education, and some representatives of this generation continued their education for seven or eight classes at the time when compulsory secondary education was introduced. These informants particularly were the first Sami people to experience boarding school education. In this way, during the early years of the discussed period (namely from 1935 to 1945) up to the end of war, it was still possible to choose traditional Sami economic activities such as reindeer herding or fishing, rather than to choose boarding school education. In fact, before and during the war, it was mainly traditional Sami economic activities that subsidized, sustained the Sami families’ livelihoods and upkeep of their children, rather than mainstream professions requiring formal education. This paradigm starts gradually shifting from the end of the Second World War to a complete reversal, what I proceed with in the next section of the chapter.

4.2 Boarding schools after the WW2

The analysis of the current section focuses on three main themes pointed out by my informants:

- Boarding school education as a centralized measure, and compulsory nature of school education;
- Challenges met by Sami children arriving in the new towns where the boarding schools were situated;
- Role of teachers in boarding schools and continuous communication with parents.

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[360] Informant D G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[361] Informant I G1. (Translated by A.A.)

If before the Second World War it was still possible to refrain from boarding school education (as in the case of some of the informants discussed in the previous section of the chapter), then starting from the mid 1940s there was an observable stronger tendency towards educational compulsivity and centralization. This is connected with introduction of compulsory seven-year school education. According to historian Dmitrii Sazhin, there is an opinion among Russian scholars that the seven-year education was introduced before the Second World War and became compulsory in 1949.[362] My interview material supports this opinion. Thus, on the basis of analyzed Russian secondary sources and my interview material, I make conclusion that the seven-year school education was introduced among the Sami before the War and became obligatory in 1949.

In result of this, it was no longer possible for children and their parents to decide whether they wanted or needed to attend boarding school. The attendance of boarding schools by students was strictly controlled by village and district authorities because specific annual amount of governmental funds was allocated to provide compulsory education to the Sami children in boarding schools.

During this period, the school system was not generally a part of the everyday life and routine of the Sami, except for primary education, which was already well established. When it came to boarding schools, many Sami families were unaccustomed to the separation required between parents and children for two or three years. Nevertheless, the state objectives of educational compulsivity were supposed to be implemented – implicitly, immediately, without any glimmer of doubt, both by parents and their children. Also, for any disobedience of the imposed policy, it was the municipal authorities that were punished. The previously cited informant recalled that he did not have the opportunity of choosing to work when he needed to support his family. The informant's choice not to continue with further education upon completion of boarding school cost one employee of the City Committee his job. In time, the informant himself had to pay back the amount that the state had allocated for his boarding school education, in order to be free from continuing the upper secondary stage. In any case, the informant had finished the compulsory part of his boarding school education, as not to finish boarding school was out of the question,

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[362] Sazhin 2012: 164.

> One employee of the City Executive Committee was fired because I decided not to continue with my education at boarding school. (…) In 1952, when we were already studying in the boarding schools, we were always being bullied that “Here you are, Lapps – we feed you and you get everything for free and you still don’t want to study.” Well, I went to the City Council and asked them, “How much money do I owe you?” I’d worked on the farm, so I had money. I withdrew it from my bankbook, took the money, handed it over and said, “I will never come back to your school! I’d be better going to twist reindeer tails!” Then I walked away and worked with reindeer for the state farm – I no longer came back to school.[363]

It is worth mentioning that the system of boarding schools itself did not change significantly at the end of this particular timeframe, except from its extended compulsivity in comparison to boarding schools of war and pre-war years. At the end of the study period in 1955, boarding schools were still functioning primarily as school dormitories for children from different Sami villages, as I discussed it in Chapter 3.

Boarding schools of this period did not have the objective of completely changing children’s routine culture, as for instance boarding schools of the next period (Generation 2). There was no question yet of reconstructing their habitual cultural environment, changing their habits of dressing and eating, accustoming them to notions of cleanliness and hygiene (e.g. by attending Russian bath on Thursdays), as happened with the next generation when hygiene and routine culture became the primary focus of attention within the policy of boarding schools. The boarding schools of this period did not set such tasks, but children had already begun to perceive Russian as the language of education and socialization with other pupils. This led to the fact that many of the next generation (offspring of Generation 1) were Russian-speaking. In addition, in the first generation, the system of Russian-speaking pre-school education (kindergartens) was not available in their indigenous villages, and children were under the complete care of their parents before attending boarding schools. Children were brought up at home, surrounded by the culture and language of their parents. However, many of their children (Generation 2) had already attended Russian-speaking kindergartens, primary schools and later boarding schools, where they received education alongside other Russian-speaking children of different nationalities who studied at the same educational facilities.

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[363] Informant I G1. (Translated by A.A.)

It was not yet the full start of the classical boarding school era. However, it was at this period when boarding school education began to take the form of an enforced measure, when children started to be collected in a centralized manner and brought to the boarding schools from their indigenous villages. As such, my informants recall that "All children were gathered, the whole village was gathered. We were put on a motorboat and transported to a boarding school. So we were placed in the boarding school; we, well – we lived there."[364] Another informant, who studied at the same boarding school and who comes from the same Sami village as the previous informant, told how all the children from Iokanga were collected. She refers to her experience as "All; they collected all the children [in order to send them to boarding school], a whole mass of children!'[365]

The informant from the North-Eastern part of the Peninsula remembered how he and other children from his village were brought to the boarding school, controlled and accompanied by local village council and state farm representatives. At the same time, children from more distant villages such as Sosnovka and Ponoi arrived at boarding school by boat, taking a sea route,

> When we were brought to boarding school, they collected the whole village, placed the children into a motor boat and transported them to the boarding school (…) We were driven on a motorboat. There were boats; the boats were motorized. (…) They took us from Iokanga to the boarding school there. The employees of the state farm accompanied us, and they sent us – the local village council and state farm workers – well, to the boarding school. (...) We also had Sami from Sosnovka, from Ponoi. They used to get there by ship. They also lived there [boarding school in Gremikha] (...) from Lumbovka, Iokanga, Varzino and Drozdovka.[366]

Hence, children from all Sami villages were transported in a collective manner by boat, reindeer sledge, and later with helicopters. Another informant told how they sent their children to boarding school from the tundra where they lived and worked,

> When my oldest ones studied, there were no snowmobiles yet. We worked in the reindeer-herding brigade all our lives. In the spring my husband came to pick up the children – so he takes everyone who has children there. For the second time another person goes there in the spring, the same again in autumn. It was strict back then, you had to fulfill all governmental plans, and that was that! [statistical plans on total number of children attending boarding schools each study year] (...) One person from the brigade was

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[364] Informant G G1.
[365] Informant H G1. (Translated by A.A.)
[366] Informant I G1. (Translated by A.A.)

> singled out [to bring the children to boarding school on a reindeer sledge] and those who are older [children], they already drove themselves, steering the reindeer themselves. They were brought and taken [to and from boarding school] by reindeer sledge.[367]

Interesting oral history and interview material is provided by Mustonen and Mustonen (2011), which was collected for the Oral History Archives of the Snowchange project.[368] One of the informant's narratives, collected by these scholars, exemplifies how children in the Lovozero District were transported by helicopters, and provides the following facts,

> Earlier, children from the boarding school were transported to the brigades by helicopter. There used to be more children in brigades than in classes. There were approximately ten to fifteen children and the same number of reindeer breeders in each brigade. There were nine brigades. When these children returned home, there wasn't enough space for all of them in the helicopter. Helicopter pilots tried to explain to the children that the carrying capacity of a helicopter is limited. But it was very difficult for children to understand that it was impossible to return immediately. So they all jumped into the helicopter and flew away on the fourth attempt.[369]

The majority of my informants emphasized the importance of their connection and bond with their parents. My informants have very strong memories of their time spent together with their parents. The bond between families, then, was not distorted, and children of the first generation grew up surrounded by their parents' way of life. Informants of this period were not severely separated from contact with, and the daily routine of, their families. They studied during the semester and during the vacation period they traveled back to their national villages, where they helped their parents to work seasonally at the state farms. Sami children of this generation continued to be engaged in traditional activities such as fishing and reindeer herding, along with practicing the Sami language as the main language of communication with parents and relatives. These children had a very deep connection to the traditional Sami way of life and national economic activities. That is how the informant from Chudz'iavv'r spoke about her mother and the time that they spent together when she was on vacation from boarding school,

> When did they have time to miss us? Poor things, they get up in the morning, quickly drink a cup of tea. Then mother already harnessed the

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[367] Informant E G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[368] Snowchange project. Archives. http://www.snowchange.org/archives/ (accessed 1 February 2018).

[369] Cf. Mustonen and Mustonen 2011: 98.

> reindeer and – to the forest – needing either to bring firewood for the village council or for other organizations, or bringing hay to the cows. They didn't have time to miss us. I remember, after school I was with my mother. There was so much fish, but no one to fish it. (…) I remember the summer, and we go – just the two of us, my mother and I – we catch fish with nets! Then, during the winter I study, and from June I help them to work at the collective farm until September.[370]

My informants from the boarding school in Gremikha had the opportunity to see their parents more than twice a year. In fact, some of the children had the opportunity of being with their parents at their own request and when they wanted. The informant from Iokanga recalled that she visited home much more than a few times a year. Indeed, whenever her parents sent for her. The informant stressed that she had only to inform her teachers that her reindeer had arrived, for her to go home. There were no obstacles from the boarding school superintendents to her communication with parents and her being away from boarding school in order to visit her parents regularly,

> Oh, more! [than two times a year]. As soon as the reindeer drive in – we go home! Now people have cars; in those days, I had reindeer. We come back from school, reindeer are here – my father's already waiting. When classes are over, we go straight to the boarding school, and here they are [reindeer sledge], right under the boarding school windows. I already jump in and off we go! They take me to Iokanga (...) Either my father himself comes from the tundra. If I am not there, and if he can't go himself, if he's tired. Then, he asks someone, "Please go; bring me my daughter." And here they are, the reindeer; they stop right under the boarding school windows and everyone shouts "Here, they've come for you! Your reindeer have arrived already!" I don't look at anyone, nothing – I'm running to the sledges, jump in and leave! (...) Of course, I notified [the teachers] that I was going to Iokanga, that they're picking me up.[371]

Many former pupils of the boarding school in Gremikha confirm that they were not prohibited from visiting their parents in Iokanga or Varzino village. They were allowed to visit their parents during weekends, various celebrations and festivals. The following informant stated,

> In September, we were already taken to live there [to boarding school in Gremikha], but we were not forbidden to go to the village. We were not forbidden to do it! We visited the village for any holidays. From Gremikha and from Varzino (...) We lived and spent nights in boarding school, but at weekends we were allowed to go home. Saturday, Sunday were days off at school, so we left for Iokanga. Some used to leave on the motorboat. In

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[370] Informant D G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[371] Informant F G1. (Translated by A.A.)

> winter – we traveled by reindeer, well on foot – we often ran to the village on foot.[372]

Sometimes the children organized themselves into groups and left boarding school all together for their villages – walking to see their parents. The boarding school superintendents used to go looking for them after such trips to the villages. In these cases, children were sometimes allowed to spend several days at home, but at other times they were supposed to return back to boarding school immediately. In particular, one of my informants told how she organized such a group escape to Iokanga village, and how the children were returned back to the boarding school,

> Actually, we lived well. We attended school consultations, classes, but we were very eager to go home. And one day they announced ... all classes are cancelled because the electricity had been turned off. I come to the boarding school, and the girls – "Tania, come on, organize a cultural trip to the village!" (…) So I take my bag, I quickly pack my linen. We went out and left. We left for Iokanga. When we arrived (...) first of all, we ran to the cinema, then to dancing – girls were very attracted to it, especially the older ones. I remember we stand by the wall and watch the movie. Oh, what a good movie! And then some man comes in, it was a border guard, or someone else, but he says, "Those who left the boarding school must get together in 20 minutes – the motorboat's waiting for you!". We were taken back – we didn't even have time to eat at home. We were brought to the boarding school, went to bed, and in the morning – we were already on the carpet of the boarding school director. Everyone, one by one! That is how everyone reported our running away.[373]

They were considered runaways, but the attitude to them was tolerant and mild. Another informant stressed that they escaped from the boarding school to their parents, they were found and returned to school. They were not punished for running away, but instead received labor assignments,

> We ran away, of course we ran away. They looked for us, and they straightaway called the Chairman of the Village Council. Then, of course when you come home, our parents made us to go back to school. So, you go back. You stay at home a bit and then on Sunday, you go back to school. (…) We were punished, but who'll pay attention to such punishments? I was already putting on my skis and ran – I quickly ran away to Iokanga and that's all. What kind of punishment was it? We were made to chop wood or carry things. Well, wash toilets, but on rare occasions – because we had cleaners. Water, this we had to carry – this we were made to do.

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[372] Informant I G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[373] Informant G G1. (Translated by A.A.)

> But what effect can this have on us? We’re children who are accustomed to physical work – we live in the tundra permanently![374]

Runaways from the boarding schools occurred as a form of resistance and simultaneous response from some of the local indigenous children[375] to the compulsory educational measures introduced, and to boarding school practices. In essence, the principle of obligatory education literally entailed enforcing an education upon children. Simultaneously, school education was to be imposed upon the indigenous children of the North regardless of their individual pedagogical needs, interests or individual personalities, regardless of their own wishes or the wishes of their parents. Those informants who had a strong connection to the traditional way of life of reindeer herding and fishing mention that they enjoyed their life at boarding school, but they deeply regret that their way of life – traditional life in the tundra – was not supported enough, as well as Sami culture in general. They missed being out in the tundra, they considered that their culture was a “prohibited” culture, so rapidly vanishing, so socially inconvenient to be a part of, and so different in comparison to the towns where the boarding schools were situated. Now their traditional areas are abandoned, just as their culture became abandoned, left in these Sami villages where my informants were born,

> We studied well together. We lived in a boarding school in a very friendly way. I liked boarding school life. Yes, it was possible to live in a boarding school, if only it wasn’t forbidden to practice [Sami reindeer herding]. “So,” they say, “Did you run away to twist reindeer tails?” And I say, "Yes, and you need to know how to twist these tails!” I liked to ride around in the tundra; nature – all of it! From my childhood it attracted me, beckoned me to ride reindeer. My grandfather rode around these places – and we fished, and we drove around these places together. Later, they were destroyed and abandoned. Now when you go to the tundra – you wouldn’t learn anything there, not any more.[376]

Children brought to the boarding school found themselves in a culturally new environment, where social misunderstandings and stereotypization were rapidly aggravated in the forms of multiple ethnic conflicts and bullying between the Sami, the local Russian children and children of other nationalities. According to Informant I G1, constant repetition of these conflicts put additional pressure on boarding school children, making them run home to their parents, back to their habitual environment. Another woman informant confides,

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[374] Informant I G1. (Translated by A.A.)
[375] Child 1998: 87; Adams 1995;
[376] Informant I G1. (Translated by A.A.)

> We liked it, we seemed to live well together. We were not hurt by anyone [teachers and workers of boarding schools]. Our guys from Iokanga defended us if the local children of the Gremikhan militaries were offending us. Well, they called us "Lapps, Lapps"[377], of course, sometimes it can be offensive. [378]

Informant I G1 studied together with the previous informant. He was one of those Iokanga guys defending Sami girls in local conflicts,

> Well, because we were considered to be the lower class, the lowest tribe. Who took us for humans? "Lapps, and Lapps." You get tired sometimes of listening to it, and then it starts. The same people in the street attack us, so we are defending ourselves. (…) In the boarding school we get together and go around Gremikha to beat them. We catch one of them, so they don't insult us. Then, maybe one week everything goes well, and then it starts again. Well they offended us because of our ethnicity: "Lapps and Lapps." So what? You're Russian. Another is Tatar, so what? It bothers me to listen to this constantly." (…) Those days, people didn't call us "Sami," everyone just called us "Lapps, Lapps!"[379]

By calling himself a Lapp, this informant admits how deeply offended he is. Later in the interview he continuously repeats "Lapp, Lapp, Lapp" basically irrespective of the questioned themes, he refers to the topic of discrimination. Evidently, due to his emotionally uncomfortable memories from his studies at the boarding school in Gremikha where he was continuously bullied and harassed.

There is a difference observed in situations of the Sami District and the Lovozero District concerning local ethnic conflicts between children arriving to boarding school and local pupils. The degree of these type of conflicts appeared to be higher in Gremikha, which was a closed military town where the entire population of the town consisted of Russian military officials and their families. There was also Lovozero, which was originally a Sami village. Therefore, the situation of ethnic conflicts was observed to be more tolerant towards other Sami children from other Sami villages arriving at boarding school in Lovozero. At the same time, Gremikha had a majority Russian population, and Sami children were considered to be strangers in this town,

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[377] Derogatory; offensive term for "Sami".

[378] Informant H G1.

[379] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

> What we liked in the boarding school was that we were all close and united. We, Sami people, were all holding together. Not that we specifically targeted against someone, but if it was needed, we all came out in the streets and stood up for someone. The police were chasing us, saying, "Here they are, the Lapps are rebelling again!" (…) We were mobbed in the boarding school, of course. (…) Mostly the Russians who live in Gremikha. They say, "Here you go, the Lapps are coming! All from Iokanga." When we ran away to Iokanga, they say "Here you go, all the Lapps ran away!" (…) We were punished for that [fighting with other children] in the boarding school – we were made to stand in the corner, but no one took away breakfast. When it comes to diet and food, there was never anything like that.[380]

In fact, many of my informants state that they enjoyed boarding school life. Studies at boarding schools enriched their lives with various children and youth activities, and access to books and knowledge that was unavailable in their villages. Most of the informants stressed that they enjoyed boarding school life as it was the opportunity to make new friends and stay close to each other,

> Life changed in the way that we had more interests. It was more interesting. Studies, large circles of acquaintances, social arrangements. In elementary school it wasn't like that, and here it was so interesting. The cultural club was also next to us, "The Cultural House of the Officers." We used to run to dance evenings! We had more interests, more acquaintances, more teachers because for every subject there was a new teacher. The teacher for botany was so good! Oh, those teachers were so kind![381]

When a child arrives at boarding school, his or her social status changes.[382] At the boarding school the child is no longer under the care and protection of his or her parents. The child is placed under the care of an educational institution, and surrounded by people unknown to him or her, but who daily participate in the child's upbringing. The child's home environment changes to an institutional environment. At the same time, the functions of parental care become projected first of all on the teachers' work.

Teachers play an important role not only in the education, but also in the upbringing of children at boarding schools. Therefore, the functions of parental care are directly or indirectly implied in the role of the teachers who surround boarding school pupils on a daily basis. In cases when children reside in an institution, the roles of educators and teachers increase in significance in comparison to regular school teaching oriented on educating children who are living at home with their parents. Teachers of the early Soviet period knew this simple methodological truth well, which is why the teachers' work combined the roles of both pedagogues and educators.

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[380] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

[381] Informant D G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[382] Liarskaya 2003.

During the study period, boarding schools did not have "educator" employees, which was a widespread practice of the classical boarding school era. Then, children in boarding schools were separately taught by teachers and brought up by educators whose main functions lay in restructuring the everyday routine of the children, educating them about moral values and appropriate behavior (i.e. Russian cultural codes of children's behavior) in society.

In the current period, teachers played an important connecting role for children of all nationalities in the boarding schools – they treated children equally in spite of their ethnic background. This helped students to tolerate the ethnic conflicts that occurred in towns that were new for them, where the boarding schools were situated. It is noteworthy to mention that topic of ethnic conflicts appeared to be conditioned by gender characteristics. The girls seemed to be less involved in ethnic conflicts than boys. Thus, in contrast to previous Informant I G1, the next informant stated that she did not have any conflicts with other children in Gremikha town and her fellow students,

> There was no difference between us and Russians. I was friends with everyone. I went for walks with everyone. I had a lot of girlfriends, and boys, friends. We had a lot of guys from St. Petersburg, whose parents were sent to serve in Gremikha, and a lot of children of local workers. There never was any difference between us. If we were preparing for sports competitions, I prepared with them. I wore a pioneer uniform; a pioneer uniform was bought for me too. So it was very interesting.[383]

All of the informants in this generation are grateful to their teachers for their good attitude and care. The teachers were educated in the spirit of the Golden Twenties[384], and treated Sami children with additional care, attention and respect as culturally-different. In contrast to Generation 3, no psychological coercion or corporal punishment was practiced in the boarding schools of this period, quite the opposite; careful attention and persuasion about the importance of education were used by teachers, instead of the practice of strict discipline. In instances of disobedience, assignation of light labor suitable for children was used as the main method to educate pupils,

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[383] Informant D G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[384] Hereby I use Kapeller's phrasing "The Golden Twenties" (Kappeler 2001: 373), which I previously disclosed in section 3.2.

> But what I would like to say about the old boarding school is that the teachers were excellent! The head of the school was very good to us. I remember she always warned us, “Get all the rooms clean as soon as possible, so that everything is clean! If the commission comes and sees that there’s any dust, or the beds aren’t made, then they can close us!” How is it possible for them to shut us down if we study? So, we cleaned everything.[385]

Another informant remembers her favorite teacher very well. She recalled her teacher with very warm memories,

> I respected Anna Alekseevna [name of the teacher]. And, it looked like she liked me because I could only speak Russian badly – she’d stay with me after class; she taught me how to speak and how to count. Because I didn’t know how to do anything! There [in her Sami village] we lived, we didn’t have pencils – nothing to draw with. I didn’t even know how to hold a pencil! She stayed with me and she taught me everything – she holds the pencil with me and shows me how to draw letters, how to write.[386]

Communication with parents was not interrupted in the first generation to such an extent as it was with the second generation. However, many of the informants of the first generation who received education and professional qualifications, were already working in professions other than reindeer herders and fishermen. By the middle of 1950s fewer Sami were engaged in work and labor in the collective farms. Most of the informants who received higher or professional education were already working as teachers, local management workers, agricultural management employees etc.

Therefore, the profession of reindeer herder and traditional women’s job of accompanying a reindeer herding man to the tundra was substituted for mainstream professions, which required both formal education and good skills in the Russian language – all tools with which boarding school education equipped Sami pupils. The Sami of this generation who received mainstream professions already lived sedentary lives, and their children attended regular schools instead of boarding schools.

The compulsivity of boarding school education discussed in this period increases in situations of the second generation of informants, when the boarding school system changes its function from a school dormitory for indigenous children who were supposed to receive secondary education, into ethnic boarding schools exclusively for children of reindeer herders.

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[385] Informant D G1. *(Translated* by A.A.)

[386] Informant E G1. (Translated by A.A.)

However, not all of the Sami in the next generation received education in such boarding schools, but only those whose parents (among Generation 1) decided to stay in reindeer herding as their primary professional activity. In principle, quite a large number of Sami in the Lovozero District were still engaged in reindeer herding; whereas most of the Sami villages in the Sami District were closed, together with the collective farms. Most of the local Sami population from the Sami District started to work in mainstream professions. Generation 2, therefore, is made up mostly of children whose parents still worked as reindeer herders primarily in the Lovozero District.[387] Other informants no longer worked in reindeer herding and fishing. Statistically, children of only three informants out of ten in the current generation resided at a boarding school.[388] Others already lived with their parents and attended regular schools in the towns and villages where their Sami parents had received employment positions. Their children were already receiving up to 10 classes of school education.

I questioned my informants about their connection to their children (Generation 2 of the study). Some of the interviewees are reindeer herders whose children had also grown up at boarding schools. As one such informant from Lovozero conveys,

> We are reindeer herders, so how? We live in the tundra, so our children were in boarding school. Whoever doesn't go to school, the teachers themselves would drag them there. Well, they'd look around for children – why aren't they at school? Was it good or not good, what would you do? You need to work, anyhow! And, we worked in the tundra. They finished school, so they are already flying out to us in the tundra. The state farm organized a helicopter that brought the children to their parents after finishing [the study year at boarding school] and then in August, the helicopter brought them back to boarding school. (…) The helicopter flew over all the brigades in the tundra and collected children for a new study year in Lovozero.[389]

The informants of the first generation answer that they would have sent their children to boarding school if their children had been in the same situation as them – living in the Sami villages, far away from schooling opportunities. At the same time, my communication with the informants, consultations with local specialists and knowledge gained on the topic from the secondary sources presented in this dissertation, has identified considerations on two contradictory attitudes towards boarding school policies. Similarly, there are two general views on the boarding school system among my informants, depending on their level of education. The first view is associated with the general benefits of free educational opportunities, overall access to education, financial support to educate and care for children for a certain period of time, and further opportunities for attaining higher education and professions. On the other hand, a perception that the boarding school system in particular has undermined the connection between children and their parents, stopped Sami languages transmission and had a range of not entirely positive impacts on the development of Sami culture. I let one of the highly educated informants of this generation comment on this complexity of different points of view. The informant from the Sami District revealed her own perspective on this diversity of attitudes,

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[387] Boarding schools of the next period changed their status and function from school dormitories into boarding schools exclusively for Sami children whose parents were still engaged in reindeer herding.
[388] Children of Informants A G1, D G1, E G1. All from the Lovozero District.
[389] Informant E G1. (Translated by A.A.)

> I believe that I have walked this path in life – the path of knowledge and cognizance of a simple Sami girl. I believe that it was right. Why? Because when we were born and when we were in school, our parents were not nomadic any more. They were sedentary. We had the state farm in our village and the school. People were engaged in fishing, cattle breeding, reindeer husbandry. And of course, we children had to be educated. Should we have worked on the farm all our lives? (…_)
>
> I believe that it was right that there was a boarding school system. (…) Since we didn't have money, we couldn't pay. The collective farm only revived after the war. The boarding school system helped us a lot. 10–15 people from our village have higher education, work as teachers; we have teachers with honors and awards among us, with the title of honorary veterans of pedagogical work! So, I think that this was all very right and very good. Probably, it would not be applicable to people who still lead nomadic lifestyles. And of course, it is highly desirable that children are acquainted with the deeds and lifestyles of their parents. Because we were not, we were torn apart from their world already at that time. We knew that our parents worked as reindeer herders, as pastoralists.
>
> We helped as best as we could, but it was necessary to study. I believe it was right for our people, for me personally, I am very happy that I have a higher degree. And as for the matter that we're cut off from our national pursuits, the 1960s put everything in its place. Our village was eliminated, our state farm too, and we don't have our traditional activities any more. We don't have a collective farm, there are no people. We were forced to settle elsewhere! We don't do any traditional sewing of national clothing,

> etc. We learned what we could learn, for example, from older girls and boys [at the boarding school].[390]

As the previous citation demonstrates, boarding school policies alone cannot be viewed as the central factor in the question of cultural assimilation of the Sami during the given period. In fact, the educational system as a whole, which includes several levels of education – preschool (kindergartens), elementary (primary schools) and secondary (boarding schools) – should be studied in the framework of its influence on the Sami culture and language. Namely, the aforementioned educational processes should be viewed from the point of view of their holistic nature. To consider boarding policies as the only factor contributing to linguistic, cultural, economic assimilation of the Sami in the Russian context would be illogical and one-sided. It is necessary to understand that not only boarding school policies influenced the assimilative process, but the entire educational system established during the Soviet period. Moreover, there were other important socio-economic and political processes undergone by the Sami in Russia in the 20th century, such as the policies of political repressions, forced resettlements, agglomeration and liquidation of the national Sami villages, which started to be implemented in 1954.[391] Evaluating the interconnection and mutual influences of these processes on assimilation of the Sami becomes an evident challenge of this study. Analyzing the overall assimilative consequences exclusively of the boarding school system is not possible without taking into consideration other background phenomena that impacted on the Kola Sami situation throughout all of the study periods presented in this dissertation.

4.3 Sami language prohibitions and renouncing Sami origin

Analysis of the current section bases on three main points highlighted by informants:

- Prohibition of public Sami language use;
- Sami language in boarding schools. Complications in school education resulting from poor knowledge of Russian by pupils and absence of knowledge of Sami by their teachers;
- “Formal, but not cultural assimilation?” Danger of political repressions, social discrimination and factors for renouncing Sami origin and identity.

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[390] Informant G G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[391] Vladimirova 2006: 140.

Almost every interview about boarding school education, irrespective of generation, started with phrase, "We were forbidden to speak our language." In an attempt to understand actualization and the role of Sami language prohibition as a phenomenon in the framework of boarding school education, I start my analysis with the grassroots of the notion "prohibition of Sami language". Analysis of the current generation of the interviewees makes it possible to trace the development of the prohibition on public Sami language use as experienced by the discussed generation, and which later (in the mid 1950s and the mid 1960s) modifies and transits from the domain of public use into the boarding school arena.

The group of informants who especially stressed the topic of public Sami language prohibitions and persecutions were mostly born between 1936 and 1939. They attended boarding schools in the early 1950's. The discussed period of 1935 to 1955 was the time when most of my informants have vulnerable thoughts about the prohibition of public Sami language use, although the tendency to prohibit Sami language had not reached school practices yet.

On the contrary, children used Sami freely outside of the classroom in boarding schools of this period, and Sami was actively spoken between pupils themselves. However, the tendency towards prohibition of native language for Sami pupils will be more evidently implemented in boarding schools in the period starting from the late 1950s and early 1960s.[392] Correspondingly, more obvious changes occur starting from the beginning of the 1960s. Later, moving on to the next chapter, boarding school policy was gradually changing towards a stronger orientation on providing Sami children with basic education and knowledge of Russian language, with a stricter native language regime and discipline.

For now, we return to phenomena of public Sami language prohibition, experienced by current generation. One of my informants confides on the strictness of control towards public Sami language use experienced as early as by generation of his parents, and which was especially acute until the mid 1940s. Then, the overall use of Sami language was not favored, and was controlled by the local authorities. In such a way, the mother of Informant I G1 was prosecuted for speaking Sami to her mother (grandmother of the informant) in public, receiving three years of imprisonment, which was substituted with a probation penalty – two years of labor at the collective farm. Simultaneously, his grandmother was hidden away outside of Iokanga village, where she continued to live in her lavvu[393] and was occasionally visited by her family,

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[392] Discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

> In Iokanga, when my mother was there, it was forbidden to speak Sami. She even received three years, three years of imprisonment for this! But later, it was substituted with a probation penalty, because I was small, and my sister too. And my grandmother, she couldn't speak [Russian] at all. My grandfather gave me reindeer from the state farm and said, "Take her away there, to the other side of Iokanga Lake. When you arrive, you'll see a lavvu." She lived there because she didn't know how to speak; nothing but Sami. So, we took her away! Then the police came and said, "Where?" "I don't know," said father, "Maybe my son has taken her somewhere?" They said, "Bring her here!" "How do I know where he is? Where he's taken her?" said my father. Well, she didn't understand Russian, and my mother spoke Sami with her and some people reported her. The NKVD[394] came – the police. And she received a suspended sentence. Then I took my grandmother away to the tundra, she lived there in a lavvu (…) at the other side of the lake; we visited her there.
>
> The local authorities generally made us do everything in Russian. My grandmother, she didn't know how to speak Russian at all. (…) Well, we spoke Sami at home and my mother was talking to her, and someone apparently reported her. In those days, there were many snitchers who reported. She went through a trial and was sentenced to three years in the beginning, and then, because we were little, they gave her a probation penalty. She carried out labor works at the farm, where she was paid with sugar etc.[395]

This informant's family story closely revealed the situation of the many Sami of that time who were afraid to speak their language in public. But in spite of the strict language control and prosecutions mentioned, people kept on speaking Sami, preferably when no one else was around, out in the tundra or during seasonal haymaking work out in the fields,

> Well, she [informant's mother] was speaking Sami and the local authorities came. She was put on trial in Iokanga. We were forced to speak only in Russian because conversations in our language were prohibited. Though when there was no one around, people still talked Sami. With my grandfather, when we were in the tundra – no one was there, and then of course, we spoke our language.[396]

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[393] Sami type of dwelling in the form of a pointed tent, resembling Native American tipi. In Northern Sami, "*lávvu*", Kildin Sami, *"koavas"*.

[394] Local NKVD departments, "parts of the administrative body of the Ministry for Home affairs in ca. 1934–1956" (cf. Mustonen and Mustonen 2011: 90).

[395] Informant I G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[396] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

Though some informants state that they never experienced their language being forbidden in public, there are the instances of language prosecution, which appear strongly in personal family stories and the reality of others. In particular, my next informant from Iokanga village confirms that by the time she finished boarding school in 1955, it was still crucial not to speak Sami publicly. As such, the informant remembers,

> It happened when we already finished boarding school. Then these times began – "Do not speak your language." How is it possible not to speak your language? And how do I manage at the shop? Petr said to me in the shop, "Dear aunt, please don't speak your language." (…) Because by then they'd already started with agglomeration,[397] and started to suppress Sami people.[398]

Despite it still being crucial not to speak Sami publicly in the middle of the 1950s, another informant noticed that the tendency of native language persecutions started to weaken after the Second World War. However, the informant stressed that by the time the tendency of language persecutions started to weaken, knowledge of the native tongue among their generation was already gradually diminishing. They did not have as good a knowledge of the Sami language as their parents. In fact, the Russian language was widely used by many among this generation, already by the end of the 1940s,

> The war ended in May – so I went to school in September 1945 to the first class. (...) Basically, we spoke Russian because it was forbidden to speak in our language, the Sami language. (…) We didn't speak the language well, and we didn't have very good possession of it. My sister, she spoke badly. I talked more in Sami, but she didn't. As time passed, when the collective farms were established after the war, there were already no such claims. This means, after the war, the tendency started to decrease. It was already the time of the victory, and no one paid particular attention to it [Sami language prohibition].[399]

Almost all of the informants mention that the prohibition on speaking Sami in public places was a local policy. According to my interview data, this policy is explicitly expressed in terms of the Sami District rather than Lovozero District. Informants of this generation from the Lovozero District stressed that they were prohibited from speaking

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[397] I propose a definition of *agglomeration* in Chapter 1, section 1.2.

[398] Informant F G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[399] Informant G G1 (translated by A.A.)

Sami in school classes, but could use the Sami language outside of class, at home, as well as publicly, i.e. in the streets or in the shop.[400] One informant from Lovozero stressed that it was also forbidden to speak Sami, but mostly this concerned only the school hours,

> They did not allow us to speak Sami, we had to speak Russian. (...) At home, well, everything was in Sami, in our own language, and at school we learned it all – letter by letter – the Russian language, because there [in school classes] nothing was allowed in Sami, only in Russian.[401]

Photo 7. Sami youth on haymaking works for the collective farm in Varzino. Photo from private archive of Anastasia Mozolevskaia. The photo was taken by Anastasia Mozolevskaia in the 1950s.

In the Sami District, the situation was somewhat different, and people spoke Sami more carefully. They spoke only between the Samis themselves at home, as well as only among themselves when no one from other nationalities was around. Similarly, the Sami language was used in the tundra or in the forest. As an informant from the Sami District confirms, the Sami language ban was implemented mainly at the local municipal level. Likewise, education in schools of the Sami District (as well as in the Lovozero District) was fulfilled explicitly in Russian,

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[400] Informants A G1, D G1, E G1.

[401] Informant A G1. (Translated by A.A.)

> At home, of course, we talked with our parents. For example, when girlfriends of my mother came for a visit – they always spoke our language (...) And in school – only in Russian. There was a time when it was generally forbidden to speak our language – so people didn't speak, and that was it (…) it was forbidden. This came from somewhere in Severomorsk [municipal authority of the former Sami District] and from the party in Murmansk. In Gremikha there was also the Regional Committee of the Party. (...) At home you speak much as you want. But somewhere else, no one talked; we only spoke Russian.[402]

Informants of this generation who began school education in the pre-war period[403] were mainly monolingual in Sami in their early school years. These informants especially stressed the difficulties connected to their acquisition of Russian at school. The monolingual informants stressed that another reason why all school education was introduced in Russian lay in the fact that schoolteachers as a rule could neither speak nor understand the language of their students, which was the pupils' first language. Informants emphasize that it was difficult for them to understand what they were doing in school and why they did it. Neither could they understand what their teacher said to them. Many informants cannot remember the first two or three years of their school. Some informants could not comment much on their first school years, because they quite simply hardly remember them. In time, when they gradually learned Russian, they started to pick up and to reflect on the information that their teachers conveyed, and since then their memories are present – from the moment that they started to understand their teachers' language. For instance, the informant who started her first school in the academic year 1945–1946, comments on her first school experiences,

> When I came to school, I didn't know Russian at all. And the first two years I was in school, it was like a wall – I didn't understand what I was doing in school at all. Only in the third grade I realized that I was studying! Because I had already learned to speak Russian. Only then, other subjects, the Russian language, literature and mathematics.[404]

Other informants still recall and can comment upon the process of learning Russian, and how challenging it was for them to understand their teachers. Both informants from Lovozero mention that had to take baby steps in order to catch up with their school education,

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[402] Informant H G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[403] Including Informants A G1 and B G1, who started school in the pre-war period. Informant A attended school from 1935 to 1938. Informant B started school in 1938.

[404] Informant J G1 (2010). (Translated by A.A.)

> We began to learn it [the Russian language] like footsteps. We basically understood, but we couldn't say anything at all. Then, we already started completely [to speak Russian] (...) It was difficult. (...) Syllable by syllable – this should all be put together and then you see which word turns out. That's how we learned.[405]

Another informant stressed how much effort they invested in acquiring a language that was totally new for them,

> When I went to school, I didn't understand a word of Russian. I didn't know how! (...) I began to study and learned the Russian language. (...) It was in Russian, everything. Well, she [the teacher] was Russian. We certainly didn't always understand. We didn't know the language; we thought, "How will we manage?" But then we began to learn, learn, learn and to write.[406]

Some children did not even know how their name sounded in Russian before they started school,

> I came to school. I spoke Russian so badly, very badly. I couldn't even say my own name. I knew only how I was called in Sami – "Anka". The teacher said, "Maybe you are Ania?. I said, "No! I'm Anka!" [informant laughs kindly].[407]

I spoke to Informant J G1 during one of my prior fieldworks in the Murmansk region in 2010. Although the conversations mostly focused on the subject of my previous project about forced relocations and elimination of Sami villages, she still brought up the topic of the Sami language environment in these villages and boarding school education. This shows the significance of the issues studied in this dissertation, and of the current discussion on the more stable Sami language environment in indigenous villages than in the localities of the boarding schools. The informant recalled the language situation in Varzino village, the boarding school system, and how she perceived the new language that was foreign to her,

> Almost the whole village consisted of Sami people, and therefore there was a natural normal language environment. Language was used daily, it was spoken by both old and young. When I went to school, I don't even remember 1st to 3rd grade; I don't remember how I studied there. Such a veil, I can't remember any single detail. I started to feel that I was in school

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[405] Informant A G1. (Translated by A.A.)
[406] Informant D G1. (Translated by A.A.)
[407] Informant E G1. (Translated by A.A.)

> when it was already the 3rd grade. In such a way, the Russian language, which was new to me, entered into my mind. (...) The Sami spoke entirely in the Sami language among themselves. Thence, a normal natural language environment existed before our residence in boarding schools, before we began to be taught in boarding schools. In the boarding school, of course, we continued to speak our native language, and when we came back home, naturally (…) but after, it was already both, somewhere in Sami, somewhere in Russian. But knowledge of the language is always with you. I have this feeling that I have never forgotten it.[408]

Most of those informants who started school in the post-war period were already raised in Sami and Russian, with a wide predominance of the Russian language. At the time, their parents had Sami as their first language and Russian as second. Their grandparents were predominantly monolingual in Sami, with some small knowledge of Russian. Essentially, some of the informants themselves were becoming fluent in Russian, while already forgetting the Sami language, "Our parents spoke Sami, we understood them anyway, but we didn't speak. My sister was born in 1943 (...) she, for example, can't speak at all, but understands everything. My brother spoke well."[409]

Usually, children managed to learn Russian well before they proceeded with their secondary education in the boarding schools. Therefore, they were basically equipped with knowledge of Russian in boarding school. Accordingly, by the time they arrived at boarding school, their knowledge of the language was equally sufficient for both complying with the educational program designed for all other Russian students, and for socializing with the rest of the pupils. Some of the students were very successful indeed in their studies, especially those who were efficient in their learning of Russian. The following informant mentions that their teachers believed that knowledge of the Sami language could interfere with acquisition of the state language[410] – the language of pure literacy and enlightenment,

> In the 5th, 6th and 7th class in Gremikha, we wrote dictations in Russian and studied only among Russians with high grades – B and A. We were told that we shouldn't speak our native language, since the knowledge of our language interferes with the study of the national literary language – Russian. This is what we were told in boarding school by teachers of the Russian language. I don't remember exactly, but this was also discussed at some official meetings with the Sami locals.[411]

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[408] Informant B (2010). (Translated by A.A.)

[409] Informant G G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[410] It is important to mention that Sami language has never had status of official language in Russia, in contrast to Sami language status in, for instance, Norway.

[411] Informant D G1. (Translated by A.A.)

It is important to stressed that the classes where Sami children came were multicultural, and accommodated basic cultural diversity in the region. As we have briefly discussed earlier, classes consisted of children of different nationalities[412] and knowledge of Russian played an important role in socialization between students in the boarding schools,

> In school we spoke only Russian. It was normal. We ran around in the mountains together with the kids, and none of the children spoke [in Sami]. We only communicated in Russian. Everything was in Russian, because we were communicating and living at the boarding school with Russian children. So… it was already over [referring to Sami language and culture].[413]

The multicultural classes, Russian-speaking classmates and common school subjects rapidly changed the language environment in which Sami pupils found themselves in boarding schools. In contrast to their own villages, where predominant use of Sami with parents at home was their ordinary everyday practice. The Russian language became the language of common communication between all the nationalities in the classroom of the boarding school. It led to Sami no longer being their first language of communication, and in boarding schools Sami started to be replaced with Russian. As Liarskaya stressed that,

> Education at boarding schools became compulsory and almost all indigenous children went through it, because boarding school, and changing the regular forms for socialization of the whole generation of the Nenets [as well as Sami], could not help influencing Nenets [and Sami] culture itself.[414]

The same change of cultural socialization applies to the situation with Sami pupils. Hence, multiculturalism in boarding schools is not a one-sided positive phenomenon, in its turn it also causes opposite effects. On the one hand, these children were not segregated from the rest of society in culturally-preservationist, but still assimilationist, type of boarding schools as was the case, for instance, with Sami in Sweden.[415] On the other hand, what proved so good for improved socialization and academic achievement, could not help but have a detrimental impact on Sami language and culture. As informants mentioned themselves,

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[412] In particular, Russians, Sami, Tatars and some Nenets in the Sami District, also Komi and Nenets in the Lovozero District.

[413] Informant G G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[414] Liarskaya 2003:109. (Translated by A.A.)

[415] Lehtola 2004:45.

> We lived all together, though we didn't have Komi416 in Iokanga. We were Sami, then Russians, Tatars. They were brought to Iokanga as repressed exiles. So, we all spoke Russian together. We played together at school, and we studied together. Nothing was mentioned about the Sami language, only Russian; in those days people didn't even pay any attention to that. Though I sewed indigenous slippers and boots, like my mother, but this was the end of it. We didn't wear indigenous clothes any more.[417]

As for most informants, the theme of boarding school education was related to the fact that they had to learn Russian and were forbidden from speaking their native tongue. Although it was not actually forbidden to speak Sami at boarding schools of this period, many informants in general argue that boarding school education was one of the prerequisites for the loss of Sami languages. In particular, the informant whose father was the first Sami Mayor of the Sami District in 1950, considers that boarding school policy influenced Sami language loss. She answers the following on my request about what she considers I should mention in this dissertation as the main outcome of boarding school education,

> It turned out that we all [the Sami people] became somehow separated from each other and we do not communicate much. Personally, I would like to speak more in my own language. Even my sons ask me, "Mom, why don't we speak our language?" But, I myself have very little communication and now I am confused in the words, and some of them I hardly remember. Of course, it was necessary to save the language, but no one wanted to.[418]

A range of informants of this period highlight another topic of renouncing Sami identity and "official assimilation", when Sami people reregistered their ethnicities as Russian in passports and other official documents. Two main reasons for this were, for the older informants – danger, fear and the threat of political repressions, as discussed earlier in 4.1. For the younger informants – the first reason, but complemented by unease at the harsh ethnic discrimination experienced in boarding school.

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[416] Komi-Izhemtsy, an indigenous population that arrived on the Kola Peninsula and settled on the river Virma in the late 1880s (Konstantinov 2005:174). They mostly inhabited the Western part of the Kola Peninsula and were not seemingly present in the Eastern part of the Peninsula. According to the Polar census of 1926–1927 in the Lovozero district: Komi-Izhemtsy – 47.1%, Sámi – 39%, Nenets – 10% and Russians – 4% (in Gutsol 2007: 49).

[417] Informant I G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[418] Informant H G1. (Translated by A.A.)

Thus, two informants recount that because of political repressions, some Sami of this period registered themselves as “Russians”. At the time, their true ethnic origin turned into “one of the hidden family secrets”. One of the oldest informants from Lovozero revealed the case of her family experiences, when changing the family name saved her family members from repression and execution,

> My grandmother had a cousin; we lived together with his family. He was shot in 1943. He was taken. How can I tell you that he didn’t give his reindeer to the military reindeer transport? The war was on. Those with bigger reindeer, especially the bulls, they took them to carry weapons and ammunition, somewhere in the Pechenga District. He didn’t give his reindeer and he didn’t go to war himself. Well, he went against the authorities when everyone was at war. He was immediately taken. His reindeer were taken, and he was shot at once. He was considered a traitor. They also wanted to repress his family, but she [his wife] quickly changed her family name and changed it for all of her children. She went to the District Executive Committee and got another name – that’s how she stayed here, but otherwise she would have been taken too. Among us many were sent out to this kind of hard labor [GULAG labor works]. Those who incorrectly said just a little bit of a tiny word! During the war, many were sent to such works, but he was shot in 1943. And, she [the wife] remained alive with five children.[419]

Another informant from Iokanga told the story of a Sami family from the Ter coast of the Kola Peninsula, who had forever hidden every trace of their ethnic identity,

> I started to compile lists of the Sami population for the Estimate Commission, which makes lists of the Sami who live in our town. (…) I found out that there is one Sami family, but in 1938 when the military conflict with the Finns started, our Sami people from the Ter coast were taken away somewhere and some never came back. But, those who came back said, “Our family will be Russian.” And then, I came up to this woman and asked. She told me, “Starting from 1938, we renounced our [Sami] ethnicity.” In their family there is a wife, a husband, three daughters and sons. And they, the children, they don’t know that they are Sami.[420]

Unfortunately, it appeared to be challenging to reach those informants who had changed their identity. as most of these people do not actively participate in the public life of the Kola Sami community. However, studying the interview material makes it possible to address this topic from the point of view of the interviewed informants.

The last informant has a very interesting situation herself, which is worth considering. She is one of the most diversified and many-sided informants in this generation, who was interesting to work with in order to understand one of the underlying questions raised in this monograph – personal and societal levels of acculturation and assimilation. The informant had a very strong inner conflict when it came to expression of her own identity. I had to have an additional interview hour with her, when I usually managed to cover one informant per one-hour in-depth interview.

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[419] Informant E G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[420] Informant G G1. (Translated by A.A.)

Throughout these two interview sessions, I realized that her life was a fight for knowledge and for her own place in life. It was her path of knowledge, but on this path (a metaphor that the informant herself uses to describe her life), she was constantly reminded that her origin, identity is something yet unworthy, uncivilized, something that desperately needs improvement for the sake of her becoming part of a well-established educated Soviet society, a part of the so-called intelligentsia class. Becoming a member of the intelligentsia was her ultimate dream. Although it was also a way for her to show to the rest of society that even coming from the low-class community, overwhelmed with social stigma and stereotypes as the Sami people were considered to be, one can still earn basic human respect. Education became the way for her to do it. I saw how deeply hurt this informant is on the inside, even though she tried to hide it. During our interviews she refers to the Sami people, switching from "they" to "us", depending on the context. The following citation revealed the origins of her inner conflict between her need to assimilate in order to gain social acceptance and, at the same time, shows her instant affection and true inclination to her own people and roots,

> I was always travelling back to Gremikha while my parents were alive. Then I went there on a working trip connected to Sami literacy and alphabet activity. So, when I arrived everybody was getting together, all those who had studied with me [in the boarding school]. We were already old ladies and men, well, grown-ups. And they said to me, "Aren't you afraid to be in contact with us?" I say, "Why should I be afraid to contact you? Why me? Why afraid?" "Well, you are different from us. And, we are the Sami," they said. "And who am I? Who am I?!" I answered. And then, they told me, "Even in the shop, they turn away from us. People don't stand next to us in line. What should we do? Should we give up our nationality?!" "My dear, you are already of such an age, how will you renounce it? What for? For the sake of other people paying attention and talking nicely to you? If so, stand up for yourself in such a manner that you are respected!" said I.[421]

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[421] Informant G G1. (Translated by A.A.)

These stories let us understand the overall discourse about why many Sami children who arrived at boarding schools had already changed their ethnicity. In such a way, they were already listed as Russians in the boarding schools. The next informant, who resided in the boarding school in Gremikha from 1951 to 1953, conveyed that some Sami children had already arrived at boarding school registered as "Russians," and some had changed their ethnic status during their time at boarding school, in order to avoid bullying and discrimination in Gremikha. Though the informant herself considers that her ethnic identity is something that she would not change or reconsider,

> Some even took Russian nationality, so that they wouldn't be bullied. When my son went to school, he said "Just let anybody try to offend me or do something to me! I'll fight back against them all!" But, some [of her generation] were writing themselves up as Russians. And, I said "I have my nationality and that is how I am going to live until my last days. It's curious – why should I be ashamed of my own nationality [ethnicity]?"[422]

As observed during analysis of interviews, the paradigm of attitudes to Sami identity will shift, but no earlier than the 2000s. In particular, the recent developments, when repressed Sami started to be rehabilitated from their status of enemies of the people.[423] For instance, informants mention cases when only in the past 20 years, people with hidden Sami or mixed Sami origin started to acknowledge their ethnic background,

> Elena's grandmother was Sami, and grandfather was Russian, and they considered themselves Russians. They didn't recognize themselves as Sami at any cost. So, she, for example, only now, much later, started to recognize, that she is also a Sami woman.[424]

Presumably, due to sensitive family experiences of most of my informants and the complicated political attitudes towards the Sami issues discussed in the study period, informants of this generation are usually very careful and cautious when dwelling on the political discussions in question, their personal life stories and experiences of education at boarding schools. Very few admit real injustice, inconsistencies or the inconvenience of state policies towards the Sami, including in educational domains, as for instance the following informant confides,

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[422] Informant H G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[423] According to point 1.1. of the Law of the Russian Federation "On rehabilitation of the victims of political repressions" (adopted on 18 October 1991), many Sami relatives of those repressed during the Soviet order were rehabilitated from their status of enemies of the people and officially recognized by the state as "victims of political repressions due to the absence of actual crime" by their repressed Sami relatives (Stepanenko 2002: 60–61).

[424] Informant J G1 (2010). (Translated by A.A.)

> I did not like the attitude of the local authorities. Why can't Lapps[425] learn their native, spoken language? It was forbidden, as if we are not humans! I have always told them, "Are we some sort of second-class citizens? Everyone should know not only their own history, but know the language." Now they are trying to revitalize the Sami language, and for what? And who? On the very contrary, I myself have started to forget it. No one to talk with, no one to communicate with. We speak with [mentions name of his friend]. We meet with old people from Lovozero. Well, at least you have spoken a bit with the elders.[426]

Summing up, the tendency of renouncing ethnic identity is especially actualized in the topic of political repressions expressed by the oldest informants of this study period. The same tendency continues as especially actualized in social and educational discourses at the beginning of the 1950s, along with the tendency on prohibition of public Sami language use, discussed earlier. It was also the time when some pupils arrived at boarding school registered as Russians, the majority of whom already knew that it was better for them not to use the Sami language in public. These tools for hiding one's own identity and language were used as a survival kit for a new beginner at boarding school. It is necessary to mention that when children arrived at the boarding schools, they arrived in towns that were unknown to them. If they had already experienced school teaching and the learning process at elementary schools, they understood that in boarding schools they were supposed to study. But the fact that the boarding schools were located in towns and villages that were previously unfamiliar to these children, with a local culture and community so different from their own, this was an evident obstacle to Sami children's' adaptation during their first years in boarding school. The children were adapting not only to a new school routine and educational tasks, but also to the local peculiarities of the town they were sent to.

Still, most of the interviewees express that they were very satisfied with living conditions at the boarding schools. Informants believe that the living conditions were good, and they are all happy with the arrangements of life, food and education. Although they regret that there was absolutely no focus on Sami culture and the Sami languages in school curriculum.

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[425] Informant calls himself *a Lapp*, which constitutes a deep resentment and high emotional involvement of this informant in topics discussed during our sessions. Further on, I refer to it in a more detailed explanation (note next passage).

[426] Informant I G1. (Translated by A.A.)

The analysis of the sub-themes singled out by informants in the current chapter contribute to a systematization of the main thematic elements relevant for the first generation. Namely, in this generation, we analyzed the following central issues, prioritized by the informants in discussion of their boarding school education:

1. The Sami language environment of the interviewees, along with discussion on prohibition of the public use of the Sami language as a controlled action of local municipal authorities. Namely, the official prohibition by local authorities of public use of the Sami language in Sami home villages, but not in the dormitories of the boarding schools.

2. Hidden Sami identities and rejection of one's own ethnic identity by Sami pupils of boarding schools due to the threat of political repressions and ethnic discrimination.

3. Boarding schools as residential educational institutions – ethnic conflicts, discrimination of Sami children in local majority society, low social status of the Sami in the given study period.

4. General attitudes and responses of the Sami population to school education. Interest in knowledge among Sami women, and priorities of Sami men to be engaged in reindeer herding and provide economic support to their families, instead of education.

5. The principal function of boarding schools of this period as a school dormitory for Sami children from distant Sami national villages. Changes towards the strict classical boarding system for the Sami occur after 1955, when the status of boarding school changes into specifically established residential institutions for the education of children of reindeer herders (what I discuss in Chapter 6 devoted to experiences of Generation 2). Children of Sami who worked in mainstream professions no longer attended boarding school.

I finish this chapter with a sum up and some critical reflections on the analyzed oral material from Generation 1 of the study. Some of the informants among this generation express gratitude to the boarding school system for showing them “the light of knowledge”, some stay neutral in their evaluations, and some narratives reveal informants’ resistance.

However, it is essential to keep in mind that the informants' narratives reflect their subjective experiences[427]. Moreover, their stories and their own analysis of events presented in oral accounts are determined by social factors such as gender[428], well as level of education and occupation. Those informants who had negative memories of boarding school education were mostly men and reindeer herders by occupation. They considered that boarding school education distracted them from practicing reindeer herding and supporting subsistence of their families. Some of these informants dropped boarding school education and continued to work in reindeer herding brigades.

Those informants who stayed neutral in their narratives often expressed that they would rather have stayed at home with their parents than to leave home and study at boarding schools. But they often referred to the difficult economic situation in the country after the end of the Second World War. They were grateful to receive food and education at the boarding school during the years of recovery from the war, but they still had homesickness and missed their parents. It is possible that these informants understood that they did not have another choice than to leave for the boarding school. This might be the reason why their memories had a more neural coloring in comparison to other informants. It seems that these informants have largely reconciled themselves with their boarding school experiences, through processing of memories as adults.

In addition, one has to keep in mind that experiences of each generation of informants are predetermined by the specific situation of residential schooling in a given historical period. On an overall level, the experiences of the first generation are preconditioned by the fact that this generation of informants started to receive elementary school education in ethnic schools located in their Sami villages. The informants then continued secondary education in boarding schools and stayed there only for a period of two years. In the meantime, they could visit parents in the Sami villages and often lived at home during weekends and school vacations, where they predominantly spoke Sami. Neither were they forbidden to speak Sami at boarding schools but instead they were even encouraged to speak their mother-tongue.[429] That is probably an important reason why some informants stated that they enjoyed to live and socialize with other children in boarding schools, and follow academic as well as social activities.

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[427] Blind 2015: 250.
[428] Myklebost 2002: 126.
[429] Liarskaya 2003: 113.

It is also possible that ideological peculiarities of the Soviet period when these informants grew up influence the way some informants speak about their positive experiences. It was generally uncommon to speak critically about politics of the state or the way indigenous peoples or other minorities were treated under Stalin's regime and the time of repressions. As soon as almost the half of the interviewed informants among this generation experienced Stalinist repressions directly or indirectly, this fact can affect how they present and verbalize their experiences. Thus, the informants' expressions about benefits of the Soviet educational programs might result from their cautious attitude to discussing the state involvement in matters of education of the Sami. It was especially evident in communication with informants who have higher education or teachers by profession. Therefore I considered such examples of narratives with special care, since relying on this information without critical evaluation would affect my analysis. I did not observe the same tendency in Generation 2 of the study. It might be preconditioned by the fact that Stalin died in 1953 and informants of the next generation started to attend boarding schools in 1955. The second generation did not bring up the topic of Stalinist repressions and this might be a reason why some of them present a less beneficial picture of the boarding school education.

Conclusions

The boarding schools in the mid 1930s to mid 1950s operated as dormitories for Sami children from remote ethnic villages of the Kola Peninsula. The boarding schools were no more than separate dormitories where Sami pupils received food and warm beds while they attained secondary education in regular schools. The schools were located nearby, usually across the road from the boarding school dormitories.

In this period, all informants of this generation were already entitled to obligatory seven-year education, while their parents were mostly illiterate or had a few classes of primary school education received in church schools (section 3.1). Some parents of my informants received basic literacy education in points for liquidation of illiteracy (section 3.2.1). The informants of the first generation received four-year primary education in indigenous elementary schools in their own villages. For the purposes of receiving secondary education, they were sent to the nearest boarding school, where they resided permanently from class 5 to 7.

After the end of the Second World War, the system of boarding school education gradually started to change. The seven-year school education became compulsory in 1949. Since then it was impossible for the Sami parents to decide whether their children needed boarding school education or not. The attendance of boarding schools became strictly obligatory. The local school policy was more strongly oriented on the compulsion and obligations of Sami children to receive a boarding school education along with knowledge of the Russian language. The dominance of the Russian language within the educational system emerged after the Second World War. Firstly, with education in primary and boarding schools, later in institutions of higher and professional education.

Still among this generation there were a number of informants who received only four classes of primary school education and refused to continue their boarding school education in order to work in reindeer husbandry. Therefore, the compulsivity of school education in this period was not as strictly implemented as in the time of the second and third generations. Pupils could still voluntarily refuse to receive boarding school education. Yet, this generation demonstrates the most open resistance to the boarding school system. The main motivation of this resistance was that informants wanted to be engaged in reindeer herding and, according to their views, boarding school education interfered with this activity.

When it comes to practice of ethnic identity, this generation grew up in the period immediately after collectivization and during the active Stalinist repressions, which they remember very well. Informants report that many Sami during this period tended to hide their ethnicity and affiliation with the Sami. Many informants state that during this period they preferred to practice the Sami language secretly, and would not speak Sami in public. Nevertheless, this generation shows most proficiency in the Sami language on a daily basis. Additionally, ethnic conflicts that occurred in boarding schools during this period confirm that this generation had a very strong sense of Sami identity as opposed to other nationalities. Informants of this generation highlight that their studies at boarding schools did not impair their language proficiency or sense of ethnic identity. Many informants state that they enjoyed boarding school education and appreciated this opportunity. Additionally, they have very warm memories about boarding school teachers of this period, who were a generation of teachers educated in the golden 1920s and 1930s. Therefore, teachers in boarding schools of this period treated children with cultural differences with special care and attention. Most informants state that boarding school superintendents did not interfere in their communication with parents, and they could visit home without strict restrictions from school. The cultural transmission between children and parents in this generation was especially strong in comparison to the next two generations.

Even though school education both in primary and boarding schools was introduced solely in Russian, there was no prohibition on Sami language use inside the boarding school dormitories. The special trait of the first generation of informants is that they had continuous communication in Sami both in the boarding schools and at home. They resided in the boarding schools for a period of two years and during their studies, they maintained a close connection with their family members. Most informants of the first generation state that during the corresponding period, they received both primary and secondary education in Russian, but there was no prohibition on Sami language use inside the boarding school dormitories.

In contrast to boarding schools, due to political repressions and language persecutions of the post-war period in the Sami villages, people were afraid to speak Sami publicly. There, the Sami used their native language only between themselves at home or during assigned labor works in the state farms, during fishing, haymaking or herding the reindeer. The Sami preferably spoke their native language when no one of other nationalities was around. But in the boarding schools, pupils could speak Sami freely with other Sami children living in the same dormitory. The discussed prohibition of public Sami language use later transits into the educational domain and boarding school arena, but already after the mid 1950s.

Most of the informants of this generation, although raised with Sami as their first language, were fluent in Russian. In contrast, their parents and grandparents were mostly monolingual in Sami with poor command of the Russian language. There are a number of informants among this generation who were also raised bilingual in Sami and Russian. However, a rapid change in the language environment in boarding schools and the compound multicultural classes influenced Russian becoming the main language of communication and socialization between different nationalities in the classroom. Later, Russian became the main language of their future professions.

Up to the mid 1950s, a number of my informants were no longer engaged in traditional economic activities after completion of their boarding school education. Many continued their education further. Some informants received professional and some – higher education. The whole paradigm of the traditional lifestyle started to change in the current generation. This generation rapidly transits from the status of their parents as pastoralists, hunters, gatherers and reindeer herders into teachers, managers and other mainstream professions. In other words, the economic assimilation caused by integration of the Sami into majority professions by means of education played its role. Thus, many of my informants were already living sedentary lives by the mid 1950s, and their children were already studying in regular public schools.

I concentrate on the experiences of informants whose parents continued to work in reindeer herding in the Chapter 6, devoted to analysis of the second generation (1956–1968). These children already attended a new type of boarding school institution that emerged from the mid 1950s, i.e. boarding schools designed exclusively for children of reindeer herders.

In conclusion, I should like to draw attention to the fact that the boarding schools discussed in this chapter functioned first of all as dormitories for regular schools, but not as boarding schools designed exclusively for children of reindeer herders and forcefully relocated families (Generation 2; 1956–1968) or boarding school institutions of a closed restricted type designed for orphaned children (Generation 3; 1969–1989). One has to understand that boarding school policy is a multidimensional issue that changes over time along with the state objectives towards indigenous peoples of the Russian North in each outlined period. The experiences of each generation of informants differ depending on the historical period discussed, as well as on each concrete thematic issue.

Before I proceed to the experiences of the second generation of informants, I find it necessary to address a detailed analysis of the changes in the boarding school policy from the mid 1950s until the end of the 1960s. In the next chapter, I touch upon changes in policy towards communist upbringing and Russification, which is a radical change in comparison to boarding schools in the period of this chapter. In addition, the policy of forced resettlements of the Sami people implemented during the same period (the mid 1950s until the end of the 1960s) had a substantial impact on the educational situation of the Sami in boarding schools.

Chapter 5 Forced resettlements and Khrushchevs’ reforms (1956–1968)

Before I proceed with an analysis of the boarding school experiences of the second generation presented in the next chapter, I address in this chapter the main federal changes in the boarding school policy at the end of the 1950s, and the policy of forced resettlements. These processes influenced the educational situation of the Sami in the second generation.

In 5.1, I examine how elimination of ethnic Sami villages restructured the geographical principles and socio-economic factors for residential education of the Sami. In 5.2, I analyze changes of the boarding school policy both at local and federal levels of the study. In particular, I discuss the boarding school education as a tool for the Soviet ideological upbringing of children. I reveal the notions of communist upbringing, widely applied in education of the Sami in the second generation. Finally, I examine how ideas about the formation of a new, modernist Soviet society and by that a new, improved Soviet person closely intertwine with ideas of cultural convergence, implemented by means of residential education in the given period.

The sub-themes for subsequent discussions in the chapter are as follows:

- Boarding schools designed specifically for children of relocated Sami, local reindeer herders and parentless Sami children. Social problems after forced resettlements and the boarding school system as “first aid for the Sami children”.
- Soviet educational reforms of 1958–1959 oriented on creation of a new type of boarding school.

5.1 Forced resettlements

The first chapter section is based on a discussion around the main socio-economic phenomenon experienced by the Sami people in the discussed period. The forced relocations and elimination of traditional Sami villages, and the attendant social consequences, are continually brought up by informants during interviews. These fundamental processes must be understood as influencing changes in the geographical coverage of boarding school education for the Sami at the regional level of the study.

During the study period from 1956 to 1968, most of the Sami villages were eliminated as a result of agglomeration, and subsequently forced relocations followed.

The Sami groups from villages liquidated during agglomeration were resettled in one settlement – Lovozero, the largest village in the Lovozero District. [430]

As I outlined in 1.2, the boarding school in Gremikha was officially closed in the beginning of the 1960s after the final closure of all the Sami villages in the Sami District. [431] The district itself was abolished;[432] the state farms, where the local Sami were employed, were eliminated.

I have already mentioned in the previous chapter that informants of the first generation from the Sami District either continued to work in reindeer herding – and then after enforced resettlement their children (Generation 2) started to attend boarding school for children of reindeer herders in Lovozero. Other informants prior to their resettlement had managed to graduate from boarding school in Gremikha and find steady jobs in various rural and urban localities in the region. Their children already lived at home with parents and attended regular schools in these towns.

Therefore the previous chapter largely addressed the situation of the boarding school in Gremikha in the abolished Sami District, but informants of the second generation come predominantly from relocated Sami villages of the Lovozero District, mostly from Chudz'iavv'r and Voron'e. Although I managed to reach and interview some informants from in the Sami District[433] who attended boarding school in Gremikha until its closure in 1960/61, and can comment upon their experiences. Consequently, this chapter focuses on the joint experiences of two informants from the Sami District along with a more detailed analysis of the situations of informants from relocated Sami families of the Lovozero District, who were likewise sent to the same boarding school in Lovozero.

Thus, only two of my informants among the second generation experienced life at the boarding school in Gremikha. One of these informants was originally sent to the boarding school in town Olenegorsk in 1961, around the time the boarding school was shut down. Thereafter, after one year of study at the Olenegorsk boarding school, which accommodated mostly parentless Russian children, the informant was sent to the boarding school for Sami children in Lovozero. In such a way, some of the relocated Sami children of second generation experienced boarding school life in up to three different residential institutions in various towns of the Peninsula. As the informant herself recalled,

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[430] Afanasyeva 2013: 44.

[431] In order to reach informants from the former Sami District, I had to carry out a session of fieldwork in Teriberka, Apatity, Umba and Murmansk. Mainly, because nowadays these informants reside in different villages and towns across the Peninsula.

[432] The Sami District was abolished on January 1963 in accordance with the Decree of the Supreme Council of RSFSR from 26 December 1962 (ADMR 1995).

[433] Informant D G2, Informant E G2.

> Gremikha boarding school; I studied there for a year. Then my mother died [when informant was aged 12] and I was sent to Olenegorsk to a boarding school with full state support. There, my father paid only 11 rubles; in those days that was just a paltry sum (...) Well, they sent me away from Gremikha, because my father was left alone. In general, they wanted to send us to an orphanage, but my father wouldn't let them do it. We were four children. I am the oldest, the youngest was four years old. I was sent to a boarding school in Olenegorsk. In winter he [informant's father] wasn't at home – he worked in the brigade [as a reindeer herder]. We were sent there, so the children weren't alone. The little ones were in the village [in Varzino] at first, and then they were taken to Lovozero boarding school. And I was moved over to the boarding school in Lovozero, because all my little ones were there![434]

Hence, this informant has experiences from both the boarding schools in focus. But the informant stated that out of all three boarding schools, the most distinct and vivid memories she has are from the boarding school in Gremikha. The interview material shows that the school in Gremikha still operated as regular pre-school dormitory, the way I discussed it in previous chapter, until it was closed in 1960/61,

> There we studied not in a residential school, but in a regular secondary school – not residential. It was all right. I remember it now – how I liked it all! There were, first of all, so many children and a lot of communication. In the village there were fewer children after all, but there [in the dormitory of the boarding school] we were so many! I liked Gremikha boarding school a lot, because there were older children who took care of us small ones, and we had birthday celebrations, and I liked the educators very much. I still remember them all! (…) I like Gremikha boarding school most. Teachers, they cared for us so much! They always came to the boarding school after work – worked with us, helped with homework. Oh, fantastic! Galina Aleksandrovna taught Russian. Elizaveta Ivanovna was a German language teacher. Oh, what a woman, she was peerless![435]

When the boarding school in Lovozero started to expand its activity in the early 1960s, its task was oriented towards accommodating a larger number of children than the boarding school in Gremikha. The informant recalled how the boarding school in

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[434] Informant D G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[435] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

Lovozero was set in operation in order to accommodate all of the Sami children from the former Sami District, in addition to those whose families were relocated from the liquidated Sami villages in the Lovozero area along with children of other nationalities, such as Komi and Russians,

> There were different children, because there were also children from the coast – from Ponoi, Sosnovka, Kanevka, Krasnoshchel’e – children from everywhere. At first, we studied at Gremikha boarding school and when Lovozero boarding school was launched, then everyone was sent there. Well, there we had Russians and all sorts of children, and from Iokanga too. (...) In Lovozero, there were many Russians and even today probably more of them than Sami. (...) But everywhere somehow people are good. In general – they were good people. They helped us, and in Lovozero boarding school I liked it more or less. But my first brightest impressions were left in Gremikha, yes.[436]

Summing up, after the enforced resettlement the Sami children entitled to residential education from the territory of the whole Kola were centralized at one boarding school in Lovozero. The principles of education and boarding school policy changed by the time when all relocated Sami children were transferred there, but I return to it in the next section of the chapter.

In his latest work, Konstantinov unravels the inextricable and tangled knot of social problems within the Kola Sami community after resettlement. Relocations of the Sami from their villages were followed by severe depression and alcoholism in relocated families, what in turn was aggravated by administrative separation of children from families. Many economically and emotionally broken parents could no longer provide for the well-being of their children after their relocation. Konstantinov underscores,

> Increased level of alcoholism and suicide among relocated parents. In its turn there followed administrative separation of children of such families. Then came the consequent need for their upbringing to take place at the village boarding school from the age of seven till eighteen. The boarding school in Lovozero, as a home for principally Sami children of relocated families, was created in 1960, i.e. at the beginning of the relocation of Sami villages and the approximately simultaneous consolidation of the kolkhozy.[437] (…) The boarding school stretched from the first till the 11th form, in other words, from age 7 to 18. In many respects, therefore, the school resembled an orphanage, taking children from childhood across their eleven formative years to youth.[438]

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[436] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

[437] Konstantinov 2015: 147.

[438] Ibid: 90.

This study period (1956-1986) shows target groups of boarding school students as more extended. These were primarily: children of local reindeer herders in Lovozero, children from the relocated Sami families; Sami children from big families experiencing economic hardships in bringing up their children, as well as children whose one parent or parents had passed away through various causes. If earlier the boarding school policy had been motivated to mitigate the social consequences and human losses of the Second World War, when many Sami children were left orphaned after their parents died at the front, then during the given period, boarding schools accommodated children of those Sami families who were forcibly resettled and did not have stable economic opportunities to sustain the lives of their children. There were still a number of parentless Sami children, however, and children whose parents were engaged as seasonal reindeer-herding workers at the local state farm in Lovozero, who resided in the tundra during most of the year. The three above-outlined categories of children frequently intertwine. Particularly, two of my informants of the second generation were both relocated and parentless; one informant had only one parent, who was, at the same time, engaged in reindeer herding.

Nevertheless, all of these target groups are present among my informants, but the limited capacity of this three-year study does not make it possible to analyze each mentioned group of children in detail. As I have already mentioned in 2.3, I systematize their collective experiences without presenting all the nuances and variations between the situations of the various groups of children residing at the boarding school. Notwithstanding, a compound analysis of their experiences is realistic in the scope of the study I was allowed.

Most of my informants among boarding school pupils of the second generation have received up to eight or ten classes of secondary education, in contrast to the first generation, which in several instances had only primary education.[439] Also, in contrast to the first generation, only one Sami man informant out of two among the second generation was still engaged in reindeer herding as his main profession (see detailed discussion in Chapter 6, section 6.5.2). As a rule, informants of the second generation resided in boarding schools starting from elementary education until completion of secondary (from eight up to 10/11 years). This is in contrast to the first generation, who received primary education in elementary schools located in their national villages, and resided permanently at the boarding schools only for two or three years solely for the purposes of receiving a secondary level of education (from classes 5 to 7/8).

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[439] Informants of the first generation, e.g. Informant A G1 (man) and Informant E G1 (woman).

Consequently, when the Sami villages were closed together with primary schools in these villages, forced resettlements influenced the situation of Sami pupils, who in many instances were supposed to be placed under the care of boarding schools from the beginning of the primary educational stage. Among these informants appear those who received education in boarding schools starting as early as the 1st class, from the age of six or seven. Most informants of the second generation resided up to 10 years permanently in boarding schools, receiving both primary and secondary education. Many informants did not have any experience of receiving school education while living with their parents. The territory of boarding school was their new home; fellow-students and educators were their family. Boarding school substituted their everyday home reality for up to ten years of their childhood and adolescence. For instance, the following citation exemplifies one informant's first impressions upon arrival at the boarding school after relocation and his first years of primary education, focusing on the aspects of boarding school life with family-like organization:

> Of course, children from all over the district [children from different Sami villages] were brought to the same boarding school. Children from the coast, then also from elsewhere. It seemed to be very surprising to us. Here everyone was unfamiliar, and we were so little, there were older children also. The senior children didn't particularly offend us, but there was a hierarchy, of course. (…). **It was how a family is organized**, the older ones look after the younger ones, so it was the same in the boarding school.[440]

The policies of forced relocation influenced not only the geographical re-distribution of residential education for the Sami (when all Sami children were centralized in the Lovozero boarding school) but also increased the number of years spent in a boarding school facility. Before relocations, children had received elementary education in their native villages. In these Sami villages they were brought up by their parents and relatives, surrounded with Sami cultural and economic practices along with the presence of their native language on a daily basis, both in the village and at home. Children had the opportunity to hear their parents speaking Sami with each other or with other people in the family environment. Children spoke Sami with other children in the Sami villages, as well as being actively involved in the practice of traditional activities, such as fishing and reindeer herding from an early age; approximately 10 or 12 years old, sometimes earlier. In the boarding school in Lovozero, they were cut off from the coherent family environment that existed in their indigenous villages. Moreover, this socio-cultural environment, so-to-say, did not exist already by the end of the 1960s when villages were liquidated. Still, almost all informants of the second generation had a chance to embrace the way of life in their ethnic villages until they were eliminated, while for the informants of the third generation, the village of Lovozero and the territory of the boarding school was the only cultural environment experienced during their childhood.

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[440] Informant C G2. (Translated by A.A.)

More examples can be drawn from children relocated from Voron'e village, which was flooded in 1963 because of dam-building for GES hydropower stations.[441] Most of the children from the village were sent to the boarding school in Lovozero for permanent residence from the first class. Many visited their parents until the village was closed. For instance, the informant from Voron'e recalled how her family lived after they were relocated to Lovozero. The new housing, provided to her family by the Lovozero administration instead of their family house in the flooded village, was one room in the old Sami Centre. The room could scarcely accommodate all family members, including relatives who did not receive any housing at all. Basically, the boarding school dormitory became a new place of residence for this informant. Living conditions provided by the boarding school allowed her family to lead a more or less decent life and not to end in extreme poverty.

The boarding school facilities were regarded by the family as material support for her upbringing as a child. Thus, the boarding school in Lovozero supported many Sami families in terms of their economic survival soon after relocations. The shortage of housing in Lovozero for newly arrived relocatees from different villages was substituted with the opportunity for their children to reside in the dormitory of the local boarding school. The next informant recalled that she resided at the boarding school from 1963 to 1971 due to absence of place for her in their recently-received 'family room'. Also, boarding school provided pupils with food and clothing, textbooks, and everything necessary for a child's needs. The informant confides,

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[441] Geographical Dictionary of the Murmansk region 1996: 30.

> My parents lived in Voron'e, and later they moved here [to Lovozero]. I remember that we had such a big house in Voron'e, but here we were provided with one room in the building of an old Sami Centre. So our room was for everybody, but I personally lived in the boarding school. During the weekends I came home, all day I was home, but then went back to the boarding school as I was used to do. I sleep, have breakfast, in the morning I go back home for a while (…) We were all in the boarding school all the time – because we were all from Voron'e, from Ponoi, also all those whose parents were in the tundra. So we lived all together, because we had no one to go to in the village. We were there at the weekends too – we were there constantly.[442]

One older informant born in the relocated village of Chudz'iavv'r, who studied at the boarding school from 1959 until 1964, mentions that he began his primary education in Chudz'iavv'r and later was transferred for permanent residence to the boarding school together with all the other children from the eliminated village. This informant was able to visit his parents in Chudz'iavv'r during vacations:

> It should also be mentioned that when we arrived in the 1st class, we didn't understand Russian well. We had to delve into this language, to pronounce their words without understanding. Then already in the 3rd class we were moved here [to Lovozero]. We were brought – the whole settlement – and we went to the boarding school. This was the beginning of my boarding school. It seemed that there were so many children. (…) On holidays we went to the village, Chudz'iavv'r, by reindeer. We were very attached to our village. We missed it and went there on vacations. But we didn't manage to travel there so much, because later the village was resettled. Maybe it was our luck that our parents were closer to us, so we missed them less.[443]

As a result of relocations, most of the parents of my informants at the boarding school were resettled to Lovozero.[444] At first, their children continued to live permanently at the boarding school. The same informant told that children were not permitted to visit their parents in the period right after they were resettled to Lovozero (ca. 1955–1965). However, the informant stressed that the local policy of boarding school closer to his graduation (after the 1960s) started to introduce certain amendments in relation to children whose parents now permanently resided in Lovozero. These children in fact were allowed to stay overnight at their family homes and visit their parents freely, as in the case of the previously cited informant from Voron'e (Informant G G2). At the end of the 1960s, these amendments turned into a relatively stable local practice, whereby children were permitted to overnight at home and return to the boarding school only to attend school classes and extracurricular courses,

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[442] Informant A G3. (Translated by A.A.)

[443] Informant C G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[444] Informant A G2, Informant C G2, Informant D G2, Informant F G2, Informant A G3.

> Author. So you lived in the boarding school, and you were allowed to visit your parents in Chudz'iavv'r during the holidays, and then they moved to Lovozero. Were you allowed to see your parents in Lovozero?
>
> Informant C G2. We weren't allowed. We lived at the boarding school. Later some adjustments were introduced that the boarding school intended to accommodate more children, and those who wanted could stay at home overnight. Of course, we wanted to go home very much! And my home was right here, right under the boarding school windows, a wooden house! And so, they allowed me to visit home for a "permanent sleepover". When I came home, my mother was at work all the time, but my grandmother was at home, so I would help her to chop wood, bring the water etc., while my mother worked as a milkmaid at the state farm.
>
> Author. You were already staying overnight at home and attended boarding school as a regular school?
>
> Informant C G2. Yes, we attended it as a normal school and slept at home. Well, but what kind of conditions did we have at home? Even though we had three separate rooms in our house, still everybody was busy with work – all the adults, grandmother, all the sons, mother and in addition – me there! What kind of regime of the day could there be for me?[445]

Another informant was sent to the boarding school in Lovozero directly from Voron'e before the village was flooded by the (GES) hydropower station. Mainly because her father had died, and her mother was left alone with a family consisting of several children,

> Our mother was not in the tundra, because our father died early – he drowned. He worked as a tractor driver and drowned at work, and our family had many children. That's why we were taken to the boarding school earlier [before resettlement], while everybody was still there.[446]

The local informant from Lovozero underscores that it was more difficult for the relocated children in their studies and social adaptation in the village because many of them spoke only Sami and had a poor knowledge of Russian. Also, because the children came from small Sami villages inhabited mostly by a Sami population, while Lovozero was the largest, most centralized and ethnically-mixed[447] (but still originally Sami) village of the District. The ethnic composition of Lovozero village during the relocations consisted of Sami, Komi and Russians, with Sami in the minority.[448] The informant spoke of the position of the relocated Sami children who studied with him at the same class, but lived in boarding school,

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[445] Informant C G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[446] Informant F G2.

> We were forced to learn Russian. My first language was Sami. (...) One spoke only Sami [referring to language environment in liquidated villages], it was especially difficult for those who were brought from the periphery, from Voron'e, from Chudz'iavv'r. We all already lived here [in Lovozero], Komi, Russians, and us. We constantly communicated. It was easier for us. We actually already knew Russian. We couldn't write, but we knew the language, we spoke fluently. And they [relocated Sami], they were brought here.[449]

In contrast to the relocated children, many local Sami children from Lovozero (such as the informant himself) lived at home with their parents and attended regular secondary school. Local Sami children were enrolled at the boarding school if their parents worked seasonally as reindeer herders at the collective farm and there were no other relatives in the village to take care of the children in their absence. However, during informal conversations with local residents in Lovozero, I have found out that closer to the 1970s many local Sami children whose parents were residing in the village and were not involved in reindeer herding, were also formally enrolled at the boarding school. Normally they received meals and clothing at the boarding school, attended school classes, but stayed overnight at home.

This leads to two principal assumptions about the role of residential schooling. Firstly, it concerns the symbolic nature of the term and status of boarding school as a 'national (indigenous) boarding school for the children of reindeer herders'. The practical justification for this term merely presupposed a priority in enrollment of students based on ethnic principles of indigenousness (such as both for Sami and Komi students), regardless of their parents' relation to reindeer herding or other work in the tundra. Besides, children of different nationalities resided in this 'national boarding school' from its very start, including Tatars, as observed in the boarding school in

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[447] Scheller 2011: 81.

[448] Myklebost and Niemi 2015: 458.

[449] Informant B G2. (Translated by A.A.)

Gremikha in the previous chapter, and Russian children, as was widely practiced in the boarding school in Lovozero.

Secondly, this confirms that residential schooling was used by many of the Sami in a more instrumentalist manner. The majority viewed boarding schools as a source of relative economic stability in raising their children. Parents sent their children to boarding school because in these schools children were provided with certain material support in terms of housing, meals and some clothing. The material function of boarding school education was one of the main reasons for the Sami aspiring to it. It was especially acute at the end of 1960s, when the relocated families were in strong need of economic support and educational supervision for their children after the implementation of forced relocation policies.

In the first decade of the post-war period the principal advantages of the recent boarding school system lay in mitigation of orphanhood due to the vast losses among the male population at the front, when the women were often left without the financial means to bring up their children. In this period, many parents, especially single mothers[450], viewed boarding schools as an opportunity to provide their children with the necessary food, shelter, and education. This trend remains relevant in the discussed period as well, but starting from the mid 1950s and until the end of 1960s another need in boarding school material support comes into the picture – accommodation for Sami children relocated from the various eliminated villages of the Kola Peninsula. This tendency remains one of the central functions within the boarding school system of the discussed period, which at local level was pursued as "economic first aid" for the relocated Sami families in bringing up their children.

5.2 Khrushchev's boarding school reforms

As we know, boarding schools for the Sami were first established in the mid 1930s, and their principles have been outlined in previous chapters. During the current period, new educational reforms start to be introduced by the Communist Party and Nikita Khrushchev in 1956.[451] The decision on the so-called immediate establishment of a wide system of boarding schools for Soviet children was broached during the 20th Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in 1956. The decision resulted in the complete reorganization of the school system, which began in 1958.[452]

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[450] Ambler 1961: 239.

[451] Kaser 1968: 105.

The new boarding school plan implemented in the end of 1950s was aimed at fulfillment of the then compulsory ten-year education specifically among the children of semi-nomadic reindeer herders and "creating among non-Russian nationality groups ideal conditions for the mastery of the Great Russian language."[453] The primary goal mentioned in this policy were oriented towards the linguistic transformation and Justification of such non-Russian speaking, semi-nomadic communities as, for instance, the Sami.

The boarding school policy of this period is contradictory to what was considered an educational ideal for ethnic minorities in the 1930s. In the 1960s, the Soviet Union had already reached its goal of building socialism, and Khrushchev and the Communist Party considered that it was a time to proceed from socialism to communism. The period from the 1960s to 1970s was the period of active building of communism. Khrushchev believed that boarding schools would be the ideal instrument to form political change, and that ideally all children of the USSR should be raised at boarding schools. The reorganized types of boarding schools were supposed to become "greatly developed as a major form of rearing the growing generation".[454]

According to Lenoir, "The creation of a system of boarding schools marked a high point in the third revolution – a social and spiritual revolution with the aim of collectivization of all children."[455] In the views of the Party, this instrumentalist political use of the boarding school system would enable a quick overturning of social and cultural norms, leading to the formation of a totally new, highly industrialized and intellectually developed nation of Soviet people. In other words, the impetus of this policy sought to trigger rapid social, political and economic transformations within the population of the Soviet Union, specifically by means of boarding school education.

The central ideology behind Khrushchev's nation-building strategies through boarding school upbringing is well-described by Ambler, who puts straight the main arguments behind the introduced educational reforms:

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[452] Ambler 1961: 237.
[453] Ibid: 240.
[454] Ibid: 250.
[455] Lenoir 1968: 14.

> When the transition is finally made to communism, all class distinctions will, according to the theory, disappear. (…) Within this scheme, education is a powerful force, which can transform the economic foundation of society and the whole nature and character of the historical struggle, contributing to evolution of a new society. Khrushchev has chosen his polytechnic boarding school as the educational instrument, which will transform the coming generation into the Communist society.[456]

During this period the Soviet government proclaimed for the first time the connection between school education and the role of the state in matters of a child's upbringing. In connection to this, an important legislative provision came into force in 1959. The Law on Strengthening Ties between School and Life and on Further Developing the Public Education System in the USSR (1959) restricted the role of family in educational processes and, at the same time, increased the state's involvement in matters of youth upbringing and education.[457]

As strongly highlighted by Liarskaya, during this period the Soviet government officially proclaimed ideas of social and communist upbringing of children (*kommunisticheskoe vospitanie*) for the first time in restricted types of educational institutions (such as boarding schools of restricted types, *internat zakrytogo tipa*), which had its fundamental aim in creating a new improved type of human, the communist transformation of society and "rearing of the new man".[458] These philosophical concerns behind matters of Soviet child upbringing were borrowed, in turn, from ideas dominating the 18th century Age of Enlightenment in Western Europe.[459] Simultaneously, as Bloch explains in her work on residential schooling of the Siberian Evenks, "The soviet state narrative was framed by an evolutionary perspective featuring "backward" peoples who "progressed" to become modern."[460] This Evenk context can be equally applied to the Sami situation.

The new boarding schools ensured implementation of now both compulsory primary and secondary education in specific socio-economic conditions in the areas of indigenous peoples of the North. The Russian scientist Krongauz in his book about the history of Northern schools explicitly writes about the objectives of the new type of boarding school created for children of indigenous peoples of the North:

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[456] Ambler 1961: 250.

[457] Law on Strengthening Ties between School and Life and on Further Developing the Public Education System in the USSR. In: *Current Digest of the Russian Press, Vol.11, No. 4, p. 12.*

[458] Ibid.

[459] Liarskaya 2003: 92.

[460] Bloch 2004: 103.

> The school should give children a wide range of expertise, to ensure the formation of a Marxist-Leninist materialist worldview, and at the same time to instill children with qualities of a new type of person – a person of the Soviet country. These schools are designed to engage all children from the tundra and taiga in education with the purpose, in the shortest time possible, of pulling these Northern children up to the level of children of other more developed nationalities in the Soviet Union, of bringing them up in the spirit of active struggle for the construction of a communist society.[461]

The creation of boarding schools in the Russian Far North was to accustom children to changing economic and cultural situations in the regions. Special focus in these boarding schools was placed on vocational training work, which was carried out by boarding school students in addition to their regular schoolwork. The aim of education at these Northern boarding schools was therefore to completely restructure the students' personalities, change their cultural habits, beliefs and worldview. According to this theory, this would influence their parents at home, thus leading to cultural transformation of indigenous societies as a whole:

> Boarding Schools of the Far North, unlike in any other boarding school, are characterized by the fact that their educational work is aimed at changing many of the existing peculiar domestic skills and habits of a child. (…) By tearing away children from their environment at home, boarding school should mobilize students' attention to issues of reconstruction of northern economies and to accustom children to the necessary working skills for local economic activities. (…) In the northern regional conditions, **boarding school replaces family for a child** during the school year. In so doing, boarding school arranges students' leisure, teaching them skills of cultural behavior in everyday life and work, and promotes transference of these skills into the family. Thus having an impact on restructuring of the whole economy, culture and life of the Northern peoples. The boarding school frequently has a very **effective influence on the surrounding [indigenous] population**.[462]

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[461] Krongauz 1948: 71–95. (Translated by A.A.)

[462] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

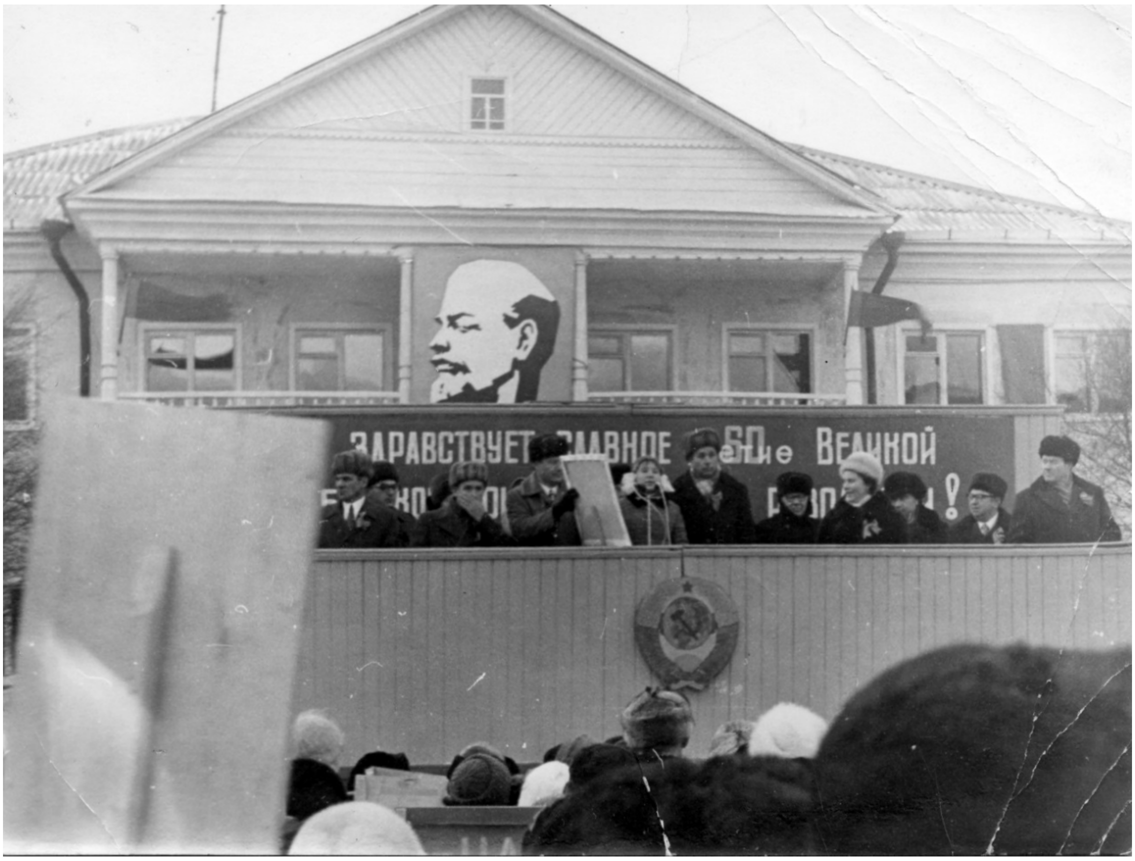

Photo 8. A Sami student from the boarding school in Lovozero gives a speech from the Communist Party tribune (1960s). Photo from private archive of one of my informants.

The law of 1959 strongly emphasized the view that the social transformation of subsequent generations into "active builders of communism" was from now on one of the principal political issues that lay in the primary interests of the state. Questions of communist child upbringing and formation of the Soviet culture hereby became a subject of great importance and was seen as the central responsibility and concern of the state and its public organizations.[463] At the same time, this new law paid special attention to providing upper secondary education to indigenous women, specifically as stated in article 7:

> Art. 7. Attention shall be directed to the need for further increasing the number of female students of indigenous nationalities in the upper grades of schools in the Union republics and autonomous republics of the Soviet East. [464]

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[463] Law on Strengthening Ties between School and Life and on Further Developing the Public Education System in the USSR. In: *Current Digest of the Russian Press, Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 12.*

[464] Ibid:12.

The ideological principles behind the minority policy of this period was strategy of cultural convergence (*sliianie or sblizhenie*) social transformation and subsequent submergence of the ethnic minorities into the big "Soviet family of peoples".[465] In various indigenous local and regional contexts it was targeted at all-around economic, linguistic and social incorporation of indigenous peoples into the Soviet society, while the indigenous minorities of the USSR were eventually expected, sooner or later, to converge into one holistic Soviet nation.[466]

However, the Soviet Union's nation-building strategy presupposed certain degrees of accommodation and preservation of the cultural uniqueness and distinctiveness of various indigenous peoples. According to my informants from the second generation, they ultimately desired to become a competent part of Soviet society, without abandoning their ethnic identity and sense of belonging to their own cultural roots and heritage. Similarly, Berg-Nordlie discusses the ethnic minority policy was simultaneously aimed at certain cultural preservation: "Though essentially paternalistic, indigenous minority policy aimed for the preservation of separate ethnicity within the Soviet "family" of nations as opposed to overly assimilationist ideas popular in, for example, Norway."[467]

The pluralistic aspects of the discussed minority policies enabled growing generations of Soviet indigenous peoples to remain as culturally distinct ethnic groups within one state. Though the Soviet system actively promoted social respect towards ethnic differences and cultural values of each particular ethnic group. Still, the Soviet Union's minority and educational policies had very serious shortcomings. The study period of this chapter, when Russification became the ultimate aim of education, led to extreme degrees of cultural incorporation and assimilation. It is especially strongly realized in the poor status of many of the indigenous languages of the Russian Federation and can be further exemplified by the drastic situation of the Kola Sami languages, which are nowadays "seriously threatened by a language shift from Sami to Russian"[468] with the youngest active native speakers aged in their 40s and 50s.[469]

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[465] Berg-Nordlie 2015: 48.
[466] Myklebost and Niemi 2015: 457.
[467] Berg-Nordlie 2015: 48.
[468] Scheller 2011: 79; also in Scheller 2013: 415.
[469] Ibid: 83–84.

The inherent traits of the Soviet projects greatly relied on indigenous minorities integrating into the state system, including simultaneous attempts by the state to avoid harsh ethnic conflicts between different nations within a multinational state.[470] But the strategy behind the Soviet Union's educational assimilation policies ensured smoother, but more rapid integration of indigenous peoples into the state system than in the case of the Sami in Norway.[471]

Accordingly, the Sami generations raised under the Soviet ideological system were brought up in the collective spirit of the commonwealth of the Soviet peoples. My informants from boarding schools grew up with a strong collective identity[472] at both micro and macro levels, where the micro structure is presented in relation to their own ethnic group (*saamy*) and specifically projected on the collective group reality of Sami people brought up in boarding school (*internatskie saamy*). The macro identity scheme is actualized in their sense of belonging to other indigenous groups within the multinational state (*korennye narody Rossii*) as well as other non-indigenous ethnic groups (*narody Rossii*). All these distinctions are present in informants' views of both individual cultural identity and those ethnic groups outside of their own community.

For instance, Bloch reinterprets the above-mentioned ideological directives of the state educational strategies implied in boarding school education as having effect that "the **internatskie**, the Evenki [this likewise concerns the Sami] raised in residential schools (…) have a sharp sense of this experience as a shared, formative one."[473] Like the Evenk, the Sami whom I interviewed were raised as a part of the collective body created in Soviet boarding schools. The collective identity of those who experienced life at the boarding schools (*internatskie, 'boarders'*) is distinctively different from those Sami children who were raised at home and attended boarding school as day students (*domashnie, 'home'*). I turn to a discussion of these collective social distinctions between *internatskie* Sami (or *batorskie,* or *inkubatorskie*) and *domashnie* Sami in Chapter 8.

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[470] Myklebost and Niemi 2014: 318.

[471] Trosterud 2008: 104, 111.

[472] Similarly, Bloch writes about the situation of Soviet residential schooling among the Evenk people in Siberia, "For many, however, the residential school also came to be instrumental in incorporating them into Soviet society. The schools provided a route to social mobility and simultaneously imprinted a collective identity" (cf. Bloch 2004: 96).

[473] Bloch 2004: 95.

Meanwhile, the citation below perfectly demonstrates how the life of this type of children's collective, including caregivers, educators and staff of the boarding schools, was supposed to be ideally organized in practice, starting from the 1960s,

> The ideal boarding school contains, in a potentially almost self-sufficient children's village, about 550 students from nursery age to eleventh grade; except for brief vacations at home they will live in this same school from age of four to seventeen or eighteen. Emphasis is placed on the unity and continuity of the student body, which is supposedly slowly welded into a family like, multi-age collective of the type found most effective by Soviet pedagogical theorist A.S. Makarenko, whose ideas are currently in high favor.[474]

The ideal type of new boarding school planned for implementation was a children's village, which was supposed to sustain itself with a small farm and various production means for the school's own food products and other material goods.[475] Apart from these independent productive means for school subsistence, there was also *socially productive labor* to be fulfilled with the help of the children's involvement. This was introduced in order to accustom students to the culture of collective labor (discussed in Chapter 6, section 6.5). The collected interview material confirms that Sami pupils in the period around the 1960s and 1970s were brought up in the boarding schools in conformity with the system elaborated by the Soviet pedagogical theorist Makarenko. One of the cornerstones in the pedagogical theories developed by Makarenko was the "principle of free education of children," which believed in a child being educated inseparably from nature. The idea of small school classes with outdoor teaching was quite popular during the educational reforms of the 1960s.[476]

Although the principles of outdoor education were not realized in the Lovozero boarding school, nevertheless, these theories were implemented with regards to the practice of outdoor farming works, vegetable growing and the different agricultural activities of students. The boarding school had its own outdoor kitchen garden for growing plants and vegetables. The following informant, who resided at the boarding school in Lovozero in the years from 1959 to 1964, recalled methods according to which students' activities were organized at the boarding school.

> I have heard about Soviet pedagogues such as Sukhomlinskii, Makarenko. It seemed very surprising to me that they lived in our time and this entire

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[474] Ambler 1961: 251.
[475] GARF 9563-1-519: 20.
[476] Makarenko 1953.

> theory applied to us (…) I can confirm that of course we were unconscious of this, but we were brought up with this system. In the boarding school there was a kitchen garden; there – we were engaged in growing plants – potatoes, other sorts of greens and vegetables. There was a little pigsty – the boarding school provided pupils with meat there. Children were fed and the food waste, the leftovers, were used to advantage.[477]

By the 1960s the boarding schools were already an intrinsic educational practice of the Soviet Union, which was actively settled and realized until the end of the 1980s. The following statistics concerning the new economic plan for establishment of a wide network of boarding schools across the country shows 180,000 students of elementary, seven-year and secondary levels enrolled in approximately 500,000 boarding schools across the entire USSR in 1958.[478] The new economic reform plan aspired to more ambitious results in the future seven years, in particular it hoped to raise the number of students to 700,000 in 1960.[479] If the plan figures were met, it was supposed to raise the number of students up to 2,500,000 in the new boarding schools by 1965–1966. Thus the USSR reported 82,000 boarding school pupils in 1959 and revised plans to have 1,350,000 by 1965–1966.[480]

The archival materials from the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) analyzed in the course of this study provide the following statistical data on the numbers of boarding school students in the USSR at the end of the 1960s. In the academic year 1967–1968, the total number of children raised at boarding school was 914,700.[481] The plan for 1968–1969 was expected to increase numbers of students up to 944,000, and in 1969 to 927,000.[482] As a result, the numbers reported in 1968–1969 were 987,000 students receiving education in boarding schools and orphanages, of which 896,000 students were enrolled in boarding school and 91,000 – in orphanages.[483] At the beginning of the academic year 1969–1970, about 1,455,000 students were enrolled in boarding schools that is 205,000 more than in the school year 1968–1969.[484]

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[477] Informant C G2. (Translated by A.A.)
[478] Ambler 1961: 238
[479] Kosygin 1959:11.
[480] Khrushschev 1959: 10.
[481] GARF 9563-1-519: 109.
[482] Ibid.
[483] GARF 9563-1-519: 13.
[484] GARF 9563-1-1121: 1–2. Unpublished material (Fond. 9563, from 1970). The material from this archival case has not been looked through by other researchers or published earlier. Additionally, most of the archival documents of this period that I have analyzed, do not mention questions of quality in pedagogical work and appropriate concerns for methods of children’s upbringing in the established network of residential institutions. The current report provides a critique for absence of concerns relating

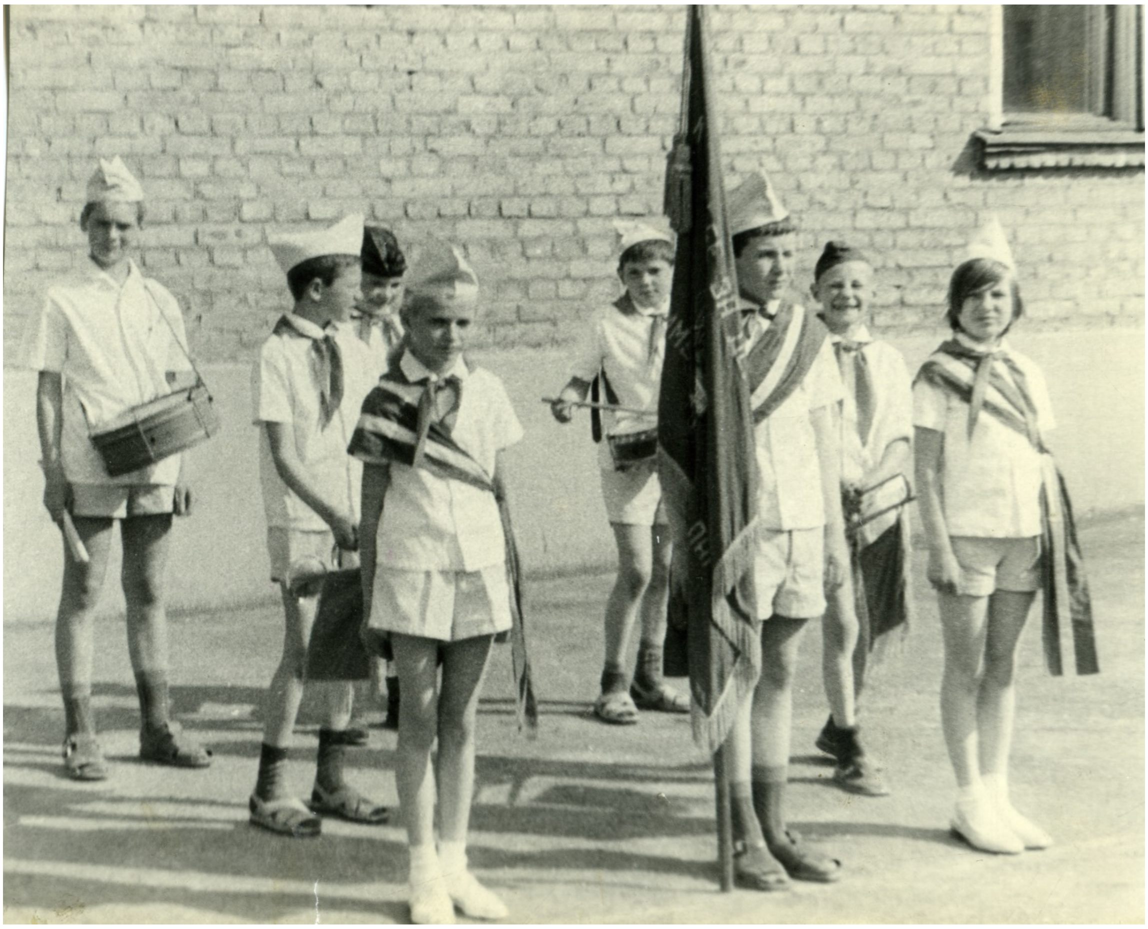

Photo 9. Communist upbringing at the boarding school in Lovozero (late 1960s). Photo from private archive of one of my informants.

The statistical data provided in archival materials of Murmansk State Regional Archive (GAMO) shows the Plan of the State Department of Education of the Sami region (1956) on numbers of children expected to be placed at the boarding school in Gremikha, which are as follows: 75 students in 1955; 85 students in 1956; 90 in 1957; 100 in 1958; 120 in 1959 and 1960.[485] However, statistical reports show that the plan was unfulfilled because the numbers decreased to 69[486] in 1958, and 74 children in 1959.[487] In the 1964–1965 school year 279 children resided in the boarding school of Lovozero. The same year 103 schoolchildren were sent to other boarding schools in the

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to the development of the pedagogical component in methods of children's upbringing. As cited from p. 5 of this document, "Almost all the information reports provide only weak elucidation of issues concerning children's educational upbringing in boarding schools; indeed, it is only issues of the construction and occupancy of the boarding schools that are brought to light." (Translated by A.A.)

[485] GAMO 877-1-6: 6.

[486] GAMO 877-1-8: 28.

[487] GAMO 877-1-8: 44.

region. The government had taken on all the costs for educating indigenous children. The annual cost of supporting a child in boarding school was estimated as 1,000–1,100 rubles.[488]

In such a way, Kiselev describes the main changes that occurred in the boarding school policy for the Sami in the late 1950s. In his book "Soviet Sami" he writes,

> As we know, boarding schools for children of tundra nomads were born in the twenties. But then, the schools were small and only played the role of hostels where children were accustomed to elementary culture. There the Sami children were taught to wash themselves daily, brush their teeth, sit at a table, sleep on a bed, work with a book. (...) The boarding schools also performed another function – they united children of different nationalities. (…) At the end of the fifties schools were established in the Kola tundra – the new type of boarding schools. These are large educational institutions designed for the upkeep, education and upbringing of hundreds of children.[489]

To conclude, the boarding school in Lovozero during the study period of this chapter was designed for an even larger number of children (including non-indigenous) than those who were raised and educated in the previous period. The whole concept of child upbringing in the boarding schools started to change. According to the youngest informants of the second generation, instead of the persuasion and parental care of teachers (widely observed by the first generation and among the oldest informants of the second generation), principles of discipline came in the forefront of the children's upbringing. The strictness reached a point of absurdity by the end of the Soviet period – in the times of the third generation of my informants. Already at the beginning of the 1960s, younger informants of the second generation discuss the necessity of their strict obedience to their teachers and caregivers, along with restricted freedom of movement outside of the territory of the boarding school yard, separated from the rest of the village by an iron fence. The narratives about discipline are actively present already in the second generation of informants, while these discussions are especially heavily emphasized in the narratives of informants of the third generation (section 8.1). I proceed further with comprehensive analysis of boarding school experiences of the Generation 2 of the study in the next chapter.

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[488] Kiselev 1979: 127.

[489] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

Conclusions

In 1956–1959, Khrushchev and the Communist Party introduced educational reforms that had a strong focus on boarding school education. The meaning of these reforms was to tighten ties between politics and education in order to increase state involvement in matters relating to children’s upbringing. Thus, parental involvement in education was reduced and state involvement was increased. The principles of education of indigenous peoples of the North radically change during this period in comparison to those that were popular in the 1920s and 1930s. The Soviet educational projects of the time were upended from head to toe.

The new boarding schools were first and foremost concerned with the *communist upbringing* of children of all the minority nationalities of the Soviet Union in a spirit of communism and patriotism. The methods of communist upbringing applied to the Sami children in boarding schools had the following objectives. Firstly, to spread among new generations the sense of belonging to the state, and to root in them values of communist ideology, as especially practiced with socially useful labor that developed opportunities to acquire new modernist professions. Secondly, educational reforms were targeted at the production of specialized cadres required in different spheres of the rapidly developing state economy. In turn, the activity of these new educated cadres was supposed to be accumulated primarily for the purposes of the active building of communism, while boarding school education itself was regarded as a tool for the political and ideological upbringing of youth.

In order to implement these political ideas, the role of the Russian language and culture in the everyday life of boarding school students was increased. Many small indigenous languages were officially proclaimed to be on the edge of extinction, and therefore unworthy of investments and useless for further development. Massive boarding schools were built across the whole country, enrolling hundreds of thousands of children. The new boarding school education sought to create a cultural shift in the rapidly developing Soviet society. The boarding school policy was supposed to trigger fast modernist social transformations, resulting in cultural incorporation of various indigenous and ethnic groups into one holistic Soviet nation, which should be united not only linguistically, but also politically and, most importantly, economically.

However, the analyzed period of the 1950s and the 1960s was characterized by implementation of another policy – that of agglomeration and enforced resettlements of the Sami people.

Most importantly, agglomeration resulted in all Sami primary schools from the 1920s and up to the 1940s being consigned to the past – these schools were liquidated together with the Sami villages. From this point in time, all Sami children from relocated families were consolidated in one boarding school in Lovozero. The Sami children thus started to receive both primary and secondary education in the Lovozero boarding school, in contrast to the previous generation of Sami children (Generation 1), who received primary education in ethnic schools located in their native villages, permanently living with their parents in the early years of school.

Most children from relocated villages (Generation 2) were sent to the boarding school in Lovozero from the age of six or seven. In contrast to the first generation of informants, who resided at the boarding schools for a period of only two years, the second generation spent eight of their formative years at the boarding school. The time spent separated from their parents increased from two years in the previous generation up to 8 years in the second generation.

In addition, the corresponding study period from the mid 1950s until the end of the 1960s is the most active period of the Russification policy – the policy of prohibition of native languages – which was a generally acknowledged aim of the boarding school policy. Thus, forced resettlements in combination with an active Russification policy, realized by means of residential schooling, had a particularly strong disintegrating impact on the Sami language and culture during this period. This is reflected in the experiences of the second generation of informants, who attended boarding schools from 1956 to 1968, and which I address in the next chapter.

Chapter 6 Experiences of second generation of informants (1956–1968)

In this chapter, I discuss the experiences of the second generation of informants, who received boarding school education from 1956 until 1968.

The informants belong to the second generation among the Sami who underwent residential schooling and received education higher than elementary school level. At the same time, they are the first generation of the classical boarding school era, which began to evolve in the post-war period.

The analysis in terms of the second generation substantially differs from the previous generation, and is connected to the main thematic elements that follow. In 6.1, I explore aspects of Russification policy and Sami language use in boarding schools of this period. Sections that follow 6.1 dwell on a range of issues that are relevant for situation of residential schooling among this generation. I put special emphasis on the prohibition of Sami language use in the boarding schools, discussion of the Sami teachers and their activities in the period of Russification, along with matters of separation of the informants from their parents.

In 6.5, I analyze the notions of child and youth labor in boarding school education. In sub-sections of 6.5, I draw parallels between labor practiced by the informants in the collective farms and in the boarding schools. I argue that the hard physical labor practiced in both of these contexts was the main factor leading to acculturation of the second generation of informants and resulted in unwillingness of the Sami to engage in traditional economic activities as main occupations (e.g. in reindeer husbandry).

While the previous chapter mostly touches upon the changes in the boarding school policies along with the role of forced resettlements and its impacts on education of the Sami, in this chapter, I move on with a more detailed analysis of thematic elements about boarding school education emphasized by informants of the second generation:

- Boarding school education in the second decade of the post-war period: introduction of the regime of the day, discipline, culture of labor and hygiene;
- Russian language increasingly actualizes and substitutes Sami in educational, communicative and socialization domains;
- Disrupted connection with parents;
- Native Sami teachers of the boarding school in Lovozero.

6.1 Russification

In the mid 1950s the main shift in language policy in the USSR occurs, tilting towards Russification.[490] Trosterud mentions that "with the Khrushchev school laws of 1959, the Soviet Union changed its policy towards one of language assimilation."[491] Grenoble emphasizes that until the mid 1950s the native language policy at federal level was more inclusive than in the period of the 1960s. However, the mentioned by Grenoble of native language inclusion in education (i.e. inclusion of Sami language in school curricula) was not observed at the local level of the study, in terms of the Murmansk region, when we analyzed the situation in the previous period (1935–1955). On the contrary, the circumstances highlighted by informants around expressions of public and social Sami language use seemed to be tense already then. Needless to say, there was a complete absence of the Sami language in school curricula and within all levels of the educational system in general.

The more significant changes for the educational situation of the Sami were to come in the mid 1950s. As Grenoble mentioned,

> The Khrushchev era (1953–1964) introduced the vision of a new Soviet people, united not only politically, but also through the use of one language. (…) On the one hand an open policy of bilingualism was promoted, but on the other the very need for national languages, i.e. any language other than Russian, was questioned. (…) It became officially acceptable to view some languages as less viable than others; languages with few speakers were declared on the brink of extinction and unsuitable for development.[492]

Those schools across the country that had mother-tongue instruction were transferred to Russian compulsory curricula, and native-tongue education was replaced by Russian. In some schools this change was immediate, and in other regions transition was more gradual. Therefore, Russian language education was firmly set in place in the educational system by 1958.[493] The corresponding changes in educational reforms left no chances for Sami languages to be introduced into the school system in the given period. Alas, Sami language instruction or teaching had not been a part of the regional school system earlier. In this particular period, languages with small numbers of speakers, such as the Sami, were officially recognized as unpromising, impractical for further development, and they could be easily substituted with Russian in the all-important social and educational domains. According to Bloch,

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[490] Grenoble 2008: 57.
[491] Trosterud 2008: 105.
[492] Grenoble 2008: 57.
[493] Ibid: 57, 62.

> After World War 2, attendance at residential school became mandatory and Russification became the generally acknowledged aim; educators were no longer worried about appealing to parents and students as they had in the 1920s. Even before World War 2, teaching was no longer done in native languages but solely in Russian, and the curriculum no longer emphasized local patterns of subsistence.[494]

As for the informants' responses to the tendencies in language and educational policy discussed above, Informant B G2 stressed that in the Sami villages there were no kindergartens and children were brought up by parents at home until they went to school, while in Lovozero the local Sami already attended Russian-speaking kindergartens. Among this generation there were still a number of children of local reindeer herders who were born in the tundra and brought up by their parents, who spoke Sami with them until elementary school age. According to Overland and Berg-Nordlie, "the liquidation of Sami-majority villages also meant that their inhabitants were forcibly resocialized into a sphere where Sami language was a less functional way of communication than Russian."[495] The scholars also stressed that in the second generation, Sami language fluency remained at spoken level, particularly among those who had experienced tundra life with their parents or had especially close contact with their grandparents.[496]

As such, the latter informant recalled that his niece had Sami as her first language because she grew up in the tundra, before she started to learn Russian in the kindergarten. Simultaneously, the informant revealed that his children (Generation 3) did not grew up in the tundra, and were raised with Russian as their first language,

> Sofiia was among the first ones to attend kindergarten, but she was born in the tundra. Later, she went to school with my children. At school they ask my daughter, "Ania, what does she want?" And Sofiia –"Ann't pecc'k, ann't pecc'k! Perrte vullkha!"[497] Ania says, "Give her *maalets*.[498] She wants to go home!" Ania, you see, my daughter, she didn't speak, but she understood. Because of our grandmother, we spoke Sami with her, and

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[494] Bloch 2004: 102.

[495] Overland and Berg-Nordlie 2012: 61.

[496] Ibid.

[497] Translation from Sami into English, "Give me *pecc'k*! I'm going home!".

[498] *Maalets'* or *pecc'k* (in Sami), *malitsa* (in Russian). The Sami national winter outdoor clothing made of autumn reindeer skins with fur on the outside, decorated with colored cloth, colorful triangle pendants. (cf. Mozolevskaia and Mechkina 2015, in terminological dictionary by N. Afanas'eva, at the end of the book, unnumbered pages).

> then she would speak with her too [informant's daughter]. So they [Generation 3] understand. They understand, but they don't speak.[499]

Another informant from Voron'e[500] confirms that in their village there were no kindergartens and they were brought up at home with predominant use of the Sami language. That is why, according to this informant, all Sami children spoke Sami between themselves – until they moved to Lovozero, where they started boarding school, mostly communicating with other pupils in Russian. Also, after relocation of Voron'e, their children (Generation 3) were already born in Lovozero where they attended kindergartens, pursuing the Russian language from a very young age. It is thus no accident that my informants mention the kindergarten system. According to Liarskaya, the same principles of boarding school education were applied to the growing network of pre-school and kindergarten institutions established after the introduction of the above-mentioned educational reforms proposed by Khrushchev. The author stressed,

> In accordance with N.S. Khrushchev's report during the 20th Congress, the network of pre-school educational institutions began to expand vastly in the North: kindergartens and nurseries. The boarding school conditions extended to these institutions: parents were obliged to send their children, the latter spent six days a week there in fully allocated state support. In the first place, this system did not affect nomadic reindeer herders, but those who resided in the village. Thus, the boarding school from a pre-school dormitory, without which it was previously impossible to organize education, turned into a wide, well-organized system of education, which increased the role of the state in education, socialization of indigenous peoples of the North and seriously interfered with the role of family in this process.[501]

Therefore, the functions of boarding school education analyzed in the period from the 1930s to 1950s is cardinally different to the reorganizations of the boarding school system in the mid 1950s until the 1980s. This system, starting from the 1950s, encompassed the network of Russian-speaking pre-school educational institutions, which were to ensure subsequent transition of children to education at boarding schools.

Besides, all of the informants of this generation raise questions of Sami language prohibition within the boarding school walls. For instance, the informant who received residential education from 1963 to 1971, conveyed that children practiced the use of Sami languages secretly outside the boarding school classes and dormitory. Namely, the informant stated,

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[499] Informant B G2. (Translated by A.A.)
[500] Informant A G3.
[501] Liarskaya 2003: 95. (Translated by A.A.)

> At one time we were not allowed to speak Sami. So when we wanted to speak Sami – we left the boarding school and somewhere there we talk, talk and talk in our language! And then – we go back, happy! (...) We were not allowed – we have been told that we must not [speak Sami], that we have to try to speak Russian, well, because we're illiterate. And here we are talking behind the other side of the boarding school building, so there– we talk and talk, and talk! Even in the boarding school dormitory we mustn't speak; there should only be sounds of Russian speech. So how? We were punished if anyone heard that we were speaking Sami. Punished, and even home visits were practiced. I remember they [educators] came to my mother, – "You can't, you must speak with them everywhere only in Russian."[502]

According to well-known linguist Nikolai Vakhtin, the language policy introduced into educational practice in the end of 1950s, "cannot be characterized in any other way than Russification".[503] Vakhtin pointed out that introduction of this policy in different regions (e.g. Chukotka, the Komandorskie Islands, Alazay Tundra in Eastern Yakutia) resulted in teachers putting pressure on indigenous children and forbidding them to speak their mother-tongues in boarding schools. The children who spoke their languages were punished and parents were strongly recommended not to use their language with children at home.[504] Vakhtin's statement, mentioned by Liarskaya, can be confirmed by many informants of the second generation with whom I worked. For instance, the next informant[505] recalled that pupils were punished for speaking Sami not only in boarding school, but also at the Lovozero secondary school:

> Informant B G2. We studied all together – Russians, Komi, Sami – there was no difference – anyway in Russian. At those times we were punished! I am afraid to say this, of course. But teachers punished so we wouldn't speak our language at all at school. It's only now they started to tell us that we have to learn our language, but back then, you know? You speak Sami? Here you go – a kick comes your way! Almost beaten, almost. You mustn't speak your language – only Russian. We weren't allowed. They, the teachers, also needed us to learn Russian. That's why we weren't allowed. If we know Russian – it's easier for them [for teachers].
>
> Author. You couldn't speak at school, but did you speak at home?

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[502] Informant A G3. (Translated by A.A.)

[503] From Vakhtin 1993:45 in Liarskaya 2003: 97. (Translated by A.A.)

[504] Ibid.

[505] Informant B G2.

> Informant B G2. Of course – at home, in the streets when you go out. Why should I use Russian? Anyway, everybody spoke and still speaks. Why should I show off, if I have my own mother tongue? It is already later – now – they speak Russian [about Generation 3]. When my pupils were leaving for army service and came back – they couldn't speak Sami, only Russian. I say, "Stop it, let's speak our language!" And then… I realized that I myself was speaking Russian with them![506]

Boarding school children managed to communicate with each other in Sami secretly outside of the boarding school. In the period after the relocations, the boarding school in Lovozero accommodated children from all different Sami areas (mainly Voron'e, Chudz'iavvr', Varzino, Iokanga, Sosnovka, etc.) and they spoke diverse Sami dialects. The school policy that encouraged students to speak only in Russian, resulted in children tending to speak Sami only with children who came from the same or neighboring Sami villages. Although all of these boarding school students were Sami from different dialectal language areas, they were inclined to speak Russian with children from Sami areas other than their own. This has negatively affected the social functions of the Sami languages and their further transmission. For instance, children from Voron'e spoke Sami only with children from their village or from Chudz'iavvr' village.

Firstly, both of these villages belong to the same geographical area (the Lovozero District), where dialectical differences are not as evident in comparison to Sami dialects spoken in the North-Eastern part of the Peninsula (e.g. Varzino dialect in the Sami District). Certainly, children from the villages of Voron'e and Chudz'iavvr' could understand each other better than children from other Sami villages.

Secondly, most of the children who arrived at the boarding school from the same villages knew each other before starting their education. They already had social experience in speaking Sami with each other prior to their common enrollment at the boarding school. They had no similar communication experience with Sami children from other parts of the Peninsula, with whom they became acquainted only upon arrival at the boarding school. Their main language of communication at school became Russian. The informant from Varzino[507] conveyed that she did not understand words that were different from the dialect spoken in the villages of Varzino and neighboring Iokanga. Therefore, she had difficulties in communicating in Sami with children from the Lovozero District. Another informant from the village of Chudz'iavvr' in the Lovozero District recalled,

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[506] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

[507] Informant D G2.

> Yet we all communicated in Russian! Yes, it was not like everybody would speak in his or her own language. All, all spoke in Russian! (...) We spoke only with 'ours' [the Sami children from the same geographical area] – Chudz'iavvr' Sami, Voron'e Sami – when together with all our Samis, so then we spoke our language![508]

Thus, the outcome of the educational and language policies introduced was that Sami language stopped being the main language of communication for many of the interviewees of the second generation. Some parents of my informants, who had attended boarding schools in the previous period, prioritized speaking Russian at home, motivating this with the necessity for Russian language in all spheres of their children's lives. Additionally, many parents were persuaded by the boarding school employees that they must speak only Russian with their children. For instance, the mother of an informant who attended residential school from 1961 to 1967, considered that knowledge of Russian was the most important skill needed for a good future of her daughter:

> My mother forbade me to speak Sami because one has to know Russian well. I could study, and for everything you need Russian. They spoke Sami between themselves, but it never applied to speaking to us. My mother said that I should know Russian – that the most important thing is to know the Russian language. (…) I understand absolutely everything, but I have a problem speaking [Sami]. It's still difficult for me.[509]

The same informant mentions the ban on public use of Sami in her village, as discussed in the previous chapter, and emphasizes that these processes were active when her mother was young. This confirms the relevance of the discussion raised by the previous generation of informants:

> Actually, in the majority everyone spoke well at ours [in Varzino village]. Some could speak very well [Sami]. But my mother tried to have everything in Russian. The language ban was at the time when she was alive. But she passed away very early, when she was only 34.[510]

At the time when the informant herself perfectly understands Sami, but cannot speak, her children (Generation 3) already have no understanding of the Sami language:

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[508] Informant A G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[509] Informant D G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[510] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

"For example, today it was so cold outside. I sit and look in the window and say in Sami, "Kellmas lii!" [511] And they answer, "Mum, please, don't spoil the Russian language!" They don't have any idea at all!".[512]

A great deal of discussions during interviews were devoted to the language situation among the children of my informants (Generation 3). Most informants were very concerned that their children's generation predominantly speaks Russian. For the most part, the informants were worried that their children cannot actively speak Sami. However, some informants reacted calmly to the situation of their children having a poor knowledge of Sami language and culture. During our interview, the same informant[513] repeatedly underlined the fact that when Varzino was closed, she had no other option but to go away to boarding school, receive a profession and move for employment purposes to the urban settlement of Apatity, where she still lives today. She regarded language loss merely as the natural course of events in the life circumstances of her generation,

> Because one should live with one's parents! Everything goes, but parents – are everything! We didn't have such an opportunity. And, we didn't have a school in the village. So, what to do? It is already good that I was not sent away to the boarding school from my first class.[514] But my children – no! We didn't have another choice. My parents didn't have another choice. We all [speaks about her generation from Varzino village] grew up in different places! (…) Our parents wanted very much for us to be literate. I remember my mother wanted us to be educated. And then, Varzino was destroyed to chaos and what should we do? There's no village! My father was practically the last one to leave the village. He stayed there long after. He couldn't leave away from his wife, couldn't turn away from her grave. But he left for Lovozero. No one among ours went to Gremikha. He was a reindeer herder – what was he supposed to do in Gremikha? There was no reindeer herding, only military and naval activity.[515]

Certainly, knowledge of Russian ensured not only good communicative skills for Sami pupils at the boarding school, but language proficiency was necessary for those who wished to continue their studies in upper secondary and higher educational institutions. The following informant pointed out that only a few of the Sami among his generation had Russian language skills making them eligible for enrollment requirements in high schools and universities. Effective knowledge of Russian was an evident priority for younger informants of this generation. The informant himself discussed advantages and disadvantages of the boarding school policies,

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[511] In Kildin Sami, translation "It is cold". (Translated by A.A.)
[512] Informant D G2. (Translated by A.A.)
[513] Ibid.
[514] Informant D G2 finished four classes of elementary school still in Varzino village, living together with her parents until the village was closed in 1968.
[515] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

> The positive moment that I can underscore is that there [in the boarding school] we were accustomed to discipline, to a civilized life, that we should clean after ourselves, etc. The negative moment is that our generation didn't receive a Sami language education. Then, if we take it in a more global sense, for example, enrollment to institutions of upper secondary, technical or higher education. How could a young person or a child who didn't know Russian, be enrolled at a university right away? Of course, we were provided with privileges. Some received enrollments to Herzen State University. For example, my brother managed to enter Technical University on his own, but these people were like diamond gems among us! When he came to Lovozero he mostly communicated in Russian. He had deliberate knowledge of Russian and then he showed results.[516]

6.2 Sami teachers

Most informants of this generation discuss their relations with teachers at the Lovozero boarding school in a different way than informants of the first generation. In this context, the majority of narratives about warm care by teachers as observed in the previous chapter turn into discussions on more authoritarian power relations between a teacher and a student, along with the strictness of boarding school rules and discipline. Thus, concerning informants' memories about teachers, narratives about the educator's careful attention thematically shift towards discussions of strict discipline and absolute authority of teachers over boarding school students of the second generation.

Some informants expressed feelings of being powerless, obliged to obey teachers' commands. One parentless Sami student mentioned,

> It depends! With me they [teachers] weren't strict. I obeyed them all – so maybe that's why? Well, this [task of a pupil to obey a teacher] you have to understand. (…) How can you resist teachers? They are always right! Always right! Even if you scream out loud, you will never prove anything! And we – we had nothing to prove.[517]

Other informant from a full family of both parents stressed instances of very radical methods of upbringing,

> Oh, how they shouted at us! For example, my brother was locked in a closet as punishment. He was guilty of something, so she [the teacher]

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[516] Informant C G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[517] Informant A G2. (Translated by A.A.)

> locked him in the closet. Then, naturally, he came home and complained to Mother – "This teacher locked me up in a closet". Well, our mother was a Sami woman, so she just let it go… But the bad impression of it still remains, yes. (...) So teachers were strict. For example, Elena Ivanovna, she was so, how to say it in a nice way – she was very strict. There was no corporal punishment. But she was strict, it is true – for we would do our homework efficiently; we would write our homework neatly.[518]

Although, the topic of native Sami teachers holds a very specific place in the informants' narratives. The focus of our discussion further concerns the integration of Sami pedagogical cadres in the system of boarding school education. These teachers started to work at the boarding school in Lovozero during the 1960s. The process of involvement of so-called 'national [indigenous] cadres' into residential educational practice was not unique for the Sami. The boarding schools in other Northern regions during the 1960s generally started to expand the number of employees as the demands grew for the development goals set by the boarding school policies of this period.[519] Principally, expansion of boarding school staff concerned recruitment of additional service personnel, such as nurses, daytime educators, nighttime nursery maids, dormitory caregivers, laundry, kitchen workers, cooks and cleaning support.

On the one hand, the involvement of Sami pedagogues improved the situation of children's daily environment to the extent that some staff and educators appeared in the school who belonged to the same culture as their students. Still in the bigger picture, although the numbers of indigenous pedagogues involved in residential upbringing of children were increasing, the total share of these teachers in comparison to teachers of other nationalities remained insignificant.[520] Moreover, indigenous workers and pedagogues of the boarding schools were subjected to implementation of the main directives of the Party and strategies of Russification in their pedagogical practice. Particularly in the early 1960s, prohibition of Sami language in education was supposed to be implemented equally by non-Sami and Sami employees of the boarding school in Lovozero. The interview material shows implementation of indigenous language prohibition by Sami pedagogical employees. Most of my informants especially remember their Sami teachers, who strongly recommended and sometimes forced children to speak Russian instead of Sami. The Sami teachers had to follow the general rules of Russification in the educational process due to increasingly organized control of the Party in the sphere of education.

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[518] Informant C G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[519] Liarskaya 2003: 98.

[520] Ibid.

Some informants discussed this topic with mindful understanding of the political prerequisites influencing educational circumstances of the time, with utterly bitter regrets that native teachers did not speak Sami with them at school,

> Well, then, the main Party directive was not to talk with us in Sami. It would have been a much more pleasant way if they [Sami pedagogues] had communicated with us in Sami! We are, after all, children! We still miss our parents, our language, traditions, as it was customary in our families to communicate in Sami. But they spoke strictly in Russian and we were cut off from the Sami language. Everything was in Russian. Although we perceived these Russian words sometimes consciously, or sometimes – unconsciously [without understanding the meaning of the teachers' words].[521]

Other informants remained personally affected by the fact that boarding school employees who belonged to their own peoples, forbade usage of their mother tongue. The Informant B G2 remained deeply offended. Later in the 1970s, she even refused to allow her children to attend Sami language classes taught by the same teacher. She remembers how the Russification policy was introduced at the end of her studies in 1961. Furthermore, the next quote shows how unnatural it was for these children to stop using Sami in their daily communication and start using Russian instead,

> We spoke [in Sami], even our educator [recalled the name of Sami educator], forbade us to speak. She said, "I will expel you from boarding school if you speak Sami!" It happened in the dormitory, when we tried to teach the other girls Sami. (…) At home, in the dormitory, we always spoke Sami – always! When we go to classes, here it was already Russian, not Sami. (…) This educator [name of educator is omitted for ethical purposes] made it up, already at the end of my studies. "Don't speak Sami, learn Russian! If I hear a word in Sami – you will be expelled!" After this, when my children went to school, I lived already here [in Lovozero. The informant comes from relocated Chudz'iavvr' village]. So we go in the street and here this educator comes and says, "Tirrv!" ["hello" in Sami]. And I say, "Zdravstvuite!" ["hello" in Russian]. Then, they came to my house [educators] and said, "Let's learn Sami!" And I said, "I will not learn your Sami language![522]

However, there are positive experiences. In general informants describe the inclusion of Sami teachers into educational practice of the boarding school as positive.

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[521] Informant C G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[522] Informant A G2. (Translated by A.A.)

One of the most prominent Sami educators that informants recalled was Oktiabrina Voronova, who started as an educator at the boarding school in Lovozero and later became the first Sami poet in the USSR[523]. Oktiabrina Voronova wrote poetry in her mother tongue, in Ter Sami,[524] republished in other indigenous languages like Komi and Nenets along with numerous translations into Russian.[525] Voronova is fairly considered the founder of the Sami poetic and literal genre in Russia.[526] Her first Sami-language collection of poetry *Jaalla (Life)* was published in 1989, and another prominent book, *Khochu ostat'sia na etoi Zemle (I want to remain on this Earth),* followed in 1995. As Kola Sami scholar Porsanger mentions,

> It was not until the 1980s that Voronova became a member of the Soviet Writers' Association. However, the customs and the norms of that time dictated that everything should be published in Russian. An additional reason for publishing her work in Russian was that there was no official Sami orthography in Russia at the time; one was not approved until 1982. (…) The book [Jaalla] was prepared in the last years of her life, when she was already seriously ill. It was extremely difficult for her to check all the texts in detail. The book did not come out until after her death. She had eagerly waited to see her work published in Sami, but never lived to witness this.[527]

As historian Khomich writes, "The Kola Sami love poetry by their fellow-countrywoman – Oktiabrina Voronova. (…) All of the poems by O. Voronova exude heart-warmth, evoking a response in readers' souls."[528]

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[523] Sergejeva 1995: 148, Zaborshchikova 1995: 97.

[524] Ter Sami language. Note Footnote 33 in section 1.2.

[526] Oktiabrina Voronova (1934–1990) "was born in Chal'mny-Varre village on the Kola Peninsula. She was born in the very depth of the great Northern land, where, among forests and swampy fields, passing by herders' lavvus and rock paintings, the major river of her motherland and her people flows towards the White Sea – the Ponoi river. She finished Herzen State Pedagogical University in St. Petersburg, and is the author of three poetry books: *Snezhnitsa (Melt Water), Vol'naia ptitsa (Free bird), Čahkli* (In North Sami – Čahkalakkis, in English – The gnome; a small grey creature, living under the Earth). She wrote her poems in the Ter Sami language. She was, and now remains forever, the first writer of the Sami people, the member of the Council of Writers in the USSR." Biographical data about Oktiabrina Voronova is cited from the third edition of her book *Jaalla* (1996). (Translated by A.A.)

[527] Sergejeva 1995: 151-152.

[528] Khomich 1999: 83. (Translated by A.A.)

Poem by Oktiabrina Voronova [529]
About the boarding school in Lovozero
"To school"

The cloudberry time is over,
When the day starts meeting night,
A seine, a fishnet and the meshes
My grandad makes carefully.

I will leave again tomorrow,
As usual by September.
I do not wish to say Good-bye
To grandfather
And fishing at the dawn.

My older brother says,
You must. Hurry up to a distant school.
In Lovozero, in boarding school
Life is going to be good.
There, children from the tundra
Will travel always as it is
No frosts, no cool winds
Will calm down this house made of bricks…

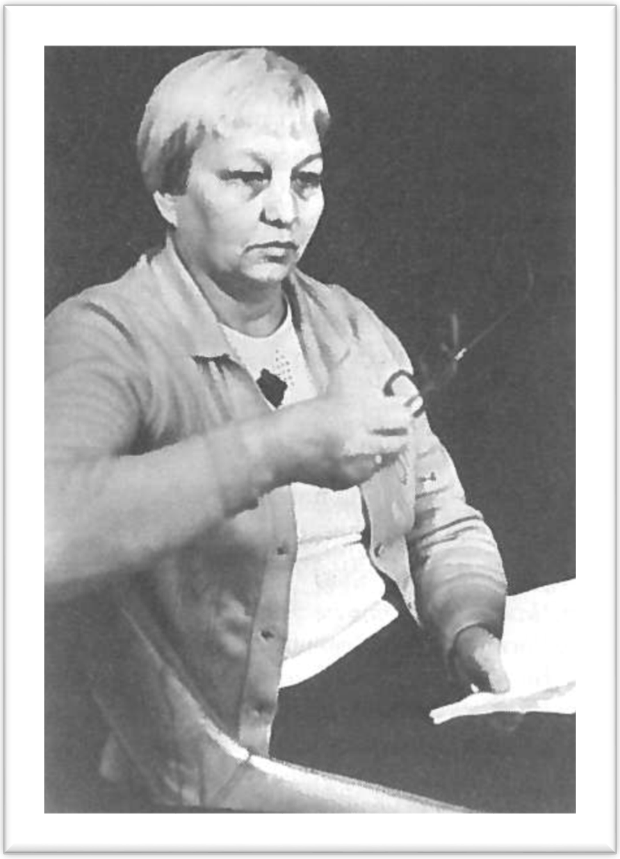

Photo 10. Portrait of Oktiabrina Vladimirovna Voronova – the first Sami poet. Published in Bol'shakova 2012.

One of the informants remembered how Sami teachers and educators worked with them at the boarding school,

> For example, Oktiabrina Voronova, I had the luck of being under her supervision for some short time. Later she was already educating other classes. Nevertheless, I saw them young, beautiful. Then, Antonova… It was in 1959 when she arrived in Lovozero. Then, a bit later, Oktiabrina Vladimirovna already arrived.[530]

Another informant recalled the work of Lazar' Iakovlev, the Sami primary teacher at the Lovozero boarding school. Lazar' Iakovlev was one of the authors of the first Sami–Russian Dictionary (1985), also called *The Red Dictionary*.[531] The next informant recalled this teacher with admiration, "I should learn this dictionary! Later, they [Sami teachers] even had books coming, in Sami … well, Lazar Dmitrievich, his books! Well, his Sami language was so pure!”[532]

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[529] The original of the poem is written in Ter Sami by Oktiabrina Voronova. The Russian translation is published by Vladimir Smirnov in Voronova 1995: 121. The poem is translated by A.A.

[530] Informant C G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[531] Afanas'eva et al.1985.

Photo 11. Lazar’ Iakovlev (1918–1993), Sami language activist and teacher. Photo published in Afanas’eva and Riessler 2008.

In addition to his collection of phrasal items for the Sami–Russian Dictionary (1985), Lazar’ Iakovlev was a prominent Sami storyteller. His stories were firstly collected by linguist Georgii Martynovich Kert in 1960, further published in Kert’s book *Samples of Sami speech. Materials on language and folklore of the Kola Sami people (Kildin and Iokanga dialects)* in 1961.[533] The last edition of his stories, collected in hand-written form by Nina Afanas’eva, was published by Afanas’eva and Riessler in 2008.[534] This publication revealed one of the collected stories “Ко̄ххт мунн о̄һпнувве” (“Koohht munn oohpnuvve”, in Latin transliteration. In English, “How I studied”) about his personal boarding school experiences and work as a teacher of primary classes. This story was originally collected by Kert in Lovozero in 1960. In his narrative, Lazar’ Iakovlev depicts the educational situation of this period in a way that exemplifies how Sami teachers believed that the Soviet system of education would benefit the social and economic improvement of the Sami people. At the same time, it revealed how new the whole concept of residential education and the environment of the Lovozero village was for the Sami people, including its unfamiliar architectural landscapes with large brick buildings, in contrast to the one- or two-floor wooden houses common in their ethnic Sami villages,

> Адтҍ тыста, Луя̄вьрэсьт, са̄мь парна о̄һпнуввэв шӯрр шко̄ласьт, кӯ лӣ ке̄дҍкэсьт лыһкмэнч. Тэдта шко̄ла лӣ ко̄ллм этажэнҍ. Адтҍ Луя̄вьрэсьт тӯййшувв са̄мь я ыжэм парна гуэйке шко̄ла – интернаһт, касьт аллькэв сыйй вуэпьсэ, ко̄ххт е̄лле. Тэсьт парна аллькэв мэ̄ннэ производственнэ пра̄ктикум, ле̄в лыһкма мастерскэ. Адтҍ са̄мь парна я ыжэм парна я рӯшш, когк тэсьт, Луя̄вьрэсьт ле̄в, аллькэв ро̄бхушшэ

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[532] Informant A G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[533] Kert 1961.

[534] Afanas’jeva and Riessler 2008.

> е̄ммьнэ альн, аллькэв куаййвэ е̄ммьнэ, ко̄ххт се̄йе се̄мятҍ, я о̄һпнуввэ, ко̄ххт пынне пӯдзэтҍ, штобэ ванҍса коадхэ, штобэ пӯдзэ шэньченҍ пэрямп, штобэ колхосс о̄ллма вя̄л пэрямп е̄лешкуэдтӭв. // (Original text in Kildin Sami language).
>
> Now, here in Lovozero, Sami children study in a large school made of stone. This school has three floors. At the moment, the boarding school for Sami and Komi children works in Lovozero, where they are going to learn life. Here children will receive vocational training – skills workshops are created for this. The Sami, Komi and Russian children that are now here in Lovozero will work in agriculture. They will plow the ground, plant seeds, and study how to herd reindeer so that the reindeer will not be lost, so that the reindeer will grow bigger – so people working at the state farms will live better. // (English translation of the above-cited original text in Kildin Sami language). [535]

Photo 12. Portrait of Sandra Antonova (1932–2013), Sami language specialist and teacher. Photo taken by A. Stepanenko. Published in Bol’shakova 2005.

Aleksandra (in Sami, Sandra) Antonova is another Sami teacher of the boarding school in Lovozero remembered by interviewees. Firstly, Antonova started to work as a caregiver at the boarding school in 1956.[536] Later, she worked as a teacher of Sami language at the same boarding school. Since 1978 she proceeded with her career as junior and then senior scientific employee of the Research Institute for Ethnic Schools under Ministry of Education of the RSFSR,[537] where Antonova worked on developing Sami language didactics, Sami teaching books for primary level of school education. These teaching materials were successfully applied in boarding school practice starting from the 1970s, and in a range of other Sami language courses for adults. She was the author of Sami language courses broadcast on the local state radio channel in Lovozero, and worked as a Sami interpreter at local television channel “GTRK Murman”. Antonova is one of the most prominent Sami publicists, who produced various Sami literal works,[538] for instance translations of the world-renowned Russian classical poet Sergei Esenin[539] and Astrid Lindgren’s *Pippi Longstocking*[540] into Kildin Sami. The pedagogical encyclopedia of the Murmansk region from 2001 mentions Antonova’s activity in the sphere of child education and upbringing,

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[535] C.f. Afanas’jeva and Riessler 2008: 26–27. (Translated by A.A.)
[536] Zaborshchikova 1995: 98.
[537] Manukhin et al. 2010: 38.

> Talented educator. She was like a caring mother for many children from remote villages studying at the boarding school in Lovozero. She was respected by parents. Knowing the cultural peculiarities and way of life of Sami, Komi and Nenets, she created methodological approaches to teaching children Russian language and literature, she tried for them to consciously internalize this knowledge.[541]

After all, the main goal of inclusion of indigenous specialists in education was to help children in their learning of Russian language. Therefore, Sami teachers had to submit themselves to the assimilative rules in the educational process of this period. They were commonly strategically used as local ethnic pedagogical resources to fulfill the goals of Russification. Yet, the following informant recalled that prohibition of language use was not always strictly executed by all of the Sami educators, and this tendency was already changing in the early 1970s, when the need for Sami language teaching started to be discussed,

> When I was studying at the boarding school [1956–1964], it was the opposite. I cannot say that I personally was not allowed to speak Sami, for example, but it is unambiguous that there was no teaching [Sami language teaching]. It was somewhere in the 1970s when the question arose that the Sami language should be taught to children. But when we started education with Sami language – we spoke and understood Russian poorly – and the question faced the teachers on how to teach us Russian.[542]

Notwithstanding the achievements and tremendous efforts of the above-mentioned pedagogues in the field of Sami language and education, they remain frequently unknown to a wider audience outside of the Russian Federation. For instance, the work of Aleksandra Antonova became relatively known among certain small circles of specialists in Northern Scandinavia and Europe. After Antonova’s death in 2011, subsequent publication of her translations of Astrid Lindgren's *Pippi Longstocking*[543] was finalized by sociolinguist Elisabeth Scheller at UiT-The Arctic University of Norway.

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[538] Kol’skaia Entsiklopediia 2008: 214.

[539] Antonova and Iakimovich 2008.

[540] Lindgren 2013.

[541] Manukhin et al. 2001: 38. (Translated by A.A.)

[542] Informant C G2. (Translated by A.A.)

Even though the Sami pedagogical cadres were introduced into the boarding school system in order to implement the objectives of the Russification policy, the Sami pedagogues contributed to further development of the Sami language and culture in the boarding school from the 1970s to the end of the 1980s (Ch. 8). Additionally, the informants of the second and third generations recalled their Sami teachers with warm memories. The informants state that these teachers were literally a breath of air in their boarding school life. In many cases, the Sami pedagogues understood the inner feelings of boarding school students because most of the Sami pedagogues had undergone boarding school education themselves. In certain cases, according to informants' experiences, the Sami pedagogues protected their culturally different pupils from violence and ridicule, which was especially openly practiced in the time of the third generation of informants[544], but I return to in Chapter 8.

6.3 Runaways and separation from parents

The local policy of the boarding school in Lovozero presupposed very limited time allocated to students for their communication with parents. Students were busy all day with classes and extra-curricular activities, for instance, sports, handicraft groups and other vocational workshops. During the academic year, opportunities for connecting with their parents were restricted to occasional phone calls, which had to be negotiated with boarding school superintendents in advance. Simultaneously, the geographical remoteness of their villages and lack of established transport connections created serious obstacles for frequent family visits. Most informants of this generation experienced limited opportunities for communication with their parents.

In contrast to the previous generation, when the boarding school superintendents allowed children to visit their parents at weekends and during the spring and autumn holidays, children of the second generation visited their parents a maximum of one or two times a year, according to the boarding school rules, on account of the long distances and lack of convenient transport connections. As discussed in Liarskaya, the boarding school policies introduced at the end of the 1950s apparently planned the new types of boarding school institutions to be closed to such an extent that meetings of students with their parents were exclusively prescribed during "school holiday and extra-curricular times".[545] Liarskaya underscores that

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[543] Lindgren 2013.

[544] Kazakova 2014: 525.

> In the boarding schools of that period the policy of Russification had basically started, the consequences of which were all the more severe in that at the moment of its implementation, children were almost totally isolated from their parents.[546]

Scheller highlights that some boarding school students did not have any opportunity to visit their parents even during summer holidays. As most of the boarding school pupils usually attended Pioneer camps[547] (sanatorium types of youth camps in the Southern regions of the country) where children were sent each summer for a period of one to three months, i.e. from June until August.

At the same time, reasons of restricted communication with family seemed especially to create most resistance among boarding school students. This resistance to separation from parents was reflected in students' runaways.[548] Although the following informant stated that some children did not protest against their separation with parents when they lived at the boarding schools, in particular mentioning that,

> When I was studying no one protested, but of course no one wants it! Who is interested in leaving their parents to live in a boarding school? After all, not even any post package, you receive nothing! There were no post connections, nothing. You're hardly allowed to give a call [to parents].[549]

Later in the interview, the informant moves on with telling various stories about how some of her fellow-pupils missed their parents and frequently conducted unsuccessful runaways, with children returning to the institution on the same day. One of the informant's narratives exemplifies the runaway attempts she depicts,

> As if we didn't cry! We cried! We missed, you would know how we missed! There was even one girl. Her parents were in Chudz'iavvr and she was brought here. So she ran away. We ran around and searched for her on the highway. She runs away once, and then she runs away again – she only knew the direction where to go! She went along the road, so they brought her by car [back to the boarding school], well there [to the village] you can only go first by foot and then by boat. She always ran away, she

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[545] Liarskaya 2003: 93.
[546] Ibid: 95. (Translated by A.A.)
[547] Scheller 2013: 405.
[548] Kazakova 2014: 526.
[549] Informant A G2. (Translated by A.A.)

> cried very much (...) then returned, the older pupils ran around looking for her. (...) Carried her back in their arms! She was so little and skinny – so they carried her. While she goes there crying, certainly she gets tired, in tears. Will she get far? Maybe she walks up to the first kilometer, well, let's say, until the second kilometer. But it's clear that they will sound the alarm immediately! (...) That little girl, she was still so little! Torn away from her parents, of course! And despite that she had two sisters left [in Chudz'iavvr village].[550]

Another informant from Varzino village stressed that she always missed her parents. She was separated from her father and her younger siblings in the age of seven. This informant considers that the connection between a child and a parent is the most important value in life. She stressed that due to such a long separation, her younger siblings do not in fact remember their mother. The pain over separation she experienced was visible with closed eyes, as she started to describe her memories of her parents,

> I missed them very much. I still miss my father and my mother. This feeling doesn't go away for the whole of your life, and I constantly recall my mother. For example, my younger sister says, "Well, I don't remember my mother". But I remember. I remember everything, with every single drop of my memory! Well, it depends on who still has these memories and who doesn't. There's nothing you can do about it.[551]

When it comes to discussing separation from their parents, generally, interviewees of this generation describe their distinct feelings of disconnection with much greater emphasis than informants of the first generation. Evidently, this situation was predefined by the overall increase in the number of years spent at the boarding school, where they received both primary and secondary education with rare instances of visits and phone calls to parents and relatives.

The increase in the number of years spent by boarding school students was also predetermined by the implementation of enforced resettlement and liquidation of Sami native villages. The economic disintegration of the Sami community after the resettlements played its negative role. Socio-economic problems emerged in the Sami society after forced relocations, i.e. unemployment, homelessness, depression and alcoholism of Sami parents were other factors pushing towards administrative separations of children from their families.[552] The difficult social situations of the Kola Sami after liquidation of their villages triggered justifications on why Sami children had to reside in the boarding schools. During this period, it was largely considered, including by many of the parents themselves, that children are better taken care of in an educational institution than living with their own socially unfulfilled parents. The boarding school system in its essence reconstructed and disintegrated the archetypical family relations that existed in the Sami communities when children lived with their parents in their own villages.

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[550] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)
[551] Informant D G2. (Translated by A.A.)
[552] Konstantinov 2015: 147.

Many parents by the end of the study period were convinced that their children deserved better conditions for upbringing, which could be provided only by the state institutions. This separation of children and their parents in the second generation, created beliefs among many informants of the subsequent generation (Generation 3) that the upbringing of their children was purely a matter of state responsibility. During my fieldwork sessions I worked with informants of different social classes. My observations concerning the second and third generations of parents and their parental responsibilities were left biased. As one very negative consequence of the Soviet educational projects, some parents became accustomed to the state providing good conditions for a decent future for their children, and their children "being cared for" in the boarding schools, provided with a substantial amount of nutrition, clothes and daily pedagogical supervision in their upbringing. Some parents of the second generation embraced this concept of "parental care of the state" as the opportunity to shift responsibility for the upbringing of their children on to the state institutions such as the boarding schools.

On the other hand, numerous examples of other parents show that they desired their children to live at home and attend boarding school as a regular day time school, which eventually became possible after the discussed local boarding school amendments were passed about children's home visits and permanent sleepovers. As I have previously demonstrated with the example of Informant C G2 (in section 6.3), starting from the early 1960s the boarding school in Lovozero was able to introduce these amendments as realistic exceptions for those Sami children whose parents resided in Lovozero village.

However, these rules did not apply to most boarding school students, who were parentless or whose parents resided elsewhere. Therefore, this type of privilege – to visit one's parents – concerned only children from families residing in Lovozero, unlike many of those students brought to the boarding school from other villages and towns of the Kola Peninsula.

6.4 Speaking about ethnicity

Some informants explain that as post-war children, they focused on economic improvement of their lives and did not pay great attention to matters of cultural self-understanding. For instance, the following parentless Sami informant conveyed that she has never seriously reflected about the importance of her ethnicity in her life. She was busy building her future and providing for her children. In answer to my questions regarding matters of expression of ethnic identity during her studies at the boarding school, it appeared that informant does not remember any details related to questions of Sami identity in her childhood and adolescence, "I don't remember! I don't even remember what I was eating those years! You eat what you are given [at the boarding school], and that's it!" [553]

The more encompassing comment is reflected in the speech of the President of the Kola Sami Association, given at the 19th Sami Conference in Rovaniemi in October 2008. According to Afanas'eva,

> Our parents had to survive? Yes, they had to first survive the development of the kolkhozy and then the hard years of war that destroyed not only cities but villages too. People had to think only about their survival; they could not think how to preserve their national heritage. After the war it was the same thing. And we have been living and still live from one event to another, from one year to another (…) On the map of the Kola Peninsula, there are around thirty Sami settlements that have been destroyed. There was life, there – families, parents, children, work, traditional occupations of Sami that were preserved from the past, and all that was destroyed. Where to put us? Nobody asked us whether they should close down the villages, Iokanga village, whether they should flood Voron'e village. They just needed the hydropower station, electricity. The state is so poor that it should exist and survive with the help of such large-scale projects. And how should the poor Sami live? Well, just live as you manage to. And we live together somehow. (…) In the past there were no day-care centers in the village, there was only a primary school there. We lived as one big family: grandfathers and grandmothers, aunts and uncles, sisters and brothers, and small children. We all spoke our native language. It was a natural language environment. When all these villages were closed, we lost our natural language environment.[554]

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[553] Informant A G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[554] The speech given by Nina Afanas'eva, the President of the Kola Sami Association, at the 19th Sami Conference in Rovaniemi, Finland in October 2008. Mustonen and Mustonen 2011: 11–12.

The second interviewed informant[555] from the liquidated Sami District studied at the boarding school in Gremikha from 1958 to 1966 and now lives in the town of Apatity. To my questions about boarding school life and why their generation did not prioritize Sami culture, the informant burst into tears right in the middle of interview. She radically refused to continue communicating with me further. She was outraged at my lack of understanding of their "unspoken realities of life". Such a reaction was aroused in the informant because I was touching upon one of the most subtle, sensitive and unmentionable topics within the Sami society – why they as people were powerless over what happened with their own culture and their lives. This topic is strongly connected to emotional moments of guilt, hopelessness, pain and despair.

I turned off the audio recorder and proposed that the interview would not be recorded. I took regular notes when the informant calmed down and wished to continue our work. I am very grateful that she collected her feelings together and proceeded with further discussion, despite her very high vulnerability. In the end, I managed to collect some information about her life. Briefly, the informant is the eldest in her family. Her parents died young and all of her life she was worked hard as a housepainter to provide for her younger siblings. In the boarding school they lived very poorly, and she could not think about anything other than her siblings' and her own economic survival. The informant told me that she worked hard so that her son would never have to study in the boarding school. Her son received an education as master of Sami handicraft, about which she was extremely proud while telling about his life. The informant was especially cheerful about her son's successful career as a Sami handicraftsman and that he succeeded with it becoming his main occupation for subsistence.

According to this informant, only certain aspects of Sami culture are nowadays preserved. She stated that the principal cultural elements remaining are handicraft and the culture of food (reindeer meat). In turn, almost all other elements of Sami culture, such as language and traditional knowledge, are greatly in decline. Although the informant did not consider that the background for this linguistic and cultural disempowerment laid particularly in the boarding school system, she stressed that numerous processes had been taking place, which influenced the contemporary Sami cultural situation (i.e. forced collectivization of reindeer, political repressions, enforced resettlements). However, the informant noted that the sphere of reindeer herding was particularly hit by the boarding school system, because it became unpopular among their generation to be engaged in traditional activities as an occupation. The informant conveys, “The boarding school system influenced Sami not wanting to get back to the practice of traditional activities. It was unpopular “to twist reindeer tails”. But Informant I G1 [says the name of the informant. These two informants are acquainted with each other], he still went to twist these tails!”[556] With the informant mentioned, I turn to a detailed discussion of reindeer herding in the subsequent section.

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[555] Informant E G2.

6.5 Socially useful labor

In this section, I analyze the concepts of labor at boarding schools and state farms as a leading factor in changing attitudes of the Sami in the first and second generations towards traditional Sami economic lifestyles, such as reindeer herding. In the first place, I address how hard physical labor influenced the shifting paradigm of occupational activities for the Sami – from being predominantly involved in reindeer herding in the first generation to other technical, management and administrative-oriented professions in the second generation. The disruption in continuation of Sami traditional activities and changes in the whole concept of livelihood for contemporary Sami society is discussed. The topic of labor, indeed, is acute for both the first and second generations of this study. Thus, in the subsequent discussion on labor, I will bring in data from both of these generations. Simultaneously, both generations emphasize labor as an important part of their boarding school lives. Within the scope allowed me, I shall briefly touch upon certain developments of labor in the current section.

The main sub-themes analyzed in this section:

- Socially productive labor in education; daily routines of boarding school pupils structured by labor;
- Reindeer herding loses its prestige. Attitudes of the Sami to reindeer herding as an unprofitable profession involving extremely hard labor;
- Sami traditional activities and gender. Men’s task is reindeer herding, women’s – traditional handicraft. Gendered concepts of labor at the boarding schools.

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[556] Informant E G2. (Translated by A.A.)

6.5.1 Productive labor and boarding school education

According to the Decree “On Measures for Developing Boarding Schools in 1959–1965”, adopted by the Party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers during The 21st Party Congress, new directions of the boarding school policy were passed for:

> Expanding the network of boarding schools, which are called upon to carry out on a higher level the tasks of preparing well-rounded and educated builders of communism. The most favorable conditions must be established in the boarding schools for the comprehensive secondary general and polytechnic education of the pupils, combining the instruction with **socially useful labor**, the inculcation of high moral qualities in the school children, the provision of good physical and esthetic development, and training for **practical work in various branches of the national economy**.[557]

The Law on Strengthening Ties between School and Life and on Further Developing The Public Education System in the USSR (1959) stated,

> Soviet secondary schools are called on to prepare educated individuals with a good command of the fundamentals of science and, at the same time, capable of **systematic physical labor**, and to inculcate in youth a desire to be of use to society and to take an active part in producing the values needed by society. The scope of secondary education must be greatly expanded, primarily through the extensive development of a network of schools for **young people working in the national economy**. The accomplishment of this task is a basic prerequisite for a further rise in the cultural and technical level of the working people, for **an increase in labor productivity** and for the successful building of communism.[558]

According to these provisions, education in boarding schools of the given period was largely oriented, as one of its primary tasks, towards introducing and promoting the practice of socially productive labor among youth.[559] The newly introduced polytechnic approach to education in boarding schools’ curricula was equipping students not only with regular school knowledge, but with vocational skills as pluming, electrician works, attaining driving licenses and etc.[560] along with combination of labor practice in agriculture.[561] These improved educational orientations were introduced with main purpose in training boarding school students for developing new professions needed for the country's economy, markedly required in the spheres of industrialized and agricultural labor. Such an agricultural sphere of national economy was considered, for instance, reindeer herding.[562]

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[557] The Party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers: On Measures for Developing Boarding Schools in 1959–1965. In: *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, *Vol. XI, No.21.*, p. 10. Also see Khrushchev's Concluding Remarks at the 21st Party Congress, 5 February 1959. In: *Current Digest of the Russian Press, Vol. 9, No.19, p. 23.*

[558] Law on Strengthening Ties between School and Life and on Further Developing the Public Education System in the USSR, In: *Current Digest of the Russian Press, Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 12*

[559] Mukhina 1989: 233.

[560] Informant C G2.

Some of the studies on Native American boarding school education regard the topic of indigenous youth labor at boarding schools, such as K. Tsianina Lomawaima 1994: 66; Brenda J. Child 1995: 69–87; Mari A. Stout 2012: 62–65. However, what singles out the situation of the Kola Sami in terms of similar discourses on child and youth labor as discussed in the sphere of boarding schools in America, is the fact that in the Soviet context labor was proclaimed as a major moral virtue of the state ideology and its introduction into the boarding school practice was based on the main ideological views towards promotion of work and labor among all of the Soviet Union's multiethnic populations. The comprehensive work on Soviet concepts of labor as actualized in the Kola Sami reindeer-herding discourse is presented by Vladislava Vladimirova (2006), who provides analysis of the general ideological developments of Soviet labor and its influence within Sami economic activities. This concept of obligation and duty is also observed in the context of boarding school labor. As Vladimirova pointed out,

> The first post-revolutionary law on labor stated as early as 1918 that "every citizen, able to work, has the right to be used for working according to his special ability" (…) This provision subsequently remained one of the most stable elements of Soviet labor ideology. The notion of obligation even passed beyond the level of free choice. In connection with collectivized agriculture, for example, early Soviet legislation prohibited a kolkhoz member from refusing any kind of job assigned to him by his managers and provided a series of sanctions in case the directive was infringed.[563]

Khrushchev's reforms of the late 1950s and the early 1960s were oriented on competing with the USA in economic productivity and agricultural production, victory in the Cold War and developing technologies for space exploration.[564] Indeed, the situation when boarding schools for Sami children in Russia actively relied on labor of its students is similar to the Native American labor widely used in boarding school practices in the USA. For instance, Stout 2012 and Lomawaima 1994 highlight that agricultural and mechanical labor in vocational training of indigenous students was actively practiced in boarding schools as early as the 1920s. Stout refers to Lomawaima revealing the role of Native American societies behind the use of labor, which were considered to take an "appropriate" place in American society, as manual laborers supporting America's agrarian" economic sector.[565] The native students of boarding schools in the USA spent half the day studying and half at vocational training based on different spheres of economic labor, divided by gendered occupations as training for young men and, for instance, home economics classes for the young ladies.[566] A similar labor tendency and its gendered structure, when labor is divided by corresponding tasks for boys and girls, was implemented in the boarding schools for the Sami in Russia starting from the mid 1950s, so almost forty years later in comparison to the USA. Additionally, Vladimirova stressed that labor concepts of the Soviet period were not unique, and the main elements of labor and work ideology in the USSR were borrowed from the USA and Western Europe. According to Vladimirova, many of the labor values:

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[561] R.S. 1956: 213.

[562] In Konstantinov's phrasing, in Soviet and post-Soviet discourses, the term "Agriculture" has to be read as "reindeer husbandry" (Cf. Konstantinov 2015: 22). Throughout this dissertation I frequently use synonymously the following concepts, "agriculture" as "reindeer herding"; "state collective farms", "collective farms" ("kolkhozy") as "fishing and reindeer-herding state collective farms" or "fishing and reindeer-herding cooperatives".

[563] Vladimirova 2006: 109.

[564] Konstantinov 2015: 20.

> have their roots in the European intellectual movements of the 19th century (and much earlier), and Marxism being only one of them. Some major contribution especially in the sphere of work organization and enhancing of productivity, came from America, where early Bolshevik ideologues had traveled (Bukharin, for example). To raise such values as the unique domain of socialist Russia was a policy of the Soviet state.[567]

Though, as Vladimirova underscores, the Soviet Union radically rejected the presence of any influences of Western or USA values as incorporated in the Soviet labor ideals and policies of the time. Labor was a central part of children's communist upbringing throughout the end of the Soviet period. Addressing daily boarding school routines of the pupils in the given period, these were largely structured by labor. The topic of labor is especially strongly emphasized by informants raised in boarding schools of this period, although narratives prevailed in the first generation about labor in the state farms. In such a way, children and youth of the first generation were mostly engaged in obligatory labor works carried out in the state collective farms during their vacations from boarding school education. Similar labor occupied many hours of extra-curricular activities of the second generation.

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[565] Lomawaima 1994: 66 in Stout 2012: 63.

[566] Stout 2012: 62–63.

[567] Vladimirova 2006: 108.

In the early post-war period it was an unquestionable duty of every Soviet citizen to participate in the active recovery, through compulsory individual labor, of the national economy that had been ruined by war. This tendency is acute until the mid 1950s. In the local context of the Sami District, it was implemented through extensive labor activities of youth at the local state farms. According to one informant of first generation, who is also a post-war child,

> When we studied in the boarding school, the school year was not over yet, but we were already distributed along assigned labor works in different fishing grounds – we caught fish during the summer period. Until 14th of July, there was a fishing ban because the fish went to spawn – then we were assigned to haymaking works. We were 11 and 12 years old – a cheap children's labor force. And there we worked almost until the 1st of September or so. Around August 25th we were already allowed to go home. We were also engaged at the dock. We processed fish, cod. We had enough work. (...) All the children were distributed into brigades. There were four brigades. The collective farm took children right from school at the end of the study year and sent them to collective farm works. It turns out that in winter children went to boarding school and in summer – worked at collective farms.[568]

The informants of the second generation have similar experiences of labor. However, by the time they were residing at the boarding school, their Sami villages and the corresponding local reindeer herding collective farms were eliminated due to resettlement processes (see section 5.1). Therefore, students were mostly engaged in farms established at the boarding schools. Memories of the majority of my interviewees about labor works outnumber their memories of academic performances at school. Narratives about physical labor are more detailed and overshadow their academic experiences. As such, most male informants were engaged in such activities as pig farming, electrical wiring, shoe making, building and repairing. The women informants emphasize sewing and handicraft along with kitchen works and dishwashing as purely gendered practice. But in many cases informants point out that they often had to implement works related to hard physical labor, which were not characterized by gender. For instance, one female informant of the second generation recalled in detail the children's labor activities during boarding school studies. However, this type of vocational practice, involving hard physical labor, was often additionally waged, which corresponds to another economic reason for their voluntary preoccupation with these activities,

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[568] Informant H G1.

> I was already used to it. So what? I am not one of the pining ones. There was no time to cry! You have to go to work. Oh my god! Slush, wet snow, hands hurt, legs hurt, with knees deep in the water – here we are. Mariia and I lift tons of cargo! (...) Minus 42 degrees outside, knee-deep in water, and we lift really heavy loads. We wanted to earn money. Mariia and I chopped firewood too. Would anybody let children work chopping wood today? With such a big electric saw?! (...) and there were no adults helping, only the two of us. Still you need to cut wood – well, the farm is too old! [the boarding school farm].[569]

Therefore, in the period after relocations, it is possible to observe a transition of labor from its actualization in the arena of collective agricultural farming into the domains of boarding school economic activities. The following table illustrates shifting accents of labor in the first and second generations, as labor practices transit from collective farms into the sphere of boarding school activities.

Table 5. Shifting accents in students' labor activities in reindeer herding, fishing collective farms and boarding schools (1935–1970).

Period	State farms	Boarding schools
Generation 1 (1935–1955)	Youth labor is actively used in activities of the state farms, according to provisions on compulsory labor obligations and duties of the Soviet citizens.[570]	Boarding schools function as pre-school dormitories. Labor is not embedded into official boarding school practice.
Generation 2 (1955–1970)	Most of the small state farms in the Sami and the Lovozero	Provisions on socially useful labor enter official boarding

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[569] Informant A G2.

[570] Rooted in the First Soviet Code of Laws of Labor from 10 December 1918. The primary source is analyzed by Vladimirova. In Vladimirova 2006: 109–110.

	Districts are eliminated in terms of agglomeration policy.	school policy.[571] Labor is realized in terms of extra-curricular and vocational practices of boarding schools.

Almost every interviewee of both generations, apart from one example demonstrated above in this section, emphasized their involuntary experiences of labor activities during their school years both at state collective farms (1935–1955) and boarding schools (1955–1970). The topic of labor is pointed out in every interview, directly or indirectly. The contributions, cited in this section, of different analytical research on social labor in various indigenous contexts complement the interview data addressing the Kola Sami situation. The data concerns child and youth labor patterns realized not only in terms of collective labor activities at the state farms (predominantly in the spheres of reindeer herding and fishing), but the transition of these labor orientations into the boarding school domain in the analyzed period. Further in the next section, I turn to discussion of labor in reindeer herding, and its influence on the professional choices of the informants.

6.5.2 Reindeer herding labor

In the discussion about reindeer herding practices and the role of boarding school education, I will touch upon the social status of reindeer herding as principally an occupation for Sami men, which emerges in the given timeframes, and I shall examine the local historical preconditions for this status. I discussed in section 1.2 of the first chapter of this dissertation that as a result of collectivization, the private reindeer herding sector became nationalized, and reindeer herding started functioning in the form of reindeer-herding and fishing collective farms (*olenevodcheskie i rybolovetskie kolkhozy*). The Sami people were employed with minimal salary wages by these farms to herd the collectivized reindeer, which once belonged to their families.

The state of affairs described in local reindeer herding became another factor for the occupation losing its social and economic prestige among succeeding generations of the Sami (Generations 2 and 3). For instance, the father of one of my informants from Lovozero (Generation 1) was among a few brigade leaders who, during the enforced collectivization, agreed to submit his reindeer into ownership of the collective farm and the Party, and in so doing, managed to retain his leadership position in reindeer husbandry. This informant recalled that he made his choice to be engaged in reindeer herding as a profession following his father's path, simultaneously emphasizing that in general men among his and subsequent generations were not interested in continuing reindeer herding as their main occupations,

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[571] According to the above-mentioned Decree “On Measures for Developing Boarding schools in 1959–1965”.

> I was born in 1946. I am a post-war child; grew up in the tundra. Because my father was leader of a reindeer-herding brigade – he lived in the tundra. So when I grew up I went to work at the same brigade – the same one where my father worked. I also became leader of the brigade, like him; earlier he had owned this herd. But when our reindeer were confiscated in 1937, people were sent to GULAG camps. At ours, 37 people were taken and sent away without a trace. Later they were rehabilitated. But what's the sense? (…) My father was the first among the Sami to join the Party. So he remained as leader in this brigade, in his herd [already collectivized], where he worked until his death. And then I took over the Youth (Komsomol) brigade. It was the strongest brigade. As announced from the party tribune: "Grazes in the best conditions, with best indicators." Well, at the age of 24, I was already a brigade leader. And here they are – 40 years old, all like small boys – no one goes to work – no one! [speaks about third generation unwilling to be engaged in reindeer herding].[572]

At the same time, the very absence of private ownership of reindeer since the times of collectivization was a primary reason for reindeer husbandry gradually losing its economic and social prestige for many of Sami of the second generation. This low status of reindeer herding complemented the simultaneous introduction of universal secondary education in the boarding schools, together with further opportunities for education at various upper secondary institutions, which opened up other professional choices (apart from fishing and grazing of collectivized reindeer) available for the Sami during the discussed period. With help of state-financed quotas for higher education, the Sami population began to receive other serious professions apart from those placed within pedagogy, widely popular among the first generation. In the second generation, the Sami become various medical workers, such as nurses and doctors, along with a range of other working middle-class professions, like housepainters (mostly women), and drivers of different categories – tractor and car drivers (mostly men).[573]

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[572] Informant B G2.

The topic of labor is especially actualized in informants' discussions of state farm activities as low-paid heavy physical work leading to many parents not wanting their children (second generation) to be engaged in reindeer herding or fishing as their principal economic activities. The following informant confirms that attitude,

> Indeed, parents didn't want a hard life. It's natural that each parent didn't want a hard life for his (her) child. I can make an example with children of reindeer herders. They wanted a better life, that's why they didn't let their children work in reindeer herding. For instance, my wife's cousins – their father worked as a reindeer herder and not one of them followed reindeer herding work. Later, when his father already passed away, only one of them started to work in reindeer herding. Another family who lives nearby – also three sons and they [reindeer herding parents] didn't want their children to become reindeer herders, knowing themselves how hard this work is – reindeer husbandry. Here it is already their own wish [of their children] not as children, but already when they were adults – to go against their father's will and to continue with reindeer herding. But, the rest of the brothers seemed to have no great desire to do it, and still they grew up in the tundra! When they came to the village – they couldn't speak Russian![574]

This informant himself comes from a reindeer herding family. He recalled that his mother did not wish him to become a reindeer herder. This is why he gained the profession of a car driver, while permanently working and residing in Lovozero village,

> And when we came here to Lovozero, we also traveled with reindeer and fed them, and even stayed overnight to take care of them. Then, I was already steering reindeer on my own – fed them and brought firewood on sledges. But later I received a profession and became a car driver. Of course, when I came back from military service, I wanted to work as a reindeer herder, but my mother didn't let me do it. She said that it was a hard work – "a dog's work". A reindeer herder spends the whole year outdoors, in any state of nature – in frost, in snowstorms. How did she know that? Well, because she, as a little girl, worked transporting goods on reindeer during the war. She experienced it all too early.[575]

Lack of continuity in reindeer herding starts to be brought up in interviews with the first generation, especially by those informants who were engaged in reindeer herding themselves. Thus, the woman informant born in 1934 from the Lovozero

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[573] Informant G G2, Informant C G2, Informant B G2.
[574] Informant C G2. (Translated by A.A.)
[575] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

District, who worked as a female camp worker at the reindeer herding brigade, discussed the hardships of manual labor in reindeer herding not only for men, but likewise from a woman's perspective,

> I am not offended, I did not live a bad life. All my life I traveled to the tundra. But to tell the truth, it was hard labor. Well, we did everything manually, everything by hand – washing and tanning of skins, sewing. It was unlike today, we also prepared firewood ourselves. Our men didn't have time for this. (...) It was hard work, but still it was better than now. Better. Now look – there's no work, young people suffer – they suffer! And under the Soviet government, although they paid us very little, there was work – people were busy.[576]

That is how informants of the first generation discuss the broken continuity in reindeer herding among the second generation. This informant mentions that good skills in reindeer herding in her generation were highly appreciated in Sami society, but these professional qualities were gradually more unpopular among succeeding generations distant from their parents' deeds and lifestyles. Particularly, she recalled a respected and talented reindeer herder born in 1931, and how his traditional knowledge was not transmitted to his children (Generation 2). The informant refers to it as a characteristic situation occurring for upcoming generations of Sami youth,

> He was such an experienced reindeer herder, but why such experienced parents have... for example, when the father was such a skillful reindeer herder, but the son is useless? They [Generation 2] have no notion of reindeer. They don't travel [to the tundra; meaning that this generation lives predominantly in urbanized villages]. They don't know how to catch – well, earlier reindeer were caught with a lasso. Now no one has lassos, they don't catch.[577]

After completion of boarding school education, the second generation had already different professional priorities than their parents, in particular to receive upper secondary or higher education. The next informant told that most of his fellow-students received a broad spectrum of professions after graduation from boarding school. Reindeer herding was the most acute priority only for children whose parents were themselves engaged in the local reindeer-herding cooperative in Lovozero. Still, higher education and employment on leadership positions became the ultimate professional ideal among the majority of the second generation. The low-paid physical work of reindeer herder was not considered an example of life success, though leadership and management positions in reindeer herding were highly desired by young Sami. As the informant mentions, leadership positions connected to reindeer herding management were widely occupied by specialists with no local practical knowledge in reindeer herding. Eventually, the lack of local knowledge in management of reindeer herding cooperatives led to considerable reduction of reindeer flocks.[578]

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[576] Informant E G1. (Translated by A.A.)
[577] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

> After the boarding school, how was it… Here, to the boarding school, were mostly coming children of fishermen, reindeer herders and other agricultural workers. Of course, children of reindeer herders went to work in reindeer herding, fishermen too, though there were not many of them, and others – started to work in other professions (…) For example, he studied at school, then at upper secondary school and then went to work in reindeer husbandry. Maybe, one or two out of all the pupils went to work in the reindeer-herding brigade. (…) Well-established people, for example, those who received education in upper secondary or higher institutions. Well, there were not many such people among us. I don't remember anyone from my class entering college or university. But there were older pupils like Stephan [fictional name]. He finished education and later became director of an enterprise. But the majority of us… Well, there was a boarding school here [in Lovozero], another boarding school was in the Kol'skii District, and all over the Kola Peninsula there were reindeer-herding cooperatives.
>
> Unfortunately, no one of our people in the boarding schools received an education to become a leader, I mean to finish higher educational institution or upper secondary and take on leadership tasks in reindeer herding. All these reindeer herding cooperatives were managed by outside leaders. They managed it in such a way that reindeer flocks have almost disappeared, i.e. today SHPK Tundra is the only one of the cooperatives that is still holding on. And before, in Umbozero there was also a reindeer-herding state farm – the Sami were asked to move away from there too, but it was already because of industrial exploration of the North – they asked the Sami population to move to Lovozero. Then, in Pulozero there was a reindeer-herding state farm, and in Loparskaia too. Because of these boarding schools no one received the type of education to become our leaders in reindeer husbandry.[579]

Vladimirova, in her doctoral dissertation on the Soviet concepts of labor actualized in the Kola Sami reindeer herding discourse, mentions mismanagement and local incompetence of the administration of the cooperative SHPK *Tundra*. Vladimirova pointed out that,

> The relatively secure market for reindeer meat, combined with unwise business and management decisions of the administration of Tundra, has

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[578] Also Informant B G2.

[579] Informant C G2. (Translated by A.A.)

> resulted in a continuous over-harvesting, threatening the natural reproduction of the resource. The meat processing equipment, still not supplied with enough refrigerating capacities, requires constant delivery of fresh reindeer meat irrespectively of the reindeer herding schedule which does not permit slaughter at certain periods of the year. All these problems, however, can mostly be attributed to poor management and coordination.[580]

The lack of educated local Sami cadres often led to substitution with outside specialists from Ukraine or even Israel, who coordinated reindeer herding activities in the Lovozero District. The Sami leaders in reindeer herding were in great demand, according to feedback from my local informants from Lovozero. As this informant stated,

> Even my father said this. As I grew up a little bit older, he said, "My son will not be a reindeer herding (labor) worker. He will be a leader – we need leaders!" Because we needed leaders. Our leaders were either from Ukraine, they came from everywhere – but not from our community. We had a director from Israel, well? But, do you understand – we need our people?! These ones make us work – until we end up in hospital![581]

That informant worked as leader of three reindeer-herding brigades and an educator of youth. He is the oldest among interviewees of the second generation, and comes from a family of local reindeer herders in Lovozero. He worked in the reindeer-herding cooperative SHPK *Tundra* for 20 years. He started as leader of his first reindeer herding brigade at the age of 24 and retired in 1982. The informant is one of the most dedicated reindeer herders and one of the most prominent local reindeer-herding characters among his generation,

> When I came back from military service, my profession was welder and lit operator – I finished professional college in St. Petersburg. So, I was offered work in construction jobs. It was in big demand and they tried to attract me. Everyone told me not to go to work in reindeer herding. When I already started to work in reindeer husbandry, my sisters told me, "Father died early and now you too! We don' t need this! People can still live without reindeer." But I did, I went! I didn't betray – I'm not a coward![582]

According to this informant, school education does not interfere with practical work in reindeer herding, on the contrary, both formal education and reindeer herding knowledge can be successfully combined. Simultaneously, the informant worked as right-hand assistant to leader of the club "Young Reindeer Herder" ("*Iunyi Olenevod*"), hosted by the Youth Cultural House (*"Dom Pionerov")* in Lovozero village. In terms of the "Young Reindeer Herder" club, which began its activity in the 1970s, pupils from both boarding school and secondary school received practical vocational training in reindeer herding. The club arranged field trips for youth to tundra brigades approximately two times a year, frequently in summer and early autumn. Mostly boys were engaged in the vocational practice of the club. The informant shared his experiences about both reindeer herding activity in the state farm and vocational training of youngsters,

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[580] Vladimirova 2006: 163–164.
[581] Informant B G2. (Translated by A.A.)
[582] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

> The "Young reindeer herder" club belonged to Lovozero school. We had a club space at the House of Pioneers. We worked with all our children from the boarding school and from the secondary school. (…) We took them out to the tundra twice a year. Some traveled for a short time, and those who had parents in the tundra – of course lived there the whole summer. (…) We had strict obligations about school performances, one should study only with grades A, B, C! If you had a D – with this grade you don't enter the tundra lavvu! It was uncomfortable for them, but you know how nervous the guys were – you have to study before you get a reindeer ride?! Nikolai, how nervous he was, and now he's a multiple champion. [champion in regional reindeer races]. (…) It was a responsibility to take youth, they came at 15 years old, so? Clearly, I cannot have the same requirements for them as for adults. You need to get them interested first! I remember one year they arrived for vocational practice – Alexei, my nephew Mikhal and Petr. On the 21st of May I remember we got so wet, good that I took tarpaulin with me… so we managed to keep them warm. My nephew said right away "Uncle, I will not work as a reindeer herder". And he didn't. Petr also left, but he came back after all. But, otherwise, they lose motivation in a second. Why? Malitsa[583] is all wet, stretches all over to his feet, he is all shivering underneath! First it was raining, then slush with snow and then everything froze. Not everyone handles this![584]

The informant told that it has become unattractive to many young people among the third generation to be engaged in reindeer herding. Because children of upcoming generation were not raised in the tundra, instead they grew up in the village, especially those who resided at the boarding school. The informant was raised in the tundra himself and stressed that only children with an inherent connection to the tundra were accustomed to work in reindeer husbandry from their early years. These principally were: children who did not attend kindergartens and were brought up in the tundra by reindeer-herding families; children of reindeer herders brought up at the boarding school, who visited their parents in the tundra for long periods of time, e.g. spent summer holidays in the tundra. This is in contrast to children who grew up in the village and did not have enough knowledge, experience and motivation to deal with reindeer. Teaching the latter category of children in extra-curricular formats was not enough for them to attain extensive knowledge of reindeer herding, normally transmitted from parents to children via family communication in the natural tundra environment,

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[583] For explanation of the term *malitsa* see footnote in section 6.1.1.

[584] Informant B G2. (Translated by A.A.)

> When I was appointed as brigadier, my uncle told me, "To be the foreman in reindeer herding has nothing to do with your graduation from university, when you finished, and you think you know everything. No, there should be at least a minimum of 10 years of practical experience in working with reindeer." For me, the brigadier appointment happened sooner because I am a hereditary reindeer herder! Because I lived in the tundra from childhood, I grew up with them [reindeer]. And now youth is no longer brought up in the tundra, they grow up in Lovozero. A very few of them go to work as reindeer herders.[585]

In line with Informant E G2 cited in the previous section, this informant considers that the generation of their children (Generation 3) was the last generation, who could both receive education and still be engaged in tundra activities. As Informant E G2 mentioned, after the education received in the boarding schools, the Sami youth did not leave the village in order to live and work out in the tundra. They preferred to stay and work in different urban villages of the Peninsula. They chose professions that did not require constant travelling to the tundra. Informant B G2 deliberately underscores the lack of young cadres in local reindeer herding. He emphasizes that no serious measures were undertaken in recent decades to accommodate the interests of Sami youth and to attract them to reindeer herding,

> This is our last offspring – our last offspring! There is no youth in the tundra anymore. I say it bravely as I have always told this. There were old reindeer herders – there were reindeer. Reindeer herders passed away – reindeer went away. That's it! Everything is going to its end. I am not ashamed to say it – because no one attracts the young ones. (…) It is all a matter of cadres, only lack of cadres. We need young reindeer herders. They need a perspective, like we had it before! We had so many young people in the tundra. And now the youngest ones are in their 40s, those in their 30s – we have two such people. The rest of us are all close to pension.

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[585] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

All are pensioners! This is how it goes now. As I said – these were our last offspring [about Generation 3].[586]

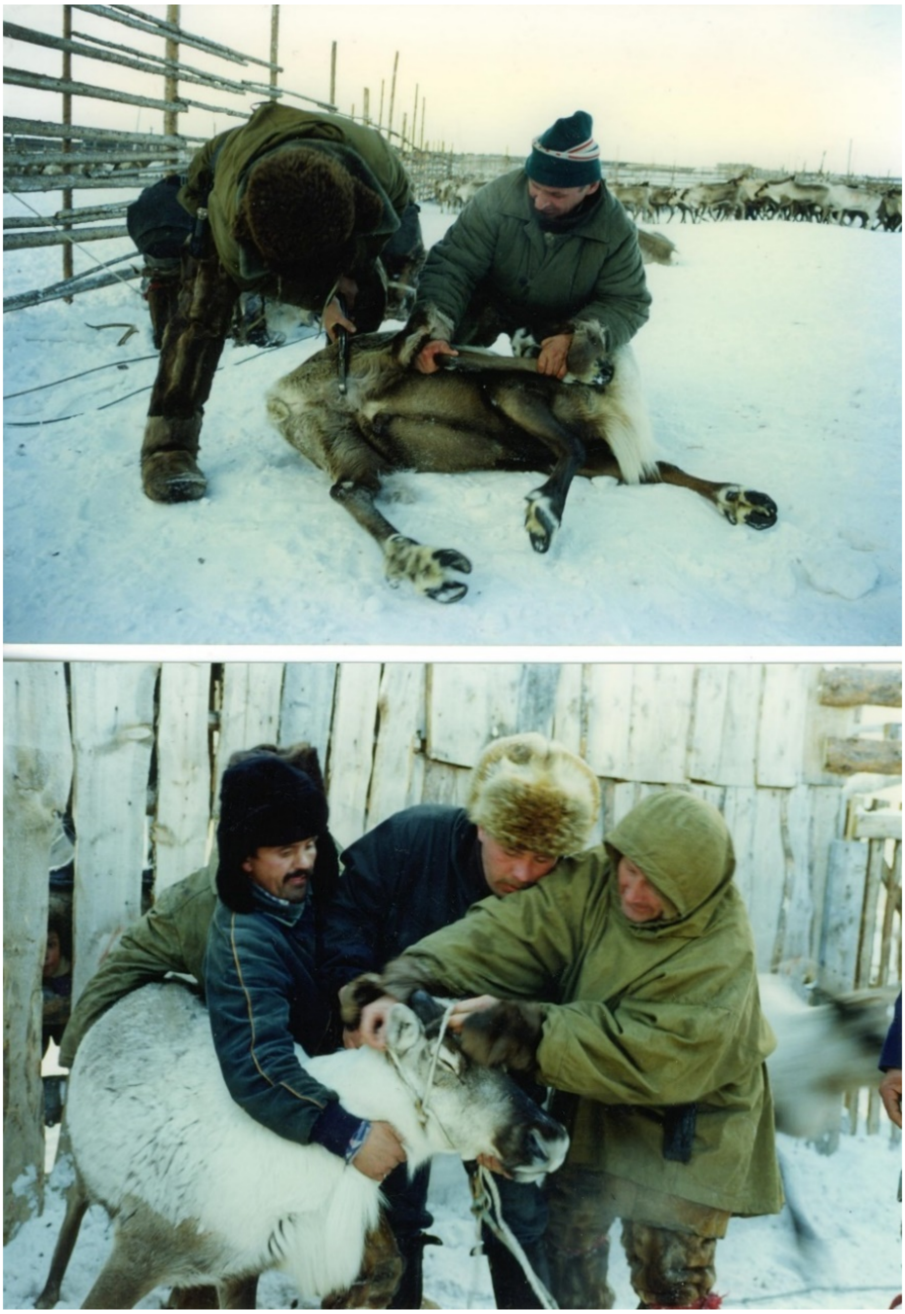

Photo 13. Elderly reindeer herders engaged in work at the state cooperative SHPK Tundra*. Photo from the private archive of Nina Afanas'eva (1990s).*

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[586] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

In concluding this section, I should like to mention that underlying understandings of upbringing within Sami families presupposed the development of a special connection, a natural bond between a child and a reindeer. This specific aspect of family upbringing served to form a child's basic understanding and cultural perception about how the outer world around this child is organized, how the world functions in its interconnection between all things and living subjects, along with the role of other living beings in daily environment, surrounding a child (e.g. the reindeer). Such a connection between a human being and a reindeer was an integral part of children's upbringing within the Sami family system of values. However, the content of education in the boarding schools of the discussed period showed little concern for accommodating any specific cultural aspects needed for the healthy development of a child's personality and identity. A specific child's cultural peculiarities, predetermining the formation of children's worldview before their arrival to a residential institution, were not taken into consideration during their education. The following informant mentioned theories of Makarenko, discussed earlier in section 5.2. The informant rightly noticed that certain principles of these popular pedagogical theories of the time, especially concerning notions of outdoor and harmonious upbringing of children in nature, coincide with conditions under which Sami children were raised in the tundra by their parents before the start of residential schools. The informant regrets that the educational system under which his generation received school education completely ignored local knowledge of tundra upbringing practiced within Sami families, where a child was physically and emotionally developing in harmony with local tundra nature,

> What was also negative is that they [boarding schools] uprooted families, and the child was always at the boarding school. Well, but this a child! It is natural that he [she] misses his [her] parents – this is one moment. Another moment – for instance, according to Sykhomlinsky and Makarenko, who educated children outdoors, i.e. in harmony with nature. The same should have been applied to children of reindeer herders – then one would raise real reindeer herders in them. And I was accustomed to reindeer, because my parents were reindeer herders. They …I cannot say communicated with reindeer … [informant takes a couple of minutes to choose an appropriate word in Russian] … yes, they worked with reindeer, this is a right word for it. We did too. We children had it also… How will you say it in Russian? Like we, with parents in Chudz'iavv'r, and with reindeer. We embraced it with our mother's milk – the connection to reindeer. When parents came back from transportation works, it was practiced at that time, on reindeer, on sledges. They come home by reindeer ride. The reindeer are tired, they lay down to rest, and we run to

> them – interesting. But they don't care about us – they are so calm, and their eyes are so big! And we look in these eyes and see ourselves, like in the mirror. And then the reindeer will drive away, and before that we need to take a ride. It was our first boy's… wish… yes, this is the right Russian word for it. And not only boys, girls too! We took girls to ride in the sledges.[587]

6.6 Tundra as arena for use of the Sami languages

During difficult situations connected to expressions of cultural identity in the Sami ethnic villages in the period from 1935 to 1955, i.e. language persecutions and overall threat of political repressions, many informants perceived labor practices in the state farms, largely based on traditional Sami economic activities, as a "safe cultural arena" for use of Sami languages. During the first period of the study, children spent their vacations at their home villages. In the summer holidays they were preoccupied with seasonal works in the state farms and assisted their parents, engaged in cooperative labor. As many informants of the first generation state, they were afraid to use Sami in public places, they spoke Sami only surrounded by other Sami people, mostly when they were assigned collective youth labor works in the state farms, where they could communicate in Sami freely. In other words, collective labor in the state farms additionally played a role in preserving Sami as the language of communication between community members (practiced by my informants intentionally or unintentionally).

The following informant stressed that labor in reindeer-herding collective farms was an integral part of youth upbringing and opportunity to use Sami language when speaking with reindeer herders. However, the informant emphasizes that after completion of boarding school education the only place where communication in Sami remained more or less practiced was the collective farm in Lovozero. This is logical, because as we know, due to the agglomeration policy, all other reindeer herding farms were eliminated. The main arenas for tundra communication became the two state farms – *Tundra* in Lovozero and *Olenevod* ("Reindeer herder") in the neighboring village of Krasnoshchel'e. Thus the informant recalled,

> Between each other we talked [in Sami], when we were on haymaking works or some other place, e.g. on fishing tours – we talked. Those days we did not travel much. It is already when I started to work with reindeer [after completion of his boarding school education in 1952], then I started

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[587] Informant C G2. (Translated by A.A.)

> to travel to Lovozero and to other state farms, to everywhere! But everybody spoke Russian. Sometimes the old people are talking and they ask me, “Tonn saam’ kiill te tedak?” [in English: “Do you know Sami?”] I say, “Kohht em teda? Sarrna saam’ kiill te!” [in English: “How do I not know? I speak Sami!”]. So here it is, after boarding school we had not talked in Sami much.[588]

To interpret the informant’s statement once again, already in the first generation the Sami language was used mainly in tundra communication with elderly reindeer herders. In the period of the second generation (1955–1970) when the boarding school policy officially changes towards Russification and isolation of children and parents, the forms for socialization in the Sami language are reshaped more drastically in comparison to the previous generation. As we have observed throughout this chapter, Sami children of the second generation had already resided in the villages since their 1st grade of school education, and some from kindergarten age. Their communication with parents residing in the tundra was limited until they reached the age of 17 – upon completion of their boarding school education. The environment in Lovozero village was predominantly multicultural with mostly Russian and Komi population residing in the village. Therefore, during both study periods, labor in reindeer herding collective farms serves as an important arena for “tundra communication”, when Sami language was mostly practiced in communication between reindeer herders as well as in family communication between them and their children of pre-school age.

This can be an example of how the Sami language was used by reindeer herders. They used Sami in communication with each other in the tundra, but completely switched to Russian when they came back from tundra works to Lovozero village. Accordingly, children who grew up in the tundra environment, or those who visited their parents in the tundra on a seasonal basis, were accustomed to using the Sami language in specifically tundra conditions, but not in the boarding school or village itself. For many informants of the second generation, Sami was their first language, it was also the language of their communication with parents, family and friends before relocations of their traditional villages. After relocations to Lovozero village, native language continuity was predominantly exercised in tundra conditions in Lovozero District.

As I previously mentioned, the traditional way of life was of great importance to most informants of the second generation. Even those informants who were not engaged in reindeer herding by occupation during the period of this chapter, continually stressed situations of Sami traditional activities. Firstly, because it was the way of life that they embraced with their parents before arriving at boarding school, before the forced resettlements of their families. Secondly, because only in the practice of reindeer herding and fishing did they see opportunities for Sami language use and practice of other cultural activities. As I have earlier mentioned, Overland and Berg-Nordlie also highlight that the knowledge of Sami was strongly linked to the tundra life of children with their parents.[589] Therefore, reindeer herding is mostly associated by Sami community members as the economic activity with a deep cultural foundation, providing access for Sami people to cultural values connected with tundra life.

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[588] Informant I G1. (Translated by A.A.)

Alas, family life in today's tundra conditions appears to be almost impossible. Family in the tundra has become a unique happening rather than the norm. According to Konstantinov,

> The impossibility of leading a normal family life at reindeer herding camps was also a critical factor. For all its attention to children's health and upbringing, Soviet power pointedly neglected such matters when it came to family life and children's upbringing at tundra camps. During more than two decades I have witnessed numerous attempts by families to carve out a normal life at tundra camps, but they generally have failed. In the absence of basic sanitary conditions (no running water, primitive toilet facilities, etc.) and lacking a separate hut for the family or a minimal degree of privacy, young women tend to leave after a year, or at most two, of bravely attempting to stay at camps. (…) Due to the much diminished crew of another brigade, a formerly full hut was left for the use of two middle-aged couples. The general trend, however, is that family life in the tundra has become a rare thing.[590]

In the context of gendered Sami socio-economic activities and its actualization within tundra domains, I would like to highlight women's traditional role in Sami economic activities, in particular referring to such practices of material culture as handicraft. Such researchers as Bloch and Konstantinov[591] emphasize that gendered notions of traditional indigenous economic activities took shape under the influence of Russian culture. I would like to stressed that in the beginning of the 20th century, it was still uncharacteristic for Sami men to be engaged in sewing of clothes and shoes. The traditional understanding of men's' work was associated with physical work in reindeer herding and women's' task was to prepare clothing and accompany a reindeer herding man to the tundra. As the informant of the second generation defines his main wife's tasks, "We did not have regular shoes back then – only tuberk[592] and pima[593]. The soles were torn very fast. So my wife [a camp worker] worked during the night. When I came back to the camp – I have a rest and she repairs the shoe soles."[594] This was a traditional task, which in its turn was highly appreciated in the Sami community as the particular social and economic skills of women. This traditional knowledge also determined men's preferences in marriage, because good handicraft skills denoted the mastery of Sami women as good wives,[595] and thus had significant social meaning in local Sami communities. However, after completion of education at boarding schools, women began to receive different professions during both of the studied periods. They did not need to sew clothing for their children, because they were provided with clothes in boarding schools. Neither for their men, because the majority of men and women were no longer working in reindeer herding. In turn Konstantinov underscored that,

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[589] Overland and Berg-Nordlie 2012: 61.

[590] Konstantinov 2015: 162–163.

[591] Ibid: 158, also Bloch 2004: 98–99.

> Such harsh measures as depriving parents of parental rights and bringing up children in state institutions, which became common with the onset of agglomeration, also motivated young people to seek ways out of deprived and stigmatized status and look for opportunities through education and the urban centres created through labor migration.[596]

Nowadays, Sami handicraft has status denoted by folklore terms like "applied decorative hand-art of the Sami people in the Murmansk region"[597] found in museums, exhibitions, other overly artistic or culturally-oriented arrangements, rather than having the practical appliance and functions of the principal activity of Sami women in the tundra. Today usage of Sami clothing in official, symbolic and festive domains prevails over practical use in the tundra. As an economic activity, handicraft is practiced mostly for trade purposes at different cultural festivals and ethno-fair markets. There are instances of sewing clothes for personal use, which is widely popular among the local Sami societies, but handiwork is not widely practiced in its earlier understanding of traditional women's social role with economic significance in tundra contexts. The function of Sami handicraft has transformed from practical use of textiles in the tundra into a decorative sphere of arts and crafts prevailing in other economic forms, for instance, trading economy and market relations. Most importantly, handicraft activity was strongly rooted in tundra family life. At the same time, social transformations emerged during the Soviet period that led to changing social and economic requirements for Sami women. They no longer needed skills in sewing for the everyday survival of their children, for marriage, promotion of their social status or professional development. Simultaneously, they did not need to accompany their men to the tundra as camp workers because reindeer husbandry was considered an uncivilized occupation, rapidly losing its economic, social and cultural status among their generation. In fact, the tundra represents an all-important arena not only for the practice of Sami language but also the continuity of reindeer herding knowledge, which is currently in steep decline. Transmission of other cultural activities and family values through reindeer herding and life in the tundra was practiced by the local Sami community in the first generation. Despite endless efforts to reinforce tundra family life by many of the community members of the next generations, this eventually failed due to the absence of necessary infrastructure and facilities in the tundra camps. In the third generation, even greater degrees of disconnection prevail between children and the traditional lifestyles of their parents than in relations between the first and second generations. I turn to situations of the third generation in detail in the next chapter of this dissertation.

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[592] *Tuberk* (in Sami), *toborki* (in Russian). Casual shoes with the length up to the hips; sewn mostly with dark fur with hair out. *Tuberk* are worn over fur stockings and tied to the belt with garters. (cf. Mozolevskaia and Mechkina 2015, in terminological dictionary by N. Afanas'eva, at the end of the book, unnumbered pages).

[593] *Pima* (in Sami), *pimy* (in Russian). The Sami national winter shoes with length to thighs; sewn from white skins from reindeer legs, decorated with an ornament of contrasting colors, white and dark skins, and strips of colored cloth (cf. Mozolevskaia and Mechkina 2015, in terminological dictionary by N. Afanas'eva, at the end of the book, unnumbered pages).

[594] Informant B G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[595] Konstantinov 2015: 163.

[596] Ibid: 166.

[597] Glukhov and Mikhailova 2010: 5.

I finish this chapter with a sum up and some critical reflections on the analyzed oral material from Generation 2 of the study.

As I pointed out in Chapter 5, in result of the enforced resettlement policy all Sami children among the second generation were enrolled at one boarding school in Lovozero where they permanently lived for approximately eight years, from 1st to 7th/ 8th class. The historical experience of enforced resettlement seems to define how informants of this generation remember residential schooling, what type of memories they maintain and how they express their memories during our interviews. Informants' narratives are verbal representations of their memories formed through "a retrospective interpretative process"[598] under which informants themselves structure their own analyses and understandings of their experiences. In this generation appear other supplementary categories that influence informants' experiences apart from gender and occupation. These are social class and economic status of the informants' families that become central factors that affect informants' representations and perceptions of their residence at the boarding school in Lovozero. More concretely, the material shows that the informants' narratives of their residence in boarding school vary according to whether they came from relocated Sami families or from families of local Sami from Lovozero. The relocated families were newcomers and often had severe problems with lack of housing and unemployment. Some families also had problems with depressions and destructive behaviors like alcohol abuse.[599]

Their social and economic status influenced the degree of separation of children from parents. The relocated children had less access to communication with parents and other family members than local Sami children. For instance, Konstantinov highlights that enormous stress after resettlement was the reason for that one of his informants' parents were deprived of parental rights. Their daughter Masha[600] had to grow up at the boarding school what has left many deep traumatic childhood memories. Likewise, separation from parents influenced how my informants among this generation experienced their stay at the boarding school. Some of the relocated informants came up with especially grieving memories about loss of their language and disconnection from the culture of their parents.

Experiences of relocated Sami children are based on the fact they spent most of time at the boarding school, while Sami children from local families in Lovozero visited parents more frequently because they lived in this village. Another important aspect that the relocated children were more inclined to engage in hard child labor because they wished to improve the difficult economic situation of their families.[601] This influenced their negative perceptions of boarding school education as well. The indigenous scholar Brenda J. Child pays particular attention to vocational practice and hard child labor in Native American boarding schools that "would help to dissolve their tribal ties and disconnect them from the lifestyles and influence of their parents"[602]. It is possible that those of my informants who were actively engaged in child labor, were more physically and emotionally exhausted, and felt their disconnection with parents more roughly than other informants. This might have formed their negative memories of the system of residential schooling.

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[598] Myklebost 2002: 162.
[599] Konstantinov 2015: 148.
[600] Ibid. See Informant 'Masha'.
[601] See narratives of Informant A G2 in section 6.5.1.

Simultaneously, Russification in boarding schools had begun. Majority of informants among this generation recollected that they were forbidden to speak their mother-tongue at boarding school and that they were forced to learn Russian. This is probably a major reason why the majority of informants in the second generation expressed less positive memories than the first generation.

According to my interview material, superintendents of the school were more willing to cooperate with local Sami families than relocatees. The 'local' children would sometimes be allowed to follow their parents to the tundra where they could use Sami language freely. Naturally, such children preserved Sami language better than children from relocated families who spent all the time in boarding school, where during Russification even Sami teachers were prohibited to communicate with pupils in Sami language.

Nevertheless, most interviewees of this generation stated that they were "prohibited to speak their language" at boarding schools and that is why they did not speak Sami in their adult life. However, as I pointed out in the chapter (add reference to page), there were two different categories of informants. There were informants who had profound command of Sami in their childhood and some informants who had Russian as their first language.

According to my observations, some informants often use expressions "we were forbidden to learn our language" or "we were forbidden to speak Sami at boarding schools". At the same time, many worked hard to attain profound knowledge of Russian in order to be enrolled to the universities, acquire professions and to be a part of modern Soviet society. It is possible that informants might have used the expressions that they "were forbidden" to practice their language to highlight that they would like to learn and use their mother-tongue but the Sami language was not offered in the boarding school program, or because they had mixed feelings on the matter that did not want to share with a researcher.

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[602] Child 1998: 74.

Conclusions

The boarding school policies introduced by Khrushchev in the mid 1950s, did indeed lead to serious socio-economic transformations among the Sami. The objectives on restriction of parental involvement in upbringing of children, realized through boarding school education, was especially evident in situations of the second generation of this study. The boarding school policies of this period resulted in restrictions on Sami children staying in continuous contact with their parents. Separation of children from their parents played a crucial role in the disintegration of the Sami community structure across family lines and subsequent cultural transmission in this generation.

The role of the Russian language particularly increased during this period. My informants state that they were prohibited from speaking Sami in the boarding school. Most informants of this generation are bilingual in Sami and Russian, but they used to communicate in Russian in their daily life at the boarding school. The situation of this generation is different from the previous, mostly according to the following aspects. Namely, due to the introduction of the Russification policy, they were prohibited from speaking Sami at the boarding school. In contrast to the previous generation, they resided at the boarding school for up to ten of their formative years, where the main language of communication was only Russian. Starting from the introduction of Khrushchev’s educational reforms, use of Sami languages by students was out of the question. Although boarding school started to actively involve Sami pedagogical cadres in its activity, these cadres were supposed to teach Sami pupils Russian. Sami educators and caregivers were instructed to speak only Russian language within the territory of the boarding school.

In addition, in this generation we observe rapidly changing professional ideals and life priorities. Many informants worked in various occupations suitable to the formal education that they received in boarding school. The majority of informants of the second generation were no longer occupied in reindeer herding cooperatives. Most children did not grow up in the tundra, but were brought up in boarding school conditions, in the urbanized village of Lovozero. That is why, according to my informants, only a few of them continued to work as reindeer herders. The new modernist professions became more popular among the Sami, such as drivers, various technicians, medical workers, teachers, etc. Therefore, I would like to emphasize not only the cultural and linguistic assimilation undergone by the Sami of the second generation, but also the socio-economic assimilation that occurred, which resulted in my informants prioritizing formalized professions instead of becoming reindeer herders and fishermen.

The Kola Sami in this period underwent two types of assimilation – linguistic (educational) with the prohibition of their native language during their studies at boarding school, and economic – with incorporation into new emerging forms for economic subsistence that were radically different from the occupation of their parents, i.e. reindeer herders and fishermen. Education in boarding schools during this period greatly distanced children from the traditional way of life of their parents. Mainly, principles of economic assimilation presupposed the integration of Sami communities into the common economy of the region and the country, which was realized through the practice of socially useful labor as part of the vocational curriculum at boarding school.

The Soviet boarding school policies of this period included views of educational assimilation (e.g. Russification policy), which constituted comprehensive, multi-faceted projects oriented on social, linguistic and economic integration (assimilation) of the Sami. All three aspects were implied in the holistic concept of residential schooling, where boarding school education as a system was targeted at restructuring indigenous economies and accumulation of resources for the benefit of the Soviet national economic system. Additionally, the boarding school focus on the restricted role of parents in the education of their children resulted in strong separation of informants among this generation from the cultural values of their parents. The boarding school system of this period influenced the strong restructuring of social relations and archetypical family structures within Sami society. The assimilation strategies stretched beyond the classroom, and implied subordinate techniques of intentional separation of children from family members, introduction of vocational activities filled with ideological work and labor.

When it comes to questions of ethnic identity, the policy of this period was oriented towards formation of one united Soviet nation. The informants of this generation did not particularly stressed the importance of the topic of Sami ethnicity, in contrast to the previous generation of informants. However, it is possible that the conflict of hidden identities was not present in this generation, in contrast to the previous one, when many had to hide their ethnicity in times of repression. Most informants of the second generation identify themselves as Sami and state that it was not prohibited to express their ethnic identity. The informants did not experience social suppression related to their ethnic affiliation as long as they had a good knowledge of the Russian language. Some informants stated that the native language and economy (i.e. reindeer herding) were in particular decline, but material elements of their culture showed more stable continuity, for instance traditional handicraft techniques were well preserved and actively practiced.

The concept of cultural practices in the tundra, where cultural traditions, reindeer herding knowledge, Sami language and material aspects of Sami culture were usually preserved, became abandoned by the second generation due to their rapidly changing professional ideals. At the same time, the hard physical labor of reindeer herding, along with low-paid wages proposed by the reindeer-herding enterprises, led many Sami parents among the first generation to be unwilling for their children to engage in reindeer husbandry as their main subsistence activity. We have also discussed the absence of private ownership of collectivized reindeer herds and the nature of the profession of ‘reindeer herder’ within the Soviet realities as one of the main factors for the second generation losing interest and motivation for reindeer herding work at the state farms.

The informants mention that they greatly wished that leaders of reindeer husbandry collectives would come from local educated Sami cadres, as was widely practiced in the first generation. This did not happen among the second generation. The informants mention that those who studied in boarding schools no longer had skills relevant for working with reindeer, even if they were children of experienced reindeer herders. The type of formal education suitable for the reindeer-herding profession was not the focus of boarding school upbringing. Consequently, many worked in other occupations suitable to the education that they received in boarding schools. Most informants who did not continue in reindeer husbandry confirm that reindeer herding knowledge was not included in the educational content of the boarding school.

Certain extracurricular activities in reindeer herding were practiced, such as the school club “Young Reindeer Herder”, which equipped students with practical experience in reindeer herding. This was inconsistent, however, because reindeer herding knowledge was usually transmitted to children through living in a stable tundra-based family environment. Despite the club taking children from the village to the tundra for vocational practice, despite the attempts of dedicated teachers involved in the club, they were unsuccessful in attracting young people to the tundra. Teaching of reindeer herding in the form of extra-curricular activities to children permanently residing in the boarding school could hardly be enough for successful transmission of reindeer herding knowledge as a lifestyle. Besides, these activities normally were limited to one or two trips to the tundra by boarding school students, after which many refused to work in the harsh tundra conditions.

Reindeer herding was taught to new generations of Sami in educational norms that were insufficient to attract young Sami into reindeer husbandry. These activities were not substantial enough to mitigate the influences of social and economic processes of this period, as associated with rapidly changing professional values and priorities of the upcoming Sami generations.

I return to concluding remarks on the practice of Sami language in the boarding schools. Starting from the introduction of Khrushchev’s policy, the use of Sami languages by students was prohibited. As I mentioned earlier, boarding schools started to actively involve Sami pedagogical cadres in their activity, though these cadres were instructed to teach Sami pupils Russian. However, it might seem paradoxical, but inclusion of Sami pedagogical cadres into the school system in the most intense period of Russification allowed Sami teachers, being integrated into the mainstream pedagogical system, to achieve serious contributions in promoting Sami language and education in the period of ethnic revival that started in the late 1970s.

Involvement of indigenous teachers into the school system has led to certain positive developments and achievements in the sphere of creation of Sami language teaching books, literature and promotion of written literacy. By submitting themselves to the party directives and goals of Russification in the current period, these educators were included in the official school system of cadres, which allowed them to promote Sami language inside the boarding system. Therefore, Sami teachers did not openly resist the system. Instead, they were gradually changing the system from within. I continue this discussion in Chapter 8, which addresses the period of ethnic revival after the intensive Russification policy – the time of inclusion of the Sami language and cultural component into the boarding school curriculum (1969–1989). This is reflected in the experiences of the third generation of informants, who attended boarding schools from 1969 to 1989.

However, it would be too early to turn to analysis of the experiences of the third generation in the next chapter. It was precisely at the end of the 1960s that another significant change took place in the boarding school policy, and this once again had a considerable impact on the education of the Sami in boarding schools. In particular, in the subsequent chapter (Ch. 7), I address the policy on reorganizing the boarding schools into orphanages. Thereafter, I proceed with analysis of the experiences of the third generation of informants (Ch. 8).

Chapter 7 Indigenous boarding school or orphanage?

At the end of the 1960s, the boarding system underwent another significant change that I examine in this chapter. Since the end of the 1960s, considerable numbers of children's homes were closed, and pupil contingents from the orphanages were transferred to the boarding schools. As a result of the changing pupil constituency, the ethnic boarding school for children of reindeer herders discussed in the previous chapter, lost its indigenous status and turned into an educational institution for orphans and children with difficult family situations, whose parents were often deprived of parental rights. Children of reindeer herders continued to receive schooling in the same residential institution. Having briefly outlined these developments in the current chapter, I continue the subsequent chapter with an examination of how this policy change affected the situation of the Sami language of the third generation.

This chapter is organized as follows. In 7.1, I address structural changes in the boarding school policy at the federal level. I focus on reduction of the network of educational institutions for parentless children and transfer of orphan contingents from the children's homes to the boarding schools. In 7.2, I provide an account of how these tendencies were realized at the local level. I examine how orphaned children from different towns of the Kola Peninsula were transferred to the boarding school in Lovozero in the period of the third generation of informants (1969–1989).

7.1 Reduction of orphanages, expansion of boarding schools

The educational reorganization of boarding schools started in the late 1960s at the federal level, and is substantially reflected in various reference materials of the State Archive in Moscow. For instance, "Reference report on activity of boarding schools and orphanages" (1969) outlines the following target groups of children, brought up at the boarding type of institutions during the period 1969–1990. This report stated that,

> In the boarding schools and orphanages are brought up children, mainly, needing the help of the state in order to receive an education: orphans, children of single mothers, children of parents disabled in war and labor, children from large families and low-income families, as well as children whose parents by their terms of labor and life cannot educate them in regular schools (reindeer herders, hunters, pastoral shepherds, specialists working abroad, workers of forest industry, water and railway transport,

> etc.). Out of the total number of orphans, approximately 90,000 people live in boarding schools and 35,000 live in orphanages.[603]

At the same time, this reference indicated that according to the Party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers “On Measures for Developing Boarding Schools in 1959–1965” from 19 May 1959 [discussed in the previous chapter], “for the past five years a third of orphanages that did not have the appropriate conditions were closed, and pupils were transferred to boarding schools.”[604]

The federal policy documents mention measures on reorganization of children’s homes into boarding schools already in the previous period of the study, but regionally in terms of the districts in the Murmansk region these provisions were introduced only in the mid 1970s. The Decree “On Measures for Developing Boarding schools in 1959–1965” adopted by the Party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers served as the basis for the gradual reorganization of existing children’s homes into boarding schools, which was implemented locally in the Sami areas of the Lovozero District when the third generation of my informants was receiving boarding school education. The Decree stated,

> The Central Committee of the Union-Republic Communist Parties and the Union-Republic Councils of Ministers have been advised to examine and resolve the question of gradually reorganizing children’s homes into boarding schools in 1959–1965, taking into account local conditions and potentialities. Measures for the construction of school buildings, dormitories and auxiliary structures for the children’s homes that will be reorganized into boarding schools should be incorporated into a unified plan for the construction and development of the boarding school network. The privileges established for the wards of children’s homes in assigning them to jobs and in the period of their schooling in secondary and higher educational institutions shall extend to boarding school pupils who do not have parents.[605]

Many orphanages were in a bad material state, based in dilapidated constructions, some of which were erected in the pre-revolutionary period and had started to molder. Another reference stated the main background for the transfer of children from orphanages to boarding schools as follows,

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[603] GARF 9563-1-519: 13. (Translated by A.A.)

[604] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

[605] The Party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers: On Measures for Developing Boarding Schools in 1959–1965. In: *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. XI, No. 21.

> Reduction of the network of children's homes is connected to liquidation of premises of children's homes unsuitable for further use and transfer of pupils to boarding schools and children's homes that have better educational and material resources. (...) There are still difficulties and shortcomings in the work of orphanages. Many orphanages are still overcrowded. (...) Thus, in 1967 in the USSR, 103 children's homes were retrenched with a contingent of 10,363 people and in 1968 – 167 children's homes with a contingent of 14,464 people.[606]

Correspondingly, already in 1983 the Decree "On Measures for Developing Boarding Schools in 1959–1965" was replaced with two other provisions: the Decree "About General Educational Boarding Schools, Orphanages and Other Residential Institutions"[607] and the Decree "On Further Measures of Improvement of Upbringing, Education and Material Support of Orphans and Children Deprived of Parental Rights in Children's Homes, Orphanages and Boarding Schools".[608] Where in both provisions the category "children of reindeer herders" was removed from the target groups of pupils previously cited in this section. The previously-cited GARF reference explicitly states that only those children were eligible to full state support in boarding schools, whose parents had passed away or were deprived of their parental rights, literally "To admit to full state support only orphans and children who lost parental care".[609] It can be a mere vague presupposition on my part, but I assume that a certain number of Sami children were administratively deprived of parental rights in order to continue their studies in terms of full state support at the boarding school. My presuppositions for the time being, however, are exclusively based on my assumptions from discussions with community members during fieldwork, analysis of the outlined legal provisions and short conversations with other research specialists in Kola Sami questions that took place a couple of years ago. Therefore, the question of whether Sami students were formally deprived of parental rights during the study period from 1968 to 1990 remains a topic of relevant scientific interest and requires further, more thorough research with consideration of additional sources. In the absence of analysis of relevant sources on this question, let my presuppositions remain as such.

Combining both contingents from various, including ethnic, boarding schools and orphanages created strong concerns among various intellectuals and educational specialists. The issue began to be raised by the country's pedagogical specialists as to whether it was expedient and rational to combine pupils at boarding schools with children from orphanages.[610]

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[606] GARF 9563-1-519: 3. (Translated by A.A.)
[607] GARF 9563-1-4425: 78–103.
[608] GARF 9563-1-4425: 109–114.
[609] GARF 9563-1-519: 18.

In "Reference material on children's homes of the USSR according to statistical reports in 1968", educational specialist N. Kunichkin pointed out the background for liquidation of orphanages and transfer of its pupils to the boarding schools. At the same time, Kunichkin strongly questions the rationality of the educational decisions undertaken, and highlights that the advantages of bringing up pupils from orphanages in combination with pupils of boarding schools are not scientifically proven. In particular, in his report Kunichkin stated,

> According to the information, received from the Ministry of Public Education of the Union's republics, reduction of the network of orphanages, as a rule, is connected to its poor material base. Buildings of liquidated orphanages were in emergency condition and their further use was life-threatening for children. Pupils of closed children's homes are either sent to orphanages with good material bases, or to boarding schools.
>
> Many employees of local Departments for Public Education consider it **inappropriate to transfer children from orphanages to boarding schools**, where children leave boarding school to visit their parents during weekends and vacation times. The advantages of boarding schools over orphanages in education and upbringing of orphans **are not yet grounded by any specialists**. They require in-depth scientific and pedagogical justification. Due to the lack of relevant committee or cabinet both at the Academy of Educational Sciences and the Ministry of Education of the USSR, study of theoretical and problematic issues related to the work of orphanages remains complicated.
>
> 12 June 1969, N. Kunichkin. [611]

Thus, the head of the Administration of the Educational Department[612] in the Lovozero District, during our meeting stressed that the status of the Lovozero boarding school changed several times from a national (ethnic) boarding school to an orphanage in connection with the legislation issued. These changes made it difficult to provide continuous support of the Sami language and culture within the system of boarding school education and upbringing. This status was changed back and forth twice – once in the 1970s the school status changed from ethnic boarding school to orphanage and later the ethnic status was returned back to the boarding school in the early 1990s. She stressed that the Sami language was first introduced as an optional facultative class in the 1970s, then included as an obligatory subject of the boarding school curriculum and later transferred solely to a facultative form of teaching. Thus, due to back-and-forth legislative changes in the status of the ethnic boarding school to an orphanage-type of boarding school, the transition of Sami language teaching from compulsory to facultative (optional) field of classes arose as a more flexible educational form, capable of quick accommodation in case of any rapid changes within the boarding school status along with legislation concerning educational syllabi and curricula. I discuss more thoroughly aspects of Sami language teaching introduced into the boarding school system during this period in section 8.4 of the subsequent chapter.

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[610] Note the letter of the President of USSR Youth Association for Art and Literature, Albert Likhanov to The Party Secretary of the Ministry of Enlightenment in Appendix 5 (GARF 9563-1-4425: 35–47).

[611] GARF 9563-1-519: 6–7. (Translated by A.A.)

[612] See Meeting 1 in Appendix 2.

At the same time, boarding school policy of this period was looked upon as one of the possible solutions to the problem of juvenile delinquency. The reorganized boarding schools were sought to bring resolution to delinquency problems across the whole country. The evidence for this problem's resolution is found in another archival document, proving that both the Decree "On Measures for Liquidation of Youth Delinquency" from 8 April 1952[613] and "On Measures for Developing Boarding schools in 1959–1965" were proclaimed invalid already by the year 1983.[614] This enables one to presuppose that the reorganization and convergence of ethnic and other types of boarding schools with institutions for orphans was probably successful in resolving youth delinquency. For instance, Michael Kaser in his article about the Soviet boarding schools, pointed out that,

> The group of children for whom the boarding schools are particularly destined are those deprived of normal parental care. Priority of admission is given to children of widows, unmarried mothers, and invalid parents, and to others in need of care (...) The home background of a large portion of boarders led to numerous reports, at least in the early days, of children who were "pedagogically neglected", "problem children", "requiring constant teacher control" or "in need of individual approach.[615]

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[613] GARF 9563-1-4425: 31.

[614] GARF 9563-1-4425: 28–29; 30–33. Not only the two provisions mentioned were abolished. The List of Abolished Decisions of the USSR Government (1983) includes a great deal of cancelled decrees and boarding school policy provisions (adopted from years 1943 to 1982), concerning activities on expansion of boarding school networks, material base and economic support of students, recruitment of pedagogical cadres etc. Documents of this period again illustrate the constantly changing, variable and dynamic legislation in the sphere of residential education and another wave of its structural reorganization in the 1980s.

[615] Kaser 1968: 96.

The author, fictionally calling himself only his initials, R.S., in his article "The new boarding schools" refers to discussions in the *Teachers' Gazette,* mentioning that the new schools were often treated as "boarding schools intended for difficult or neglected children (for whom special colonies are in existence)".[616] He mentions that woman workers started to protest against a tendency to reserve places in these schools for the children of unmarried mothers or large families unwilling to send their children to these institutions.

7.2 Changing contingents of the boarding school in Lovozero

One informant who worked as a boarding school teacher from the 1970s to the 1990s, recalled that starting from 1976 children from other districts of Murmansk region began arriving at the boarding school in Lovozero. These children were of non-indigenous origin. She underscores that when she studied at the boarding school herself (1963–1971), it was mostly children of reindeer herders or other Sami parents who studied with her. This is how the informant discussed the topic,

> In 1976 in the majority we had students who were deprived of parental rights. When I was studying myself, we mainly had children of reindeer herders. But these were low-income children, from Revda [neighboring town to Lovozero]. When I started to work, we almost had only delinquents. From Apatity, from Murmansk – all deprived of parental custody – they all studied at our boarding school. Already later, the ethnic status was returned to the boarding school [in the 1990s], that is why we were taking them all back to the towns where they were sent here from. Their parents were taking them back, accommodating them at home.[617]

The informant provides information that the boarding school was accommodating around 250–300 pupils per study year. In particular, she mentioned,

> When I started to work, children started to be brought from everywhere. From low-income families, in the majority their parents were deprived of parental rights, e.g. from disadvantaged families. We had around 300 people when I worked. A lot of them, 300, or 250, that's how the numbers of pupils held very stable each study year.[618]

The informant admitted that there were many among the newly arrived children who had deviant behavior and were under the supervision of juvenile police inspections.

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[616] R.S. 1956: 213.

[617] Informant A G3. (Translated by A.A.)

[618] Informant A G3. (Translated by A.A.)

She stressed that it was a very difficult category of children to work with and they frequently ran away. The informant was often sent on school missions to find the escaped children and return them to the boarding school. On these missions, teachers were assisted by police and representatives of the juvenile inspections for their own safety.

Deprivation of parental rights and changing the status of the boarding school in Lovozero to an orphanage-type of educational institution is one of the topics most raised and discussed in interviews with informants of the third generation. Arrival of difficult children, child delinquents, orphans with deviant behavior triggered the marginalization of indigenous children residing at the boarding school. It is important to consider questions of how the environment of orphaned children and children with delinquency problems influenced the upbringing and formation of social and cultural identity among the Sami pupils of boarding school whose parents worked in the tundra but were not supposed to be deprived of parental custody of their children. Thus, the Sami children, unlike the children who arrived at the boarding school from orphanages, had parents who were not subject to deprivation of parental rights, but were simply far away in the tundra.

The difference in situation of neglected children, child-orphans and children of reindeer herders is not the primary focus of this study. Still, the situation with the changing social environment of the boarding school in Lovozero is significant because it is connected to questions of social status of Sami children in an overall picture of changing boarding school contingents. In contrast to child-orphans, most of the Sami pupils of the boarding school had living parents who participated in their upbringing seasonally when they came back from the tundra to the village and, when allowed by boarding superintendents, took their children with them to the tundra during summer or autumn vacation periods. However, it should be noted that what singles out the situation of Sami pupils is that they were often perceived as children of parents who were deprived of parental rights.

It is noteworthy to mention that the terms orphanage and ethnic (indigenous) boarding school, as noticed by Konstantinov "In many respects, therefore, the school resembled an orphanage"[619], are often used as synonymous convergent terms, observed in both the above-mentioned federal policy provisions and in narratives of the informants themselves. Therefore, these two terms are often used as mutually interchangeable in both of the analyzed contexts – narratives and policy documents, which corresponds to a certain convergence of function of the boarding school that became a fusion of orphanage and ethnic boarding school in the discussed period. In turn, this merging of two principally different groups of children – child-orphans and children of reindeer herders – is illogical as it should have been supported by special educational programs and with the use of principally different individualized methods of pedagogical work. These children should be educated differently in pedagogical practice. The social problems that arose at the orphanage-type of former ethnic boarding school had an immediate impact on the sociocultural situation of my informants.

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[619] Konstantinov 2015: 147.

Photo 14. Pupils of older classes at the boarding school in Lovozero in the 1970s. Photo from private archive of one of my informants.

Further I would like to cite the representative of the Lovozero Educational Department,[620] whom I asked to comment on the state of Sami children being brought up at the type of institution that had emerged at federal level in the late 1960s. In particular, the informant stated that the education of children at the boarding school during the study period was dependent on the socio-economic status of their families in the first place. Children who resided in the boarding school during this period came from low-income families. Many reindeer herding families were regarded as low-income families and that is why children of reindeer herders were still entitled to boarding school education in line with other disadvantaged groups of children.

Therefore, the target groups of Sami children enrolled at the boarding school as discussed in the previous chapter, started cardinally changing at the end of the 1970s. Starting from the late 1970s, the function of the boarding school in Lovozero as a residential school for mostly Sami and Komi children was reconsidered in practice. From the 1970s, it was not only Sami children of reindeer herders and relocated Sami families who were predominantly enrolled at the boarding school in Lovozero; a large number of parentless children from other districts of the Murmansk region started to be sent to this boarding school, which changed the ethnic composition of its students to an even greater degree than in the second generation of the study.

The 1970s represent the onset of a time when the boarding school starts to lose its prestige and attractiveness among Sami parents who were no longer connected to work in the tundra and reindeer herding (discussed in section 6.5.2). Many Sami parents during this period transfer their children to study in the Lovozero secondary school instead of the boarding school. Thus, subsequent chapter on the experiences of the third generation is devoted to the lives of Sami children of a limited number of parents who were still engaged in seasonal works in the reindeer herds, or of families who had socio-economic problems in bringing up their children. Contrary to the previous period of the study, the latter group of children (children of reindeer herders) is represented as an exception rather than as the predominant characteristic trait of the boarding school contingent in the given period.

Thus, during the period of the third generation of informants, the boarding school starts to experience a shortage of students, and discussions on closure of the boarding school begin to be raised already by the end of the 1980s. New solutions were found, however, to resolve the problem of boarding school shutdown. Children of local Sami who were formally enrolled at the boarding school were now allowed to attend boarding school during the daytime only, and to stay overnight at home. Exceptions were likewise introduced for children of reindeer herders, allowing parents to take their children with them to the tundra, which was practiced throughout the end of the 1990s. Another solution was to complement the shortage of Sami students with parentless children from other parts of the Kola Peninsula, who started to be enrolled at the boarding schools in large quantities, as exemplified by narratives of the informant who worked in the boarding school during this period.

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[620] See Meeting 2, in Appendix 2.

The next informant is the daughter of reindeer herders. She had always thought that her parents were deprived of their parental rights. She thought that she lived at the institution because her parents had lost parental custody over her. She only found out at the age of 15 that her parents in fact had full custody over her. Naturally, she started to question her presence at the boarding school. The next citation exemplifies the confusion with which she struggled as she posed herself the question, "Why am I at boarding school if my parents are not deprived of parental rights?"[621]

This demonstrates the confusion caused by joining two categories of children – parentless children and children of reindeer herders. The Sami pupils themselves, and even their parents, thought that they had no parental rights. In fact, they formally did. As this informant recalled,

> We always believed that our parents were deprived of parental rights – since were living in the boarding school. After the 7th grade, when I was in the camp of work and rest, we were going to travel to Ukraine to Krasnodon for an excursion. Polina and I, we also wanted to go. They said that permission from parents was need, and my parents were in the tundra. So, I remember that Polina and I, we went to the radio set station at the state farm there. We needed to talk to our parents on the radio set in order to ask for permission from them. And then I found out that if you need to ask your parents – so? Then I was told, "You are not deprived – your parents are not deprived of parental rights." That is, when I finished the 7th grade – I just found out that my parents were not deprived of parental rights. So, I then had a question – "Why am I in the boarding school?" Because you're children of reindeer herders, that is why you all study in the boarding school." Well, because everyone said so [that they are

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[621] Informant C G3. (Translated by A.A.)

> deprived of parental rights]. Because then they used to send children from the region deprived of parental rights.[622]

In conclusion, it is important to note that there were two separate schools operating in Lovozero – the boarding and the secondary school. Sami students received education in both of these institutions, and understanding the interconnections between these two schools is essential for the current analysis. In 1975, Lovozero secondary school had 230 pupils, 175 of whom were Sami.[623] In comparison to the boarding school, pupils of the secondary showed better academic performances and results. The standard school taught children mostly from wealthy families, because the situation in the boarding school was considered less prestigious and less attractive. Also, both Sami students and teachers migrated from one school to another. In many cases some students were studying in the secondary school and then transferred to the boarding school and then back again. The same concerned the teachers. These transitions were determined by limited study places at the boarding school or vice versa. For instance, when new children arrived from other districts of the region to the boarding school, some parents who were living sedentary lifestyles in Lovozero frequently transferred their children to the secondary school. Likewise, when the boarding school was not enrolling enough students in a particular study year, they were offered places in the boarding school. Finally, in the year 2010 the boarding school was amalgamated with the secondary school. In 2014 the boarding school in Lovozero was closed down. Therefore, today education is carried out in one institution – the Lovozero secondary school.[624]

Conclusions

Up until the end of the 1960s, the ethnic boarding school in Lovozero primarily housed relocated Sami children and children of local reindeer herders as the main contingents of the school. Gradually, since the 1970s, the boarding school was filled up with different categories of children in need, such as orphaned children, children from disadvantaged families and delinquent children. In this chapter, I addressed another important change in the boarding school policy, i.e. reorganization and convergence of ethnic and other types of boarding schools with institutions for orphans, as implemented in the Lovozero boarding school in the 1970s.

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[622] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

[623] Khomich 1999: 81.

[624] The official website of the Lovozero secondary school. Lovozerskaia sredniaia obshcheobrazovatel’naia shkola http://lsoshlovozero.ucoz.ru/ (accessed 29 Aug 2017).

The current chapter briefly outlines the most important change in the boarding school policy orientations in the period of the third generation of the informants (1969–1989). It is necessary to consider the shift from the ethnic status of the boarding school to orphanage before proceeding to analysis of the informants' experiences in the late 1960s to late 1980s.

The questions of deprivation of parental rights, the changing status of boarding school to an orphanage-type educational institution immediately affected the educational and sociocultural situations of the informants of the third generation. Social problems that arose in the orphanage-type of boarding school had severe impacts on the informants' social status, Sami language environment, cultural values and interaction with their parents. In the chapter that follows, I turn to the robust discussion of the experiences of the informants in school years 1969–1989, where I examine the role of children of reindeer herders within the system of closed boarding school institutions, targeted at the upbringing of parentless children and orphans.

Chapter 8 Experiences of third generation of informants (1969–1989)

In this chapter, I discuss the experiences of the third generation of informants, who received boarding school education from 1969 until 1989.

In 8.1, I analyze the concept of discipline as one of the central topics most frequently mentioned by my informants during our fieldwork sessions.

In this chapter the concepts are revealed of internal and external social differentiation of children brought up at the boarding school in the given period. In 8.2, I particularly discuss the internal social stratification between boarding school students into *homes* and *boarders* (also, *bator* children or *incubator* children). In turn, I discuss how these two social concepts were fulfilled externally in relation between *homes* and *boarders* to the majority society. These relationships imply social stigmatization and ethnic discrimination.

In 8.3, I come up with a detailed analysis of the example of a life story of one informant, fictionally called *Elle*. The story of Elle exemplifies the unique experience of the fight for survival within the system of boarding school education. Elle is one of the two informants of this generation, who was raised with Sami as her first language.

In 8.4, I address the introduction of Sami language as both obligatory and facultative subject of the boarding school curriculum in the mid 1970s.

In analysis, I emphasize the following issues that were the core thematic elements, prioritized by the informants of the third generation during the interviews about their boarding school experiences:

- Social discrimination of *boarders* is to a greater extent realized in discussions with this generation, while discussion of ethnic discrimination mostly prevails in interview material of the first and second generations. This discourse gets gradually weaker and less actualized in the second generation. In the third generation discussion of social discrimination of boarding school children either almost substitutes the previous emphasis on ethnic discrimination, or both types of discrimination (social and ethnic) are discussed in complementation with each other, forming a situation of double social suppression;
- Negative emotional state of boarding school students involving strong feelings of disconnection with family, absence of care by adults in their upbringing;

- Sami language and culture were the least actualized topics among informants' priorities that they discussed. Topics connected to their cultural self-understanding and Sami language use were, as a rule, raised by the majority of the informants only in conclusion of our interview sessions. The informants stated that due to the rise of social problems at the boarding school of this period, the Sami language and culture were the last topics they reflected upon during their studies. Most informants of the third generation were raised with Russian as their first language, and have a passive knowledge of Sami.

8.1 Regime of the day, discipline, culture of hygiene

In the second decade of the post-war period, the boarding school in Lovozero focuses on implementation of three main aspects, such as regime of the day, hygiene and culture of labor (discussed in the previous chapter). According to Adams,

> The overriding purpose of the boarding school was to bring about the student's civilization, it logically followed that the physical environment should approximate a civilized atmosphere as closely as possible. At the very least, physical facilities should be of firm structure, should be large enough to house the students enrolled, and should reflect a mindful consideration of sanitation and hygiene.[625]

At federal level, hygiene and discipline were proclaimed as core elements in the education in boarding schools for Northern peoples since the end of the 1930s. Simultaneously, the majority of my informants who received boarding school education from the mid 1950s until the end of 1960s continuously emphasize their experiences connected to restrictions, limitations and strict organization of their lives at the boarding school in Lovozero, which spans the last two generations of this study (Generation 2 and Generation 3). This area of my interest towards regimes and day orders of restricted institutional types of boarding schools as apparent from the 1960s, along with its influence on the subsequent cultural reconstruction of the Sami society is thus predetermined by my communication with informants and their concerns.

As such, Krongauz provides an example of routine rules for the Northern boarding schools that students were supposed to follow strictly in their everyday life. This list of regulations of internal routines from the Sartyn'inskaia boarding school, presented by Krongauz, demonstrates the overall conception about organization of life and housing rules at a typical boarding school for indigenous children of the North (see Table 6 in Appendix 4).[626] Even though Table 6 was compiled by Krongauz at the end of the 1930s, I use this table to demonstrate that the same principles of boarding school regime of the day were especially acute in the second and the third generations of this study.

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[625] Adams 1995: 112.

Apart from Table 6, proposed by Krongauz, I demonstrate another table, which I compiled as specifically applied to situations of the last two generations of my study. Table 7, which I propose, thus very much resembles the table by Krongauz, but corresponds to the time period of the 1960s and the 1980s of this study. By comparing these two tables, one can observe that in certain regions of the country, the boarding school policy, oriented on discipline and strict regime of the day was introduced as early as the late 1930s. However, according to data gained from my interview materials, these measures were introduced on Sami children at boarding schools of the Murmansk region, starting from the 1960s.

The following table demonstrates an ordinary schedule of day rules at the boarding school in Lovozero suitable for the second and third generations of the study. This table is compiled according to oral data provided by the informants during our interviews. As one might notice, the regular day of a student at the boarding school in Lovozero was intensively occupied with diverse extra-curricular activities and labor tasks of vocational practice. At the same time, students spent a great deal of their time on cleaning and maintaining boarding school facilities, in addition to their evening homework practices.

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[626] Krongauz 1948: 88–90.

Table 7. Day schedule for students at Lovozero boarding school (1960s–1980s).

1. The rising bell at 7 a.m., each student makes his/her bed.
2. Each student washes face, brushes their teeth (under supervision of caregiver or a responsible older child supervisor).
3. Morning exercises.
4. Breakfast.
5. Students go back to their rooms and change school uniform (the uniform should be clean and ironed. Each student washes and irons school uniform themselves, also stiches the new fresh collars each evening.)
6. Students attend school classes.
7. Free time before supper: children wash floors in their rooms and classrooms, sweep dust, order their belongings in their personal nightstand tables,[627] wash toilets. After classes students go back to their room, change clothes, or those on duty wash floors, wipe dust in the room.
8. Dinner.
9. Facultative activities (vocational workshops, farming, arts classes, sport activities e.g. football, skiing, shooting-gallery clubs, etc.).
10. **It is forbidden to walk in any other public places without permission of a teacher on duty.**
11. Each student must greet other students and adults in the street, and behave well.
12. Free time after facultative studies. **Any absences from boarding school are prohibited.** Students go back to the boarding school dormitory, read in their rooms, watch television, go for a walk in the territory of the boarding school, prepare homework for next-day classes.
13. Supper.
14. Free time after dinner. **Any absences from boarding school are prohibited.**
15. The sleeping bell at 9 p.m.

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[627] Each student was allocated a certain amount of personal space in the collective dormitory room, which as a rule included each student's own bed and a nightstand table beside this bed.

As mentioned by Krongauz in the set of the boarding school rules (presented in Table 6 Appendix 4), boys should have short haircuts for hygienic purposes. The policy of short hair at the local level, i.e. in the boarding school of Lovozero, was widely practiced in the second generation and among the youngest informants of the third generation, where both boys and occasionally girls were supposed to have short hair. This policy was one of the directives of the school orientation in accustoming their pupils to basic hygiene and preventing lice. The short-hair policy introduced in the boarding schools, as Adams highlights, was rooted in two considerations. In the first place, it made it easier to control the problem if head lice. Secondly, the reason for short haircuts went deeper than cleanness, "At the heart of the policy was the belief that the children's' long hair was symbolic of savagism – removing it was central to new identification with civilization."[628]

In the Lovozero boarding school, this policy specifically concerned newly arrived primary school children, who were shaved bald upon their arrival to the boarding school. The older schoolchildren were supposed to have short hair. For these purposes, both boys and girls were shaved bald occasionally. The extreme traumatic experiences of my informants are principally connected to haircut procedures carried out in the first day of their arrival. This trauma was experienced by my informants not as specifically related to having short hair, but as associated with their poor emotional state caused by the fact that the children had arrived at an unknown boarding school environment and their first acquaintance with this place was a procedure that shaved them bald.

As informants tell, upon arrival at the boarding school they were immediately sent to strange little rooms, where other children were crying and walking out of these rooms bald – after adults did scary things with them in there. In other words, the shock was caused by the absence of any explanation from teachers and thus a lack of understanding by the children themselves about why they were supposed to be shaved bald. At the same time, the fact that hair cutting procedures were their first immediate experiences when entering the walls of the boarding school, left many informants with scary and unpleasant memories of their arrival at school. The following informant shared with me her memories of the first day at boarding school,

> In the beginning of course we didn't understand where we were being taken to. Parents put us into a boat and we went on the boat. When we

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[628] Adams 1995: 101.

> arrived at boarding school, in the night we were to sleep, how I whined and howled! We all whine! We want to go home. But the educator left us there, and that is it – if you howl or you don't howl – anyway you can't run away, not a chance! If we had a chance, we would run away! But we were small and we didn't know the way back. (…) When we were brought to the boarding school, they took us inside – girls go here, boys go there. You enter the room and you see a queue, and here they cut your hair off!
>
> An educator takes you and leads you there, into the room. For example, they say, "First class!" Then the educator takes away the first class into the room. The second class with the educator stand in the queue and wait. After they finish cutting the hair – the second class is taken into the room. That is how we were split up in the very first day! I remember Zoia. She had such long braids! Zoia screams and there [in this strange and scary room], several people are holding her! After haircuts we were sent to the Russian bath. I remember that we were given linen sacks to put clothes, etc., and we were organized in a line of two-and-two, and marched to the bath building. We were washed and that's it. We walked like soldiers. We were supposed to go marching in line everywhere – to the dining room, on walking tours around the village, good that we did not have to march to the toilet [laughs].[629]

The quotation above has a humoristic coloring, exemplifying that humor is one of the tools used by my informants to tackle heavy and extremely unpleasant memories. This informant, among all others from Voron'e village, arrived at the boarding school when she was seven years old. The informant finished boarding school at the age of 16. This informant mentioned that she experienced hair-cutting procedures literally as "shock". With the following citations, the informant comes back and forth several times during our interview to a discussion of the shock she experienced, irrespective of the character and thematic orientations of my questions. As such she stated,

> I arrived in the first class, but of course it was interesting for me. I have never seen such big houses before, but Lovozero seemed to be enormous. We were brought to the boarding school at once. I remember it well that our hair was cut, bald. Everyone was cut bald, absolutely everyone! They did not check if you had something in your head or not! Absolutely everyone was cut bald. This is how I got acquainted with the boarding school.
>
> We were sheared. We all walked bald. They didn't ask us if we wanted this, nothing. We arrived and even those who had long braids – they cut off everything, everybody was bald. We sobbed of course, but what can you do? We must study, so we all walked like that, bald. (…) It was a shock that we were cut bald. It was indeed a real shock. First days... and

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[629] Informant A G3. (Translated by A.A.)

> then it was normal. We got acquainted with everybody. Because other boys and girls, they saw that we had just arrived. So they, on the contrary, were there for us everywhere and in everything. We weren't bullied – we lived very well together.[630]

Informants of the third generation frequently discuss hair-cuts as well as the Russian bath and military style marching of boarding school students,

> I remember we had one girl with long braids. She lived at home. Her mother was Sami and father – Komi. When we studied in the 4th class her braid was cut off – despite her being a 'home child'. Then, I and Iulia also went to the hair-cut in solidarity with her – because she cried so much! We went to the Russian bath on Thursdays even though some of us were 'home children' – they were also obliged to go to the Russian bath. We all marched in line to the bath. Everywhere we were supposed to go marching. It was definitely in the 4th class because I remember that I was bald. Well, we just felt so sorry for this girl whose braid was cut off. They just took her braid and cut it off! She was trying to break free when they were holding her – because she didn't want it – and they just cut it off! It happened right in the bath.[631]

The next informant, who studied at the boarding school in the years from 1966 to 1977 recalled,

> I studied at the boarding school, but maybe I was lucky that my parents took me away to the tundra in spring. I studied well and at the end of May I never studied. In April I already left to the tundra with my parents and returned at the end of August. Yes, I went with my parents to the tundra. But I was also fortunate that I studied at the boarding school when my grandmother was alive and I didn't spend the night in the dormitory. I went to the preparatory homework classes, but I didn't spend the night there. But my sister, she already stayed overnight. She started to spend the night there because rules of the boarding school required everyone to sleep at the boarding school [I have also interviewed the sister of this informant. She attended boarding school from 1972 to 1983]. Then, there was a period when everyone had to stay there for the night. Even, I remember how they all cut the children's hair – bald! But my teacher always saved me. She said,"No, we are not cutting this girl's hair".[632]

The informant from Chudz'iavv'r told about gendered perceptions of hair-cut procedures, emphasizing the greater psychological traumatization for girls, rather than boys,

> Here you see – I still wear a bald haircut, even today! It was really true – for all boys and girls. We were all cut with trimming machines. Everyone ran around bald. (…) It was the common movement so we didn't… [resist].

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[630] Ibid. (Translated by A.A.)

[631] Informant D G3. (Translated by A.A.)

[632] Informant B G3. (Translated by A.A.)

> For us boys – we didn't care so much about how we look. But girls, as one says, want to be more attractive. I do not know how they overcame this. (…) Then it was like a type of quarantine – we had our hair cut and then in the boarding school everybody would live in cleanliness. Then they already knew that there would be no lice. So we were not always cut bald, but from time to time.[633]

Another boarding school rule was often commented on by informants – to greet all adults in the street when they were walking outside the boarding school (Rule 11 in Table 7; also Rule 23 in Table 6). For instance, one informant comments,

> As they taught us that we should greet all adults, so when we went outside the territory of the boarding school, we started to say, – "Hello, hello!" – to everybody! Whether we knew them or we didn't know them, but we said hello to everybody. We were told to greet people because we should be decent children. That's why we said hello, for God's sake! You go out, you do not know these people, but you say "Hello" and some of us even bowed! Then people said, "Well, these are 'boarders' [in Russian Batorskie]". They immediately knew that we were 'boarders'. If children greet everyone in the street, then they are 'boarders'.[634]

As stressed Bloch (2004), following the work of Lomawaima (1993),[635] "Especially in the early Soviet period, boys and girls in the residential school were required to crop their hair, march in military-like formation, and wear European style clothing consisting of skirts and blouses, and felt boots in the winter."[636] But as valuable for my study in what Bloch discusses, is that accustoming boarding school students to European clothing and creating a military-style atmosphere was a form of social control for boarding school students in attempts to make them modern and civilized. In particular, Bloch outlines regarding her study of Evenk boarding school students,

> As a further means of social control, the school imposed a military style of behavior on children… Students marched in formation as they set off to plant crops of potatoes and harvest them, feed cows, pigs, and chickens, and haul water for the school and dormitory.[637]

These themes of imposed military behavior are strongly present in narratives of my informants. Another topic related to already transformed attitudes towards ethnic clothing are also present in discussions of my informants of this generation. These attitudes were related to informants' feelings of public embarrassment, especially when their parents wore Sami clothes. This can be illustrated by the following narrative of the local informant from Lovozero. She recalled how she had fallen ill and was placed in the quarantine department at the boarding school, emphasizing that her mother was not allowed to visit her while she was sick. However, indirectly, between the lines, she told about her embarrassment and the relief she felt when her mother showed up at the boarding school wearing "civilized" European clothes,

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[633] Informant C G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[634] Informant F G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[635] Lomawaima 1993. Also discussed in Lomawaima and McCarty 2006.

[636] Bloch 2004: 154.

[637] Ibid: 155.

> I remember that we had quarantine – we were not allowed to go home, so my mother came to the boarding school. My brother was still little, sitting on her arms. And so… she came in pima,638 but dressed not in a Sami way of course, but like that... ["like it should be"]. She stands, waits for me. I wasn't allowed to go home anyway. I had angina – so she was standing beside my windows. She came and stood beside my windows every day. Sometimes she brought me a package. You see, whoever [emphasis] they were, they still missed us and we missed them. Of course, it was difficult for them to leave us, small ones, so how? Can you imagine how it is to tear yourself away from a child and leave it?[639]

The third generation seems to be even more distant from the deeds and culture of their parents than informants of the previous generation. As we have discussed in the previous chapter, one of the main outcomes of the boarding school system was to reduce the role of parents in the education and upbringing of their children. This affected negatively not only the healthy connection between a child and a parent, but also stopped cultural transmission between generations of parents and their children. For instance, the next informant, by recalling her similar experiences of illness during a vacation in Pioneer camp, simultaneously raises several important issues. Firstly, that every summer boarding school students were supposed to travel to Pioneer camps in order to restore their health, which was often not what they really did. Secondly, they were not spending summer vacations with their parents in the tundra or at home. Most importantly, she recalled that in fact children were publicly embarrassed of their Sami parents. Finally, the informant mentions the short-hair policy of the boarding school,

> I have not been in the tundra since I was brought to Lovozero and while we studied – we didn't travel to the tundra. This time we were not allowed to travel there – we were all supposed to travel to Pioneer camps to strengthen our health. When I first went to Pioneer camp – I was six years old, and I turned seven when I was there. (…) There I got seriously ill. I had typhoid fever – it was a very strong infection. This summer I spent in

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[638] See footnote 567 p. 242.

[639] Informant F G3. (Translated by A.A.)

> an isolated individual hospital box. I was cured the whole summer and I came back thin, pale. Everybody was tanned, and I was very thin, pale and bald, in addition. Well, we were all cut bald these times. And I remember that every year since then, when I was leaving to Pioneer camp – mother was always crying and came to see me off sometimes. But we, we were naturally embarrassed of our parents, of course.[640]

Another informant mentions at least two times during our interview that she and people of her generation were already far away from understanding the cultural values of their parents. The informant stressed that she was not conscious of this as a child. She has only realized it when she became an adult,

> I have my birthday in the summer and when we used to come back from the pioneer camp in the middle of august. Mother would say, "Here, we have a present for your birthday – a reindeer calf." And then, every year they gave me reindeer calves for my birthday. I was in the 5th or 6th class already, I was already older, almost adolescent. I said to my mother, without knowing that I deeply offended her! I said, "Why do you give me these reindeer all the time? I don't even see them – could you better give me a doll?!" So here you go, I was already totally brainwashed! I didn't understand back then. I already understood this when I was an adult – I understood that I offended her very much. Well, how? The reindeer is the dearest and the most expensive! But we, we were already so brainwashed that all we wanted was a doll. One should give us a doll and that's it – that's all we wanted.[641]

8.2 Three generations of *incubator* children

During my interview work with informants I realized that there were certain social differentiations between children living and studying at the boarding schools. As such *home children, or 'homes' (domashnie)* – those who attended classes at the boarding school only during the daytime, living at home with their parents. Another category of children were *'boarders'*, also called *incubator children (or batorskie)* –children who lived in the boarding school most of the year. They were allowed to visit their parents and relatives upon request and special permission of the boarding school superintendents. The latter group of children were mostly children of reindeer herding Sami parents, while *homes* were mostly children of other nationalities or children of sedentary Sami parents who lived permanently in the village.

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[640] Informant D G3. (Translated by A.A.)

[641] Informant C G3. (Translated by A.A.)

The children from the category of incubator children, living at the boarding school, are in addition: those whose parents had alcohol problems, low income problems, children of relocated Sami families to Lovozero (mostly from liquidated Sami villages during agglomeration and industrial exploration of the Peninsula); or those whose parents were working in the tundra and living in other remote places of the district, such as Kanevka (mostly Sami), Sosnovka (mostly Sami), Ponoi (mostly Russians and some Pomors) and Krasnoschel'e (mostly Komi). As I pointed out in 5.1, these categories of children often intertwine as many of the relocated Sami parents had severe problems with destructive behaviors, alcohol dependence, homelessness and unemployment.[642]

Gradually the boarding school filled up with different categories of children in need, such as orphaned children and children administratively separated from their parents due to their parents' alcohol-dependency, imprisonment or other social problems in the family. Still, in this very complex picture of contingent at the boarding school formed in the current period, there were numbers of children of regular reindeer herders. There have been some instances as well of children with developmental problems placed at the boarding school (mostly children from families with long alcohol addictions, who gave birth to children with developmental diagnosis), but these children were more of an exception than forming a regular boarding school contingent. My interest in this section of the chapter is to look at how children of reindeer herders were adapting to boarding school conditions when the status of the school was transferred from ethnic boarding school for children of reindeer herders in the previous period into an orphanage-type of institution during the current period.

In this section, I also reveal the concepts of *incubator children*, denoting a social category of children living under care of the boarding school, simultaneously a separate social stratum as opposed to *home children,* which were under the care of their parents or relatives. For this purpose, I started to analyze narratives of informants demonstrating how these social differences have affected the Sami students' lives at boarding school and after they finished their residential education. At the same time, use of the term *incubator children* was observed in interviews with informants of all three generations.

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[642] Konstantinov 2015: 148–149, 164; Berg-Nordlie and Overland 2012: 49–51.

In order to analyze deeper interrelations of these questions, I was eager to find out how informants themselves understand the term *incubator (in Russian bator, boarding school)* and how they use it in their everyday life. That is why starting from my third interview I was already asking informants who mentioned this term to reveal the meaning of 'incubator' and 'incubator children' in their own words. The following definitions were given by my informants of all three generations:

> Generation 1
> *Bator* – this is incubator. It is something collective, to do something together, to go somewhere together, to work together, to study together. When you have common interests – bator. Isn't it? Yes, we were called incubator children, like chickens grown in the incubator. Here it is, they say we are grown in the incubator. This is how we lived – according to the rules of our boarding school, according to the dormitory regulations. We all wake up at the same time, go to school, study. Everything according to the plan, to the regime. This is how we lived.[643]
>
> Generation 2
> *Bator* – it's a dormitory, where there are always a lot of people. How should I explain? It's the boarding school – both school, and dormitory. All boarders go to the same school. All boarders go to the same dormitory. Everybody is occupied with the same activities, goes there and here together.[644]
>
> Generation 3
> *Bator* – it's the boarding school [Informant pauses in silence and starts to sing these song lines, -"I would wish you to burn in blue flames, that is what I'd better wish for you"]. Well, I remember we composed songs about boarding school…Incubator! This comes from the word incubator. Incubator – it's when chickens are all the same. Like chickens, who sit in the incubator, and they are grown there. That is how we all, like these chickens, were put into an incubator and brought up in artificially created conditions – that's it! This was bator. We all get up in the morning – we march in line to do morning exercise…Morning exercise is over – everyone goes back to wash their face, get dressed, make beds, to put our cells [personal night tables] in order. Then we march in line to breakfast… We are fed like in a cowshed – every little cow is given food. Same food to everyone…I don't know who invented this term, I think it was passed on from generation to generation. "Home children" is when you have diversity during the day, but we – incubators. We're all dressed the same, all bald – in an artificial growing mechanical box – educational institution for upbringing. [645]
>
> *Incubator children* means they're all the same – all from bad families, all stupid, all equally stereotyped.[646]

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[643] Informant G G1. (Translated by A.A.)

[644] Informant D G2. (Translated by A.A.)

[645] Informant D G3. (Translated by A.A.)

[646] Hereby, I come with an additional example of narrative of one informant of the fourth generation (Informant A G4. Note Epilogue). (Translated by A.A.)

With the mentioned examples of informants' narratives, it is possible to observe how the concept of *incubator (boarding school)* changed through time, from the first generation to the third. If in instances of the first two generations of the study, informants' definitions are primarily connected to notions of certain collective activity or actions, such as to study together, to wake up at the same time, etc. as controlled by the rules of the boarding school system, by the third generation, we evidently see how this term implies elements of social stigmatization and becomes not only collective reality of informants related to their educational and daily activities occurring in conditions and rules under which they receive education. For Generation 3, it becomes not only a part of their collective educational activity and reality, it becomes a part of their collective identity. Here we can make parallels that boarding school students of the third generation already did not divide each other according to ethnicity as their primary element of identity, in contrast to Generation 1 discussed in the corresponding chapter about this generation. Generation 3 divide themselves into boarders who are all identical and alike, brought up under a unified system of rules and conditions, and homes - those who have diversity of their everyday life, as described in the definition given by the last informant of the third generation. This is an internal differentiation of their collective boarding school identity that occurs in the last generation and which has developed in time throughout several generations. At the same time, even both Generation 1 and Generation 2 stressed that the boarding school system resembled to them a chicken incubator, a mechanical structure functioning with a set of rules and regulations. Still, in the last generation we observe how this set of rules transforms into a solid system of artificially created social reality for children's upbringing. In citations of the last generation we clearly see that boarding school children, as human products of this system, represent stigmatized and stereotyped category of "outsiders" and "others" in connection to children and adults (e.g. home children), who find themselves outside of this system, and therefore have a different identity.

It is possible to trace the intergenerational continuity of the concept expressed through the term to mean a separate social stratum formed as a result of an artificially constructed collective reality of upbringing at a residential type of institution. With the help of the narratives of informants of all three generations cited above, it is possible to observe how the concept changes over time from the first to third generation and how, gradually over time, it came to form sharper characteristics and solidity in its stratification. How the term went from being a typical social internal differentiation of children between boarding school students themselves in Generation 1, to then transcend into a formative intrinsic and extrinsic stigma to define “boarders” as a separate low-status layer of society, who were brought up in artificial institutional conditions. Liarskaya discusses the social position of indigenous children who were bought up in boarding school conditions, stressing that many authors usually define this “category of population” as “intermediate”. In her article “Assimilation or two variants of culture?”, Liarskaya underscores the intermediate position of this category of population because “they did not become full citizens of civilized life, because after the boarding school they had a vague idea of life outside the walls of ethnic [indigenous] school.”[647] In this way, they were also unable to adapt to the real life of the big society outside of the system they were raised in. At the same time, they were disconnected from their original culture and communities – from the way of life of their parents and family. This position can be called “neither nor” –they belonged neither to social circles of their families, nor were they fully integrated into a common society after graduating from the boarding school system. For instance, the next informant discusses the intermediacy of their position and loss of contact between generations of children and parents in the following way.

> What indeed squeezes my heart is that we did not have experience of family life. We did not have the opportunity to live in a family [long silent pause]. Even when I was studying at the university, I still believed that… I will help repair our home… That now, when I finish my education – I will work, work and I will do everything, everything, everything in my home, so it would be better for my parents. I was not in time. I didn’t manage. [both parents died when the informant was sent to the city to study at the university]. I thought that I would finally live at home. And so... certainly, I did not know my parents at all – their habits – I knew nothing at all about their family history. This was the heaviest feeling. Of course, all this system had left its mark on the Sami community as a whole. This cultural dissipation, all these forced resettlements – we should have been more close-knit to each other, to get to know each other somehow, to share, to understand that we are related. Instead we were all scattered (…) But the knowledge about who of us is related to whom – this was taken away from us, we were deprived of it with these boarding schools. Because we were always at the boarding school…. We didn’t know our relatives. We

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[647] Cf. Iadne 1995: 28 in Liarskaya 2011: 37. (Translated by A.A.)

> didn't understand these relations. Well, we were always socially engaged in some Komsomol or pioneer activities – and this was all a different life.[648]

In her article on child welfare and aspects of child upbringing at the residential institutions, psychologist Valeria Mukhina underscores the peculiarities of formative reality of children raised under conditions of conjoint boarding schools and orphanages. Let me demonstrate that she analyzed it in the following way,

> Shortcomings and defects at all types of institutions, bringing up orphans and children deprived of parents' care have been revealed… The phenomenon of "we" at a children's home is a special problem: a kind of identification with one another develops in these children. In a normal family there is the familial "we" that reflects its members' belonging to exactly that family. It is a very important emotional organizing force that creates the certainty of a child being protected. In the conditions of life without parents' care, the children's-home (boarding-school) "we" spontaneously emerges in children. It is an altogether particular psychological formation. Children without parents divide their world into "ours" and "others", into "we" and "they" … constituting "normativeness" in relation to all "others", including the other children living at the children's home.[649]

For instance, the next informant repeatedly emphasizes that students of the boarding school felt that they did not have protection from the power of their educators and caregivers,

> There was [corporal punishment] in Soviet times. Nowadays, I think with our new laws it could barely be possible – a teacher would be afraid to do anything with pupils, and children are different nowadays too. Today, children have a right to speak their mind. But we, we were afraid to say a single word. We were more afraid to think something wrong – than even to speak it out. We didn't have protection. Those years children indeed didn't have protection. (…) Parents were different those days, also. They were also afraid to say a word. Even somewhere in the school we were beaten. They said, "Well, everything is going to be ok, ok. Thank god we have a boarding school, at least. At least, you are not hungry and not thirsty". I think that for our parents it was the main point. Who would speak about our interests? You have a roof over your head, but the psychological state of a child…[650]

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[648] Informant C G3. (Translated by A.A.)

[649] Mukhina 1989: 236.

[650] Informant A G4. (Translated by A.A.)

This "we" and "they" boarding school identity was actualized with Sami pupils on two main levels: 1) internal, e.g. "we" – Sami children of reindeer herders (in contrast to "they" orphans); 2) "we" – boarders, as well as orphans (in contrast to "they" – home children and all other people living outside the boarding school system). Mukhina also stressed that this type of identity formation can lead to increased levels of child aggression, and creates problems for children in their social adaptation after completion of residential education.[651] In turn, many of the informants of this generation speak about their psychological state, involving strong feelings connected to the absence of family, care of adults in their upbringing resulting in aggressiveness and unhappiness. Similarly, the same informant stated,

> Well, what can a boarding school teach you? To live according to the schedule – we get up, we make beds, we eat, wash, dress. What kind of normal family relationships can it teach you? We, boarding school children, did not know what family holidays were. What the hierarchy of roles in the family is, for example, dad, mom, husband, wife. This was very difficult for me, because all of the boarding school children leave [meaning, finish their residential education] with such a slightly angry character. Maybe, embittered at this world, unloved, unhappy children. I myself was such a child when I graduated from the boarding school.[652]

Besides, in conditions of upbringing replacing family organization another peculiar social organization of the boarding school life has been established. The system of so-called supervisors (*shefy*) and supervised (*podshefnye*). Supervisors were usually older children, starting from the 5th class, assigned to assist the supervised – newly arrived children to the school. Each supervisor had several supervised children and assisted them in their adaptation to conditions of the boarding school, e.g. taught them to brush their teeth, watched to make sure that supervised children learned to wash and stich the collars of their uniforms, taught them how to wash themselves in the Russian bath, also oriented them on general rules of boarding school life. The supervised children usually had one personal supervisor until they grew up and finish elementary school level (4th class) and themselves become supervisors for other minor children. This form of origination and distribution of roles and responsibilities among the children of the boarding school appears already during the second generation, as I have previously demonstrated with the example of the narrative by Informant C G2, who mentions that this type of organization resembled a family to him, when the older ones are responsible for the younger children (see section 5.1).

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[651] Ibid.

[652] Informant A G4. (Translated by A.A.)

In the third generation, informants state that they could already communicate in Sami with other children at the boarding school who could speak the language. As we know, the third generation of the Sami who underwent residential schooling, has a predominantly passive knowledge of the Sami language. For instance, that is how the next informant recalled how the system of supervisors and supervised was organized. She recalled her own supervised youngsters, how she was eager to communicate with them in Sami,

> Well, let us say that, of course, in the boarding school we had a lot of people in the same room, but there were white sheets, clean bed linen – we were taught to clean our teeth, to sew the collars. There was a system of the supervisors and the supervised. When I was already in the 4th class – when we were already older, we had pupils of the preparatory primary class as our supervised [also called "the zero class", enrolling children of 5–6 years old]. I know who my supervisors were, but I don't remember whom I supervised. But later I found out that I had not only one, but several supervised [starts to recall the names of her learners]. She [one of her supervised] told me a story that when she arrived to study I taught her how to clean her teeth, to stich her uniform collar. (...) She told me that during school breaks I came over to her and said, "If you want to speak Sami, don't be shy – come over to me and I can speak with you!" (…) But it was all organized – it was a system. (…) We helped them to adapt. Caregivers were responsible for everything, and we were sort of personal friends for them. (…) I remember that when we went on Thursdays to the Russian bath – we always went there with our supervised class. And the task of the supervisor was to wash the backs of the supervised. Then I remember Olga – that she washed my back in the Russian bath. (…) They accustomed us to hygiene, so-to-say…[653]

Therefore, the described system of supervisors and supervised was primarily created in order to help children in their adaptation to existence within the boarding school system. The boarding school, as a recreated educational and 'social pool' reality, had its own unique characteristics of internal social organization. This indicates that specifically children-boarders raised in this system were primarily adapted to life within the framework of this internal organization and order. Children acquired a set of practical and social skills, specifically designed for their existence within this system, namely how to brush teeth, wash, stich white collars, go to the Russian bath, do homework, march in line and greet all strangers on the street when they go out of the territory of the boarding school, and etc. On the one hand, it is evident that many of educational skills, such as those received during vocational practices, farming, washing, sewing and physical activities are enough to equip students with basic knowledge needed for functional survival of all humans in society.

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[653] Informant C G3. (Translated by A.A.)

On the other hand, the set of social skills obtained can be regarded as rather elementary, adapted to the internal organization and routine communication necessary for a child's basic functioning within forms of social organization of boarding school as a holistic institutional system. The set of acquired social skills were quite limited in connection to how life, family and society were organized in the world outside of this system. This can be the central reason why many of the informants particularly stressed that most of their classmates experienced problems with their adaptation to the external reality of the outside world when they finished their studies and left the walls of the boarding school institution.

For instance, the next informant especially strongly emphasized questions of social adaptation of the boarding school students in our interview, stressing that only a few of her classmates were able to live and function independent in society after completion of the boarding school. Many of them also suffered from alcohol problems, unemployment and most severely – early mortality.

> As a rule, those kids we lived with – a few of them became established people. After all, many of them ended like their parents. After all, half of these kids are not alive anymore. I speak of those who started to pass away from the age of 23 to 33. Actually, it was very frightful and scary. A lot of my classmates passed away. Mostly boys died and one girl. Yes, this girl [recalled the name] has died. And not even only my classmates, but from older classes too. We all lived together at the boarding school [enumerates names of four boys who passed away]. Petr…lived with us at the boarding school, but he's alive. Unfortunately, I do not know everything about his fate, but I know that he's in prison now, and it's not his first time there. Well, children all went along unknown paths. And the girls... I will not call her by name, who studied with us. She also drinks and her child does not go to school (…) I have a strong character. But they? I think that everybody has some sort of character – but you have to work on it. It is simply this mark on your forehead "boarders".
>
> Do you understand? That not everybody has the strength to say – "I can do it, and I do not care of your opinion of me! I will prove, to myself in the first place, that I can." After all, many give up, "Well, who cares, we are

> incubators, we are children of alcoholics!? Who cares if I'll be the same!" Secondly, when a child grows up in an unwell family – this child does not know a different life. Well, you have to pull out the child from this atmosphere of damaging upbringing and show him another life. These children, they start to aspire only when they see that there can be a different life. In its essence, the boarding school was supposed to show these children a better life, that there are so many things they can be interested in, that there is a perspective, that everyone is "a smith of his own happiness". But these children, as a rule…the caregivers don't give a damn about them, their parents don't give a damn about them. That's why the child went along like water with the flow of the river.[654]

The significance of further research on the topic of boarding school children follows from the multiplicity of definitions demonstrated above that were presented by different informants of themselves as incubator children. It is valuable to note that the consequences of boarding school education were much deeper than simply influencing cultural assimilation or convergence. It has caused serious social disintegration of the Sami communities and separate individuals. I can note, after receiving a vast amount of answers on the discussed categories of children in all three studied generations, that the responses confirm the actual realization of the term *incubators ('inkubatorskie')* denoting a separate social cluster of children-boarders, realized both internally and externally.

As I show in this section, social stratification of boarders was actualized internally between children living at the boarding school (boarders and homes). Externally it was especially realized in relation to all those children affiliated with those students (including Sami), who studied at the Lovozero secondary school and lived permanently at home. The next informant gives a definition of the internal social differentiation between boarders and Sami children studying at the Lovozero secondary school. This quote demonstrates well that the children of reindeer herders, as boarders and as another social group of Sami children, were the most vulnerable and marginalized even within their own ethnic group. The informant explains the external differentiation between boarders and regular Sami students of secondary school.

> This we had inside of the boarding school… We had homes and boarders… Nowadays they're called pupils… these are those who study at school, but live at home. We called them homes. And those children who are brought up at the boarding school – they're apart from being pupils, they also live at the boarding school, .i.e. they live by receiving state

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[654] Informant A G4. (Translated by A.A.)

> material support. (…) Those who were tougher [parents], they didn't let their children study at the boarding school, but there were very few among the Sami who studied at the secondary school. Well, for example Alexander, Kristina. But Kristina's mother worked in the bank and her father was a teacher. They were from intelligent families and they understood that boarding school is something negative. I remember this attitude. Kristina, she is still like that. She still treats boarders as children of the lower sort.[655]

8.3 A Girl with Guts

The two life stories, presented in this dissertation (Elle,[656] in this section, and Sandra's story[657] in the Epilogue), reveal how the boarding school system of upbringing influenced the formation of personality and character among its students. While this system proved to be psychologically damaging for some, for others – it made them stronger and more successful people. This is what I intend to discuss further in this section by analyzing the individual life experiences of girls I fictionally call Sandra and Elle, who resided at the boarding school in Lovozero in the period of the third generation of this study (Elle) and the fourth generation (see Epilogue). The title of this section, "A Girl with Guts" was inspired by Sheila Fitzpatrick's book *Everyday Stalinism* (1999), in particular "A Girl with Character" is the first chapter of her book.[658]

I turn to Elle in this chapter, who comes from a relocated reindeer herding Sami family, having full parental rights. Elle was born in the tundra with Sami language as her mother tongue. Elle truly believed that by accommodating to the boarding school system and receiving higher education, she could help her own people. As a result, both girls as adults participated in Sami ethno-political and cultural life. Sandra participated in it occasionally in her free time, while Elle has built up her career as a Sami cultural bearer and politician. Also, both of these girls have received higher education and today work in high administrative positions in governmental institutions. I have chosen these girls' examples as cases illustrating boarding school stigmas, fight for survival, unique successes, strength, fates of "incubator children", which have found a positive resolution. There are not many like Elle and Sandra among "the boarders". Still, what unifies these two life stories is that both of them show examples of resistance to the boarding school system by accommodation. “Resistance by accommodation” is my own term, which I use to denote boarding school children’s response to the system of upbringing they have undergone. I propose that there were certain elements of resistance to the system. These resistance elements were realized through accommodating, and exercised within the systems’ boundaries. Resistance by accommodation principally differs from resistance executed through open protest or conflict. This difference lies in its hidden, flexible, strategic, long-term patterns.

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[655] Informant D G3. (Translated by A.A.)
[656] Informant C G3.
[657] Informant A G4.
[658] Fitzpatrick 1999: 35–40.

Elle

> We, boarders – we were like that – of a lower sort, inferior. That’s why it was like a stimulus for me, because I have always tried to be the best in everything, a whole order of magnitude better than anyone; three steps ahead. I studied and followed all of the regime moments, so that no one could ever hurt me or disregard me. I knew that I should be the best.
>
> Of course, we were accustomed to cleanness, to order, to civilization, so-to-say, yes? So… I am very communicative, social. I was studying well, well – aspiration to knowledge. Did they teach me leadership skills? I don’t know exactly, but that you have to constantly work on yourself – yes. This can be both positive and negative, because people of the lower sort were studying at the boarding school. So it was double – that we are the Sami and that we are the *boarders.* Because of that, I have always had a strong desire to be ahead, always one step ahead, one head taller than anybody, and, it was like that in everything!

Elle was born in the village of Voron’e, where her family from her mother’s side moved in the 1930s after her mother got married to her father. Her father was originally from Voron’e and her mother was from Zapadnaia Litsa, a village in the Pechenga District close to the Finnish border. In the 1930s her grandfather was arrested in connection with the Alymov case (discussed in Chapter 3), and her mother was announced “the daughter of an enemy of the people”. The informant calls herself today “the daughter of the daughter of the enemy of the people”, which corresponds to the inheritance and transition of status along generational lines, occupying a separate place in her family history. When she was two years old, the village Voron’e was forcefully resettled to Lovozero and her parents lived in the tundra, between Voron’e and Lovozero villages.

The informant herself recalled the situation literally as “my parents hid me away in the tundra until I was four years old”. The informant particularly refers to this, when she speaks about Russian-speaking kindergarten, and that her parents kept her away with them in the tundra until primary school age. That is why she did not attend kindergarten in the village of Lovozero, while most of her peers learned Russian when they attended kindergarten. Elle considers that this was the main reason why she speaks Sami as her first language. The majority among her generation have a passive knowledge of the Sami language – they understand, but they cannot actively speak. She learned Russian already when she arrived in Lovozero mainly by communication with the Russian-speaking environment of other children. She recalled when she arrived in Lovozero, according to other peoples' words, she was dressed in funny Sami clothing and could not speak Russian. In time, Elle learned Russian better, when she started to study in the preparatory class of the boarding school, where children learned the Russian language before they started elementary education. When Elle studied in preparatory class, she still lived with her parents. As the informant recalled,

> Of course I don't remember the preparatory class. But, I remember when I was already a bit older that they all [her peers] spoke Russian. They understood Sami language, but they couldn't speak. My classmates, younger ones and older ones – they couldn't speak Sami. I found out why. I found it out only in 1989, when I worked as an interpreter for NRK Sami Radio. (…) I translated a question to Sandra and she has a daughter, my peer, but she wasn't studying in my class. So, during the festival of the North she sits in reindeer sledges together with her daughter and they ask, "Does your daughter speak Sami?" I ask her and she says, "No". Then I myself began to be curious, "Why doesn't she speak Sami if we're the same age, because I do?" She says, "How will she speak? If your mother didn't send you to the kindergarten, but our children all went through kindergartens. (...) They [educators] came to our houses and asked us to speak Russian with them at home. Because the caregiver in the kindergarten doesn't understand Sami". Then, I realized that I know Sami because I didn't go through the kindergarten. My mother hid with me away in the tundra until I was four years old (…) and that is why I preserved my language.[659]

At the same time, the informant mentioned that even though she speaks Sami, she has forgotten certain words and her knowledge of the language has become distorted through time. When she was four years old, her parents arrived at Lovozero because their village had already been destroyed by the erection of a hydro-electric power station. Elle was sent to boarding school in the age of six (in 1969) and finished school when she was 17 (in 1980). She lived at the dormitory of the boarding school for 11 years and later five years at the university dormitory. She regrets that she was distant from her parents for 16 years of her adolescence and formative years.

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[659] Informant C G3. (Translated by A.A.)

When she attended boarding school, she could visit her mother for a couple of hours a day when her mother returned from the tundra to the village on a seasonal basis. Usually the visits were made when the classes were over and there were one or two hours of free time between homework preparation and dinner. She remembers that they often escaped from school. She also remembers how her mother used to hide other Sami children when they escaped from boarding school. When school officials came to her house, her mother often said that she did not know where the children were and promised to report and send them back to the boarding school if they come to her house,

> I know how Elena told me that they were escaping from the boarding school. That they escaped to our house. From our kitchen the window looks out on the path from the road to our house. And here comes the caregiver from boarding school. Our mother said, "Caregiver's coming! Hide fast in the other room!" And they run fast to the last room, hide under the beds and sit there. The caregiver comes and says, "Children ran away from the boarding school!" She – "Oh, how is it possible that they ran away?" She was like an actress, but she never gave away the children. She offers the caregiver a cup of tea, and they [children] sit there under the beds, all shivering! The caregiver usually refuses to drink tea because she has no time. She needs to look for the children. Well, she leaves and mother persuades her that "If they come, of course I'll drag them to school right away". Then, she said, "Girls! Come out, she's left! Let's go drink tea!" She makes sure that caregiver has left, because she sees her on the path from our window.[660]

The last citation very accurately demonstrates the relationship between representatives of education and Sami parents. At the same time, it demonstrates certain levels of resistance by parents towards the educational system. It shows how the system of boarding school education, even in the generation of their parents (Generation 2), was still unfamiliar, alien to reindeer-herding Sami people. However, this illustrates that mechanisms of resistance were primarily hidden and silent, rather than open and direct, as I have already highlighted at the start of this section. I asked Elle to comment on how she understands her mother's reaction towards the educational authorities and why she hid children in her house. The informant explained herself,

> In the first place, I consider that there was very strong propaganda. Secondly, the war had passed. They survived the war and began restoration of the economy, ruined by the war. Women during the war were in

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[660] Informant C G3. (Translated by A.A.)

> positions of men – everywhere they worked as men. Those who came back from the war – it was necessary to protect each other. In other words, one always had to adapt to how power is today. They adapted. If the authorities say that this is necessary, then it is necessary. But, on the other hand, they still took care of their children.[661]

After completion of boarding school, she received higher education in teaching history. While she was receiving her higher education in the city, both of her parents died in Lovozero. She came back to Lovozero to work as a teacher at the local secondary and boarding school. Elle worked as a history teacher and substitute teacher of Sami language at the boarding school. Elle considers that the marginalization that she experienced during her studies, has given a stimulus for her to succeed in life. She is a communicative, open and socially active person, who, due to her guts hardened to steel by the boarding school system, managed to attain a high position within Sami society and as a member of the highly-educated urban indigenous women movement. Despite her complicated family history of enemies of the state and her own status of boarder, her personal strength of character has made her an active representative of the Sami ethno-political and cultural elite in the city of Murmansk. Elle is a person who knows what she has lost, in terms of culture, by her separation from her parents and their early death. Political and social work with minority questions and Sami people became her life substitute for what she can call "home",

> And that I am "educated", and that I live in the city, that I managed to adapt in the city. When I was studying at the university, it was already then I told myself that I must help. I set this goal for myself. Because when they [tundra or rural Sami] arrive, they don't know how the traffic lights work, etc. They are always there – in the tundra. And I – I'm here – in the city. If I got myself educated, then it means I have to help, e.g. when they come for the Festival of the North. This public and political work – it returns me back, it gives me an opportunity to be with my people, with my culture, with my society.[662]

In contrast to Sandra, Elle has more positive than negative impressions of her life at the boarding school. She often mentions that she was a very active Pioneer and Komsomol, that she was eagerly engaged in various social activities for youth, in which she saw prospects for her future education and career. It is noteworthy to mention that she was not hindered to be a part of any youth unions because of her family status as enemies of the state. Her family was rehabilitated in 1957. This confirms the changing tendencies and lightened attitudes during the period close to the Soviet Union's fall, in contrast to the previously discussed situation of the first generation, when such children experienced serious problems with inclusion in state, social and political networks for youth. This might be another reason why this informant has been so eagerly involved in these activities, since her parents were excluded from such opportunities in their time. Elle repeatedly highlights that she enjoyed the social and political activities for youth as embedded in her boarding school days.

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[661] Informant C G3. (Translated by A.A.)

[662] Informant C G3. (Translated by A.A.)

At the same time, I consider this informant's main distinguishing feature is that she managed to preserve her Sami language when most of the people of her generation already experienced an active stage of language loss. Therefore, in my interview with her, questions of Sami language among her generation were widely discussed. During the study period, the policy of language assimilation (i.e. Russification) discussed in the previous chapter was already over, and pupils could formally speak Sami at school with other pupils and teachers of the Sami language both inside and outside of the classroom. The main problem, however, was that by the time of the relevant policy change, most of the Sami children of the third generation were already being raised with Russian as their first language. As such, the informant recalled that she had a very limited number of people among her peers and classmates with whom she could communicate in Sami. She predominantly communicated with her mother and father at home,

> Well, among my generation not many are native speakers. Both my parents are Sami, moreover, I have good command of Sami (…) But I had no one to speak to?! If all my classmates understood, but could not say anything? My classmates Natal'ia and Iulia, one of whom studied at the trade high school and the other – at the pedagogical college. When we'd get together, they'd tell me "Speak, please speak to us in Sami. At least, we'll feel like we're home!" This was also left in my memory, because they can't answer me, but they understand![663]

Elle's situation was unique in several factors briefly mentioned above. Firstly, she grew up in the tundra until her pre-school age and did not attend Russian-speaking kindergarten. Secondly, her mother stayed in the village and did not accompany her father to the tundra for a period of Elle's adolescence. That is why the informant states that she had the opportunity of visiting her mother for a couple of hours a day, and the language of their communication at home was Sami. In parallel to this, another informant stressed that the only children among the third generation with command of the Sami language, were those who either traveled to the tundra with their parents or had Sami language as the primary language of family communication,

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[663] Informant C G3. (Translated by A.A.)

> I know my language and speak it to this very day. I am even surprised that some people of my age do not speak. How would I say it? They said, “We were forbidden to speak”. Well, I don’t know how you were forbidden. If I have two sisters – one six years younger than me, and the other twelve years younger. All of us speak Sami. That’s why I think it depends on how children had it at home – if they spoke Sami at home. (…) Boarding school caused an impact on many Sami people. Some people say, “We had it so bad there”. There are such people. But, you have to understand that there cannot be a unified opinion about it. It depends on who studied and in what period of time.[664]

When it comes to discussions of boarding school education, Elle underscores that separation with parents and the resulting disrupted cultural and linguistic transmission was the most acute issue among people of her generation. All in all, this is how Elle told about the positive and negative consequences of the boarding school system that she experienced. She considers that the boarding school system influenced not only her personal situation, but the situation of the whole of Sami society in Russia,

> This degradation that occurred within the Sami community, and in society as a whole, everything that happens in our country and civil society – also occurs with the Sami. It is like a transcending stratum, which goes along all layers. But our community is small and everyone adapts as they can, in the first place. Secondly, due to these processes, which left their marks, the Sami community has also changed very much. Perhaps it was changing not in terms of quantitative estimates, when identity revival began to rise – people started to acknowledge themselves as Sami. Some did it openly, some finally stopped being ashamed, and some – knew it always, but kept it secret, and now they started to publicly flaunt and parade it. And when some started to parade it, having hidden their nationality in their time, and even despising it – I still thought that people within our community, after all, should be more tolerant – but this did not happen… The process of assimilation has left traces. Because assimilation has a deeper sense – it means you have to accommodate, and everybody tries to do it according to their conditions – of living, geography of residence, social position, financial and economic status.[665]

This informant mentions that even though cultural revival followed the last decades of the late Soviet period – it came after the introduction of the policy of

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[664] Informant B G3. (Translated by A.A.)

[665] Informant C G3. (Translated by A.A.)

Russification and political orientations of cultural convergence. Transition of Sami language and cultural values should come predominantly as a part of common family identity. Culture can be most effectively transmitted as practiced within a system of family upbringing. She highlights that those state opportunities that opened for Sami culture starting from the end of the 1970s until the 1990s did provide institutional support of the Sami language and culture. Alas, reindeer herding and family reindeer herding as the traditional system of cultural transmission from parents to children was substituted with various forms of institutionalized support for Sami culture. Yet, these forms of cultural support do not allow people to acquire their native language as a system, and to practice reindeer herding as the main form for social organization of a Sami economic system, bearing in itself the most important Sami cultural values. Cultural assimilation and disintegration has led to Sami communities being changed. Its economic, cultural and social priorities have changed. As such, Elle makes an important point that institutionalized attempts of cultural preservation can only be effective if they are supported by communities themselves, and lie in indigenous communities' primary interests and needs – identification of which is the most challenging task in conditions of contemporary Sami society, which are heavily transformed by various social and educational policy projects. Indeed, in Elle's next citation we see how she reflects about issues of the Sami language, stating that the facultative form of language teaching they had at the boarding school was not sufficient for language acquisition in practice,

> When we speak about culture – it is a part of you. It is a part of any family or society in general. This is culture. It consists of everything. Let us suppose, if we are talking about national-cultural centers or such cultural institutions that are called upon to support and develop culture – this is one thing. But when we talk about educational institutions that provide language teaching – and that it should create suitable conditions – this is another thing. This is what the state should do. It should provide basic conditions. But, if there is no aspiration in society itself, then these puzzles do not fall in places. (..) If we experience this disintegration, if we were deprived of an important part of us [meaning Sami language], yes? For instance, we live in the Russian state. Russian language is an official language of the state – where people are born with Russian language, in the majority. People are born with Russian language and then they attend school, where they study Russian for ten years. They acquire the language as a system. We were born with the Sami language. We speak Sami at the everyday level of communication. We go to school, but we do not have the opportunity to acquire our language as a system. Correspondingly, even if we had Sami teaching at schools – if parents don't know the language – there is already a generational gap. Even if pupils learn the language in

> facultative form, or for instance when native language was an obligatory subject of primary boarding school education – this pupil comes home, but his parents don't speak the language. (…) If now, some cultural institutions were developed, the sphere of culture was raised – there are institutions that support cultural maintenance, e.g. oriented on sewing of traditional clothing. Our handicraft started to be more well-known, but the future of the ethnic economy is not supported? One needs to support the ethnic economy, in particular – reindeer herding.[666]

Elle refers to her own attempts to recreate family life in the tundra. She underscores that she dreamt of living like she lived in her childhood with her parents. She has planned it as a separate project of her life. In one year of judicial struggles in court and practical difficulties connected to it, when she did not succeed in winning her cases, Elle gave this idea up. Today her children, in own her words, are "torn away pieces" from the Sami culture and way of life,

> It is very difficult to say what is going to happen with the Sami culture in future. Very difficult, especially in our times. I am an optimist in life. As I always say – I have no right to be a pessimist. (…) But I tried, I thought – now I try with my children. Then an opportunity arose when the fishing quotas for the Sami started to be allocated. I thought that I would take this quota and take a year off from my job, that I would find out how to go to some place in the tundra. Whether we could do it together with my classmates or other Sami people. I dreamt that we can speak Sami to each other there. We will learn how to make fishnets, and that is how we fulfill the quota. I thought that we will have some sort of period away from everything. (…) Alas, I was rejected because I live in the city. I started a court case, but this all began to seem very strange to me. (…) Later, I gave this up and let it go. And now, my daughter is a "torn away piece".[667]

8.4 Sami language teaching – time of revival?

In the late 1970s the boarding school in Lovozero started to expand Sami culturally-oriented activities. In particular, the school developed several central facultative groups for its pupils: Sami dancing and lore group, Sami handicraft group, "Young Reindeer Herder" club and Sami language classes for students of secondary level of education. In addition to this, Sami language was taught as a compulsory subject for pupils of primary level (from class 1 to 4).

Earlier in the 1960s, Sami pedagogical cadres were introduced into the educational system, as we have discussed in the previous chapter. The boarding school was regarded by various Sami pedagogues and intellectuals as a relatively stable arena for cultural and language preservation, which was realized through teaching Sami and various above-mentioned Sami cultural extra-curricular activities. However, the main focus was paid to Sami language teaching. During this period, informants already tell that they were not forbidden to speak Sami at the boarding school or in public. In fact, most informants discuss in a rather warm manner their memories about Sami teachers at the boarding school, that Sami teachers and caregivers could use Sami to communicate with their students in the classroom as well as in the dormitory of the boarding school. Some teachers often invited pupils as guests to their houses, where they attempted to practice communication in Sami language in a home-related environment.

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[666] Informant C G3. (Translated by A.A.)

[667] Informant C G3. (Translated by A.A.)

This is how the Informant B G3 (Sami teacher herself) remembers one of the first and well-known Sami pedagogues, Emilia Konstantinovna Dobrynina, who started to work as a teacher of Sami dancing and lore group at the boarding school in the late 1970s. The informant recalls that by the time when Emilia Konstantinovna Dobrynina worked at the boarding school, the Russification gradually started to soften. Finally, it was visibly over by the end of 1980's,

> Emilia Konstantinovna in her time, she was engaged a lot with children at the boarding school. She taught Sami lore to them. And even the boys who were most difficult – she engaged them all in dancing! She spoke with them always in Sami. It was true luck that we had such teachers. But when she started to work – everything began to change, do you understand? (…) When I started to work in 1985 as a cultural worker of the House of Pioneers, I started to dress my girls [students of Sami dancing group]. They performed at the Festival of the North. And, they say, "Can we run there through the back yards, but not along the main street, so that nobody can see us?" They still had some kind of fear [of wearing Sami clothes]. (…) But in my last years, when I worked, and my girls performed – they put Sami clothing on and walked in it for the whole day! Everything has changed.[668]

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[668] Informant B G3. (Translated by A.A.)

Photo 15. Sami girls in Sami clothing during a lesson in Sami handicraft at the boarding school in Lovozero (late 1970s). Photo from private archive of one of my informants.

Another informant remembers the Sami teacher of the reindeer herding club for youth and that some of his Sami students started to work in reindeer herding again. In contrast to the second generation of informants, who during Russification period, preferred to acquire other mainstream professions, apart from Sami traditional economic activities,

> There was club at the House of Pioneers. Boys attended reindeer herding club. There was a teacher – Pavel Polikarpovich – he was very good. Almost every one of them went to work as reindeer herders or entered The Northern College to continue studying reindeer herding there. Here you go, they all work – still! He is already in his very old age. But they all went! [to work in reindeer husbandry].[669]

Some informants speak about positive developments during the study period regarding inclusion of the Sami language component in compulsory and extra-curricular programs of the boarding school. For instance, the following informant worked as a teacher and caregiver of the boarding school during the current period. She outlines that when the informant herself attended boarding school from 1973 until 1984, there were still a number of children arriving without any knowledge of Russian, with Sami as their first language. Then, it was especially crucial to have pedagogical cadres who could use the Sami language upon the children's arrival at the boarding school in order to help them in their adaptation,

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[669] Informant F G3. (Translated by A.A.)

> I believe that in our boarding school there were positive moments. We had Sami language teaching. There were Sami lore groups, i.e. it was the opposite – children learned Sami language. At these times, in primary classes there was one hour of Sami language per day. It is now we struggle. We had a meeting with the Ministry of Education, where we brought up that the Sami language should be included [in today's school system] – that we should get back to this. Maybe not every day, but at least two hours a week. Back then, Sami language was taught every day. (…) And we had children who were brought directly from the tundra and didn't speak Russian. I had a classmate. He couldn't speak Russian at all. I went to school in 1973 and in those years we had such children. Of course, it was difficult for them. They couldn't understand the children or teachers. Just as you teach a child to speak, that was how you taught these children to speak Russian.[670]

After finishing boarding school, the last informant received education as a teacher of primary classes, and continued to work with Sami students at the boarding school, following those generations of Sami teachers before her,

> I was lucky with my pupils. I understood them, because I traveled to the tundra myself. I always said, "Why do you ridicule a child? The child is suffering in September, when parents have left to the tundra. Especially children from the coast, from Kanevka, Ponoi, Sosnovka. They certainly suffered because they were brought here – to the boarding school, because there are no parents. Here you have understood this child, because when they arrive for the first time, of course, the child cries and doesn't like anything here. He even doesn't want to go to school. That is why very much here depends on the pedagogues themselves.[671]

I was fortunate to interview one Sami language teacher of the boarding school of this period. She outlines that even though the Sami language was introduced into the boarding school system, the situation was not without its challenges. The informant told me about her challenges in teaching Sami within the boarding school system. In the first place, stable native language teaching was carried out only at the primary stage of boarding school education, and was later transferred completely to facultative forms of language teaching in the end of 1980s. Therefore, the most productive period of Sami language teaching at the boarding school occurred from the end of 1970s up to the late 1980s, when the Sami language was taught both as a compulsory subject to primary classes and as a facultative to older classes. In fact, the informant commented on that later the compulsory part of Sami primary language education was removed. Then the effectiveness of language teaching in a solely facultative form had serious shortcomings. In particular, because children did not receive enough language practice daily,

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[670] Informant E G3. (Translated by A.A.)

[671] Informant E G3. (Translated by A.A.)

> When the boarding school had ethnic status, we had 5–6 lessons a week [Sami language lessons]. These were in the school schedule, like Russian, math, reading, etc. Nina Afanas'eva and Rimma Kuruch, they were also helping with it in those days. But later, the subject transferred completely into a facultative class. And the facultative class – it's already after supper, optional. (...) And our families don't speak Sami at home. In school we have two hours with them, well, one hour you speak [Sami]. Then, they go home, but at home they don't speak! They forget everything and come to the next class. We had one hour per week [after compulsory Sami language subject was transferred to facultative], so they come the next week as if they've never heard any Sami language! Because no one spoke Sami with them at home. (…) Of course, because if you speak with me six times a week – it's different. I always taught them that, "I speak only Sami with you." For example, with my supervised class, I was simultaneously their caregiver and I taught Sami language in their class. It was much easier with them because I could speak Sami with them in the evening, when I put them to bed, before the sleeping bell, and also during the daytime. But what happened after? [after the Sami language subject was transferred to facultative form]. They come – they sit in the classroom for one hour and they leave. When we had Sami language in the school timetable – it was obligatory, but a facultative class? Maybe this pupil wants to attend drama club instead? Or music class? Why should he or she go to Sami language class? Then they started to arrange a survey among parents. All parents stated that, "Oh, we want the Sami language." But why was the native language closed as a subject? Because they introduced English. Then all parents stated that English is better, because they wanted their children to enter universities. And that's it! They all left!" [the Sami facultative class].[672]

The Sami languages up to the third generation already experienced a strong language shift to Russian.[673] It was only in the 1980s that school superintendents and educational officials gained an awareness that native language should be taught to students. Another reason for this was the obvious fact that children of the third generation were born with Russian as their first language, in the majority. Awareness and concern about the necessity of preserving the Sami language, in its essence, started to rise only when the Sami languages started to fall to the edge of extinction, which was especially obvious and visible by the time of the current generation of informants. The majority of the informants among this generation did not have profound knowledge of Sami and thus neither did they communicate in Sami at home. Therefore, the decision to introduce Sami language teaching was implemented, when the language loss was already in such an active phase that it became an acknowledged fact among both educators and the Sami community itself.

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[672] Informant A G3. (Translated by A.A.)

[673] Vakhtin 2001; Scheller 2011: 79; Overland and Berg-Nordlie 2012: 61–63; Siegl and Riessler 2015: 4.

The last informant was born between the boundaries of the two last generations of the study. That is why she taught different categories of students, depending on their Sami language proficiency – those who began boarding school education in the early 1970s, and those who stared education in the 1980s. The informant commented on language situation of these two groups of children: 1) pupils who attended Sami language classes as obligatory subject in the 1970s, and 2) pupils who later followed Sami language teaching as an optional subject,

> Before, when I just started to work at the boarding school – children knew Sami language, they knew [1970s]. They spoke Sami and that is why it was interesting for them to study. Later [1980s], pupils were assigned to attend these classes [even those who did not have Sami language command, pupils of different nationalities and those who wanted to know Sami, but did not speak at home]. They [emphasis] started to attend Sami language classes. But, they didn't have any communication in Sami in their lives. Those who were in the tundra – they still heard how reindeer herders communicate and they spoke between themselves. For example, Aleksandr, when he traveled to the tundra for the summer – he spoke much better! He knows a lot because the whole summer he heard only Sami speech – well, there in the tundra one speaks Sami. He was constantly communicating with them [reindeer herders], but then he came back to the boarding school. So, those who traveled to the tundra with their parents – it was more or less. But those children who did not travel to the tundra, but permanently stayed at the boarding school – all of them already spoke Russian.[674]

It is crucial to mention that full disclosure of the topic of inclusion of the Sami language into the educational program of the boarding school in Lovozero in the 1970's, as well as the transition of the Sami language from the compulsory elementary school subject to the optional form of education in the 1980s, requires additional long-term research. In this dissertation, I discuss the background for this transfer in Chapter 7 as associated with the changing status of ethnic school to regular boarding school for orphans and children with difficult life circumstances.

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[674] Informant A G3. (Translated by A.A.)

However, restoration of complete picture of introduction of the Sami language into the educational program and boarding school curricula, requires thorough exploration of primary archival sources and extensive fieldwork collection of related data on this topic. In terms of this research project, it was possible to identify that there is no local studies or secondary literatures in the Murmansk region addressing this topic. The two scholars mention similar developments in the Yamal region and the Evenk Autonomous District.[675] However, these authors address situations in other regions and other indigenous peoples, such as Evenk and Nenets people. For instance Bloch addresses inclusion of Evenk cultural components in residential education in the beginning of 1990s[676], while Liarskaya singles out the timeframe of the mid 1980s[677]. Therefore, the federal educational prescriptions have been differently realized and implemented in different regions of the country, and additional research particularly on the level of Murmansk region is essential.

In doing so, it is necessary to analyze decrees of local departments of education in the Lovozero District. At this stage when we do not have a sufficient database of published sources (secondary sources), the primary documents about decisions of educational departments in Lovozero District of the Murmansk region, containing relevant educational regulations, should be identified and solidly analyzed. Basically, the data that I had the opportunity to receive and that I used in order to highlight the issue in this dissertation, was obtained during official conversation with the Head of the Department of Education of the Lovozero region, social worker of the Department of Education of the Lovozero region (See Metadata Table: Meeting 1, Meeting 2) and some of the informants themselves. The oral material might be insufficient to fully reveal this topic and such data should be underpinned and cross-checked with primary sources.

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[675] Previously cited Alexia Bloch and Elena Liarskaya.

[676] Bloch 2004: 147.

[677] Liarskaya 2013: 166.

Unfortunately, due to the limited time capacity and vast amount of data that I have collected and analyzed for this project, it was not possible to carry out additional field- or archival research that would focus particularly on how, why, and in result of which political decisions on the local level the Sami language was included in boarding school curriculum in the 1970s and the 1980s. In its essence, the topic represents another complex research question and the research focus that goes beyond the tasks that we set in the beginning of current research project. Nevertheless, this problem is significant and, therefore, I propose it as possible focus for future research in the field (see section 9.4).

Furthermore, I wrap up previous discussion related to the third research question of the study concerning the contributions of Sami pedagogues to the system of boarding school education during the Soviet period.

It should be mentioned that specifically 1980s was the period when cultural revival of the Sami people began.[678] The active work of Sami intellectuals contributed to the development of the Sami language teaching program, introduced into the boarding school curriculum. In particular, their work was followed with the creation of the official Sami alphabet[679] and production of various teaching and methodological materials for the education of pupils of primary school level. According to existing sources, more than 18 pedagogical tutorials were elaborated for the purposes of Sami language teaching in primary classes by the year 1991.[680]

The above-mentioned pedagogical developments were implemented in boarding school practice while the Sami language was maintained as a compulsory subject of boarding school curriculum for over 15 years, and after it was transferred to facultative forms in late 1980s. I would like to point out that contributions of Sami pedagogues had its long-term effect on Sami literacy and language teaching that was developed further in other institutions apart from the boarding school.

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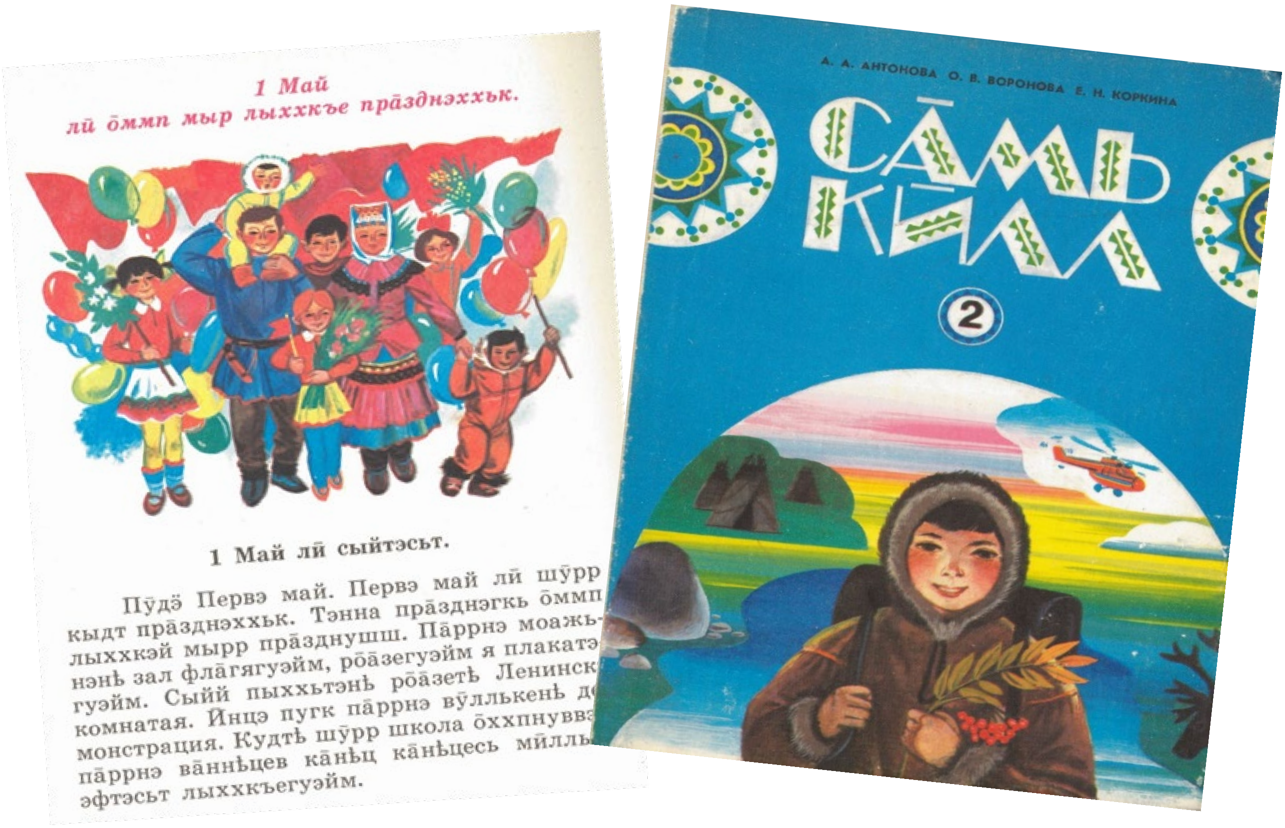
[678] Vinogradova 2005: 6.

[679] There are a number of studies devoted to the creation of the Sami alphabet and promotion of Sami literacy, such as Cherniakov 1933, 1998; Kert 2007; Sorokazherdev 2007; Antonova 2010; Ogryzko 2010; Riessler 2013; Siegl and Riessler 2015; etc. Therefore, I will not concentrate on debates within this field as this topic has been widely debated before by various local and foreign specialists.

[680] Afanas'eva 2012: 8.



1 Май
лӣ ӧммп мыр лыхххкъе прā̆зднэхххьк.

1 Май лӣ сыйтэсьт.

Пӯдӭ Первэ май. Первэ май лӣ шӯрр
кыдт прā̆зднэхххьк. Тэнна прā̆зднэгкь ӧммп
лыхххкэй мырр прā̆зднушш. Пā̆ррнэ моажь-
нэнҍ зал флā̆гягуэйм, рō̆āзегуэйм я плакатэ
гуэйм. Сыйй пыхххьтэнҍ рō̆āзетҍ Ленинск
комнатая. Йнцэ пугк пā̆ррнэ вӯлльkенҍ д
монстрация. Кудтҍ шӯрр школа ӧхxпнувв
пā̆ррнэ вā̆ннҍцев кā̆нҍц кā̆нҍцесь мӣллъ
эфтэсьт лыхххкъегуэйм.

Illustration 4. One of the first teaching books published in Sami language that was elaborated by Sami pedagogues and used to teach the Sami language subject at the boarding school in Lovozero (Antonova et al. 1990).

All in all, the achievements of Sami pedagogues in the field of ethnic education and Sami language teaching from the Soviet period and up to this day have been ensured by the substantial and productive work of foreign and local specialists, Sami language workers and pedagogues mostly over Kildin Sami language. They have led to the following results: an officially developed orthography (1982);[681] a number of schoolbooks (e.g. Antonova et al. 1990) and numerous fine literatures in Sami language; Sami dictionaries (Afanas'eva et al. 1985; Kert 1986; Sammallahti and Khvorostukhina 1991; Antonova 2014); digital computer layouts and keyboards (2008);[682] good pedagogical designs of language grammar samples; sufficient number of recorded quality data stored in various multi-media archives around the world, mostly based on audio and video formats.[683]

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[681] Siegl and Riessler 2015: 18.

[682] Riessler 2013: 198–199.

[683] Afanasyeva 2008: 203.

Hereby, I finish this chapter with a sum up and some critical reflections on the analyzed oral material from Generation 3 of the study.

In contrast to two previous generations of informants, the third generation received obligatory ten-years education, and the number of years spent at boarding schools increased consequently. Informants started boarding schools from the age of six or seven and completed their education approximately at the age of seventeen.[684] The informants of this generation experienced the highest degree of separation from parents among all of the three studied generations. This factor must be considered the primary shared experience between the informants of the third generation, profoundly influencing the way they speak about their boarding school experiences.

Still, experiences of residential schooling in the current generation greatly differ according to social status of informants and their families.[685] The parentless Sami children ('boarders', *intenatskie*) recall that they were unhappy and had higher levels of aggression than Sami children from full families ('homes', *domashnie*). The scholar Alexia Bloch highlights that existence of these terms concerning those who studied at the boarding schools confirms how "complex place the school occupied in the local imagination"[686]. The prevalence of such distinctions between informants into 'homes' and 'boarders' signifies how differently these children experienced the reality at the boarding school.

The parentless Sami children emphasized their negative experiences, whereas children from full families tended to portray more positive aspects of boarding school education. For example, children whose parents were deprived of parental rights underscored the vulnerability of their position. These children often found themselves in a state of double suppression from their classmates and the majority society. This clearly contributed to forming their memories of the system of boarding school education as a deeply traumatizing life experience, which long-term consequences stretch far beyond their childhood memories and last into their adult life. The scholar Valeria Mukhina mentions in her article that the poor emotional state of children that grew up at Soviet boarding schools was formed by many factors, among others "unrealized need for love and recognition" and "the emotional instability of a child deprived of parental rights".[687] My interview material about the third generation of the study is dominated by such type of narratives that portray discrimination, coercion, physical punishment and psychological stress.

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[684] Konstantinov 2015: 148.

[685] Kazakova 2014: 528.

[686] Bloch 2004: 132.

The informants' experiences differ according to gender in this generation as well.[688] For instance, girls seemed to have more traumatic experiences of hygienic hair-cut procedures than boys, as discussed in section 8.1. The male informant stated that it was unpleasant experience, whereas most female informants remember these procedures as causing deep psychological trauma and shock.

A third category of informants in this chapter are the Sami teachers. As I discussed it in detail in section 2.3, these informants tended to speak positively about residential schooling, introduction of the Sami language and culture into boarding school program. But some of them carefully avoided discussion about sensitive aspects and difficult experiences of their pupils.

The third generation of informants is the generation, which is characterized with most difficult experiences within the three-generations pattern under study. It is possible that not all of the experiences were revealed to me as a researcher. It is important to keep in mind that certain experiences, especially the more sensitive ones, might remain untold. The oral accounts presented in this chapter do not provide a complete picture of events at the local boarding school; rather, they bear evidence of those experiences that are shared by informants during our interviews.

Conclusions

In the third generation, the topic of ethnic identity appears to take a different form. This generation raises questions of social stigmatization and ethnic discrimination particularly strongly. Most informants' priorities were oriented on discussions of their social status rather than their Sami identity. Instead of identifying themselves according to principles of ethnicity, as was often present in the two previous generations of the study, the current generation already identifies themselves as 'boarders' as primary self-understanding of their low social position in society. They identify themselves as Sami in the second place. The combinations of these two socially constructed categories became stable identity formations, influencing double marginalization of the Sami students of boarding school.

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[687] Mukhina 1989: 236.
[688] Bloch 2004: 88.

Evidently, the boarding school system, as a recreated institutionalized educational reality practiced throughout several generations, has influenced the transformation of identity of boarding school students in the current generation. They particularly identify themselves as "boarders" as opposed to other categories of people who did not experience a residential system of upbringing. During this period, informants especially stressed questions of separation from parents, absence of care and love of adults, restricted freedom of movement outside the walls of the boarding school, along with social aspects of their adaptation to life after the residential system of upbringing. Informants stressed instances of violence and psychological abuse on the part of teachers and educators, followed by psychological traumas received during their life at this educational institution of restricted type, oriented on upbringing of orphans and pedagogically neglected children. Such traumas, for instance, especially concerned the short-hair policy of the school, the hair-cut procedure itself, experiences of the Russian bath and overall military style of everyday behavior imposed on students. Some informants had difficulties in understanding the reasons for their residence in this institution, i.e. why children of reindeer herders ought to reside in this type of school as it emerged in the 1970s.

This generation of informants particularly stressed that they were ashamed of their own parents, as especially related to parents publicly wearing non-European clothing (Sami clothes). This generation have a predominantly passive knowledge of the Sami language. Most informants understand Sami and can show reactions to Sami speech. The third generation, with very few examples, e.g. as I have demonstrated in section 8.3, experienced native language loss. Absence of family communication in Sami and family-type of upbringing (i.e. this generation received a purely institutional type of upbringing) has led to active Sami language acquisition among this generation not taking place, despite all the efforts of Sami language teaching introduced into boarding school practice in the late 1970s.

On the one hand, the period from the end of the 1960s until the end of the 1980s was the period of softening of the Russification tendencies. In particular, already by the end of the 1970s, the boarding school starts to improve its educational programs and the school curriculum was oriented towards inclusion of a Sami cultural component. During the 1970s and 1980s, the Sami language was introduced as a separate subject into the compulsory boarding school curriculum at an elementary school level, and as facultative class for the secondary level of education. Various extra-curricular classes in Sami lore, culture and reindeer herding were introduced into boarding school practice. Children were allowed to stay with their parents during holidays and weekends, and to visit home occasionally. Children of reindeer herders were allowed to travel with their parents to the tundra. Ethnic pedagogues actively worked with Sami children at the boarding school and spoke Sami with them both in the classroom and in the dormitory. Various Sami language teaching didactic materials started to be introduced into boarding school practice. Most importantly, during this period the boarding school was regarded as a suitable arena for Sami language and cultural maintenance.

However, on the other hand, from the late 1960s to late 1970s, another acute problem occurs in the form of decisions on the convergence of boarding schools for children of reindeer herders with orphanages (see Ch. 8). Numerous social problems occurred within boarding school practice when the boarding school started to function as a fusion of ethnic boarding school and orphanage. During this period, the status of the ethnic boarding school for children of reindeer herders was changed into an institutional establishment for orphans and children deprived of parental rights. Therefore, the period from the end of the 1960s until the end of the 1980s shows very contradictory developments.

Why do I call this period contradictory? Because even though the base for Sami language learning and Sami cultural extra-curricular education was developed within the boarding school arena, the main contingent of school changed. In this period, the boarding school enrolled not only students who were Sami by origin, but all other groups of children of different nationalities, who were often regarded as complicated or pedagogically neglected. In connection to this, at the end of the 1980s, boarding school superintendents decided to transfer the Sami language as a subject into a facultative form of teaching. Additionally, the changing status of boarding school in Lovozero to an orphanage-type of residential school institution immediately influenced the sociocultural situations of my informants of the third generation who studied at the boarding school during this period. Social problems that arose in this orphanage-type of boarding school had severe impacts on their emotional state and determination of their social status along with the status of their parents.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

In this dissertation, I analyzed an entire epoch in the Soviet system of residential schooling for the Sami. I revealed different levels of the research subject, i.e. federal, local and individual. I investigated a range of sources from primary archival documents and oral accounts of the Sami to Soviet, Russian and Western literatures.

In this chapter, I bring together my findings and conclude the main contributions of the dissertation. In the last section, I wrap up the final discussion with significance of this study and propose further perspectives for research in the field.

9.1 Historical development of state policies

Since the 1930s the Kola Sami have undergone a succession of dramatic historical experiences such as policies of collectivization, sedentarization, Stalinist repressions, the Second World War, land dispossession and enforced resettlements. Simultaneously to all these events, the system of boarding school education was introduced. The residential schooling was just one piece of a whole puzzle in historical picture of events that had caused severe cultural transformations of the Sami during the Soviet period. What was the specific role of residential education in process of cultural and linguistic changes of the Sami in Russia during the 20th century?

The introduction of boarding school education was a highly dynamic historical process. It is possible to identify three core stages in development of boarding school policies, where the first and the last stages are subdivided into two additional milestones. The origin of boarding school system for the Sami takes start in the mid 1920s. In the 1920s and 1930s, the first boarding schools were created in time when the state promoted the idea of cultural pluralism and primary education taught in Sami language. Although, these positive developments became abrupt with Stalinist repressions and the years of Great terror in 1937-1938 (note Chapter 3). Nevertheless, the first boarding schools were not aimed at eradication of the Sami language or culture. These boarding schools primarily served as dormitories or hostels for children from the Sami villages that did not have the capacity for their own primary or secondary school facilities.

Later, when the Second World War started in 1941, boarding school education in the way it was established by the mid 1930s, stopped for the time of war. When the Second World War ended in 1945, the state started to build from scratch a totally new system of boarding school education. During the first decade after the end of the Second

World War (1946-1955), visions on boarding school education underwent serious changes. The federal educational legislation adopted compulsory seven-year school education in 1949. Since then the Sami were obliged to receive compulsory education in boarding schools and had no opportunities to choose whether they wanted to send their children to boarding schools or not. The war left many orphans, since a large part of the male population had died in the war. The female part of the population was often without the financial means to provide for their children. In the beginning of the 1950s, many Sami parents saw residential schools as an opportunity to provide their children with necessary food and housing, as well as education. The boarding school system was widely regarded by the Sami as an instrument for material support in the upbringing of their children during the hard times of ruined by war economy of the country.

For the first time, boarding school policy priorities shift radically with the start of Khrushchev's boarding school reforms, undertaken in 1956–1959. Khrushchev's educational reforms sought to tighten influence of schools and reduce parental involvement in the matters of children upbringing (note Chapter 5, 5.1). In result of these reforms, the network of boarding schools vastly expanded across the whole country and the principles of residential education changed from its head to toe. On the one hand, a main reasons for creation of a massive network of boarding schools was to mitigate still existing post-war orphanhood and to provide special support in education of indigenous children. On the other hand, the new boarding school policies were implemented in line with the Soviet nationality policies of the time, i.e. principles of cultural convergence and building of one holistic Soviet nation. Exactly in this period the policy of Russification, prohibiting Sami children from speaking their mother tongue, became an official boarding school practice.

In addition, there was another policy of the late 1960s that affected how the Sami instrumentally utilized boarding school system of education. These were enforced resettlements of the Sami from their traditional villages to Lovozero (note Chapter 5, 5.2), a process that had a strong negative impact on both economic and educational situation of the Sami. The resettlements created poverty among the relocated Sami. The boarding school system became a main resource for material support in raising and educating Sami children from the relocated families. The economic disintegration of the relocated Sami, who lost their jobs and houses in the 1960s, was another factor that triggered the necessity to send Sami children to boarding school for full state support, like housing in the dormitory of the boarding school, food allowances and clothing.

However, already by the end of 1960s, the policy of Russification softened and the Sami language prohibition became a feature of the past decade. By the end 1970s, the Sami language was introduced into boarding school curriculum as a compulsory subject. But in parallel to this, another serious policy change occurred – convergence of boarding schools with orphanages (note Chapter 7). A high influx of children of different nationalities started to be transferred from various orphanages in the region to the boarding school in Lovozero. Thus the boarding school, which was originally created for children of Sami reindeer herders, turned into a closed residential school for orphans and neglected children, what was acute until the end of the 1980s. In connection to this, by the end of 1980s the Sami language was reorganized from obligatory to an optional subject, mostly attended by Sami pupils (note Chapter 8).

Therefore, throughout the whole study period (1935–1989), the state views and policies on residential education and indigenous languages did not remain intact. Its priorities shifted radically throughout the vast Soviet period. These developments can be characterized by a contradicting structural dynamics that becomes visible behind the rapidly changing policy conditions and the related historical events throughout entire Soviet epoch. As such, the Soviet system at first promoted the Sami mother-tongue education and then repressed it. The Sami were sent to battlefields to win the Second World War and then their orphaned children were provided with opportunity to grow up in a residential school. The Sami were forcefully resettled from traditional areas and then their children were offered housing in the local boarding school. The boarding school policies separated children from parents and later amended this practice. There was Russification and prohibition of the Sami language use at boarding schools that ended with introduction of the Sami language into obligatory boarding school practice. Such dynamics, in fact, denotes distinct inconsistency of the Soviet policy development that concerns not only residential education but various other spheres of Sami people's lives, such as social development, ethnic integration, economy and etc., that was undertaken throughout different stages of the Soviet state's evolvement.

Summing up, the dissertation proposes an analysis of the intergenerational experiences of the Sami based on the following key policies in federal educational reforms: 1) Introduction of compulsory seven-year education in 1949; 2) Introduction of compulsory eight-year education in 1958; 3) Introduction of compulsory nine-year education in 1988. In addition, the analysis identifies core policy shifts targeted at reorganization of the boarding school system that firmly affected the situation of Sami pupils in boarding schools:

1) Khrushchev's boarding school reforms in 1956–1959, resulting into adoption of the "Law on Strengthening Ties between School and Life and on Further Developing The Public Education System in the USSR" (1959), which is associated with introduction of Russification policy in boarding schools;
2) Khrushchev's boarding school reform aimed at reduction of the network of orphanages and expansion of the network of boarding schools, based on the Decree "On Measures for Developing Boarding Schools in 1959–1965".

In complementation to this, I focused on analysis of influences of the two federal policies that were unrelated to sphere of education, but implemented other Soviet national and economic policy directives. Both policies in focus seriously affected boarding school situations and experiences of the first and the second generations of study at the regional level. These were: 1) Political repressions from the 1930s to the 1950s; and 2) Agglomeration and enforced resettlement policies in the 1950s and the 1960s. Additionally, one of the outcomes of this study lays in the identification of three generational boundaries that correspond to the first (1935–1955), the second (1956–1968), and the third (1969–1989) generations of the Sami that experienced education within the Soviet boarding school system.

9.2 Three-generation language loss

In this study, I identified generational boundaries between informants who attended boarding schools in the three core historical periods. Correspondingly, on the basis of informants' oral evidences and secondary sources, I analyzed the Sami language situation in each particular generation of informants. The loss of the Kola Sami languages happened in the course of the three studied generations. So, what was the part of the boarding school system in process of the Kola Sami languages disintegration?

Family communication in an indigenous language is a vital part of language transmission across generations. In this dissertation, I argue that the Khrushchev's boarding school reforms of the mid 1950s disrupted generational transmission of the Kola Sami languages between the second and the third generations of the study.

In fact, most informants among the first generation (1935-1955) were monolingual in Sami with little knowledge of Russian in their pre-school age. Only a few were bilingual in Sami and Russian. Although, informants of first generation received school education solely in Russian language, they were not forbidden to speak Sami at boarding schools. In addition, boarding school policy did not restrict communication of pupils with their Sami-speaking family members. As such, first generation maintained continuous contact in Sami with their families while they resided in the boarding schools. The Sami language was the main language of communication at home between children, parents and other family members. Informants regularly visited parents on holidays and vacations. Likewise, they participated in family-based reindeer herding and fishing activities, carried out in Sami language.

There is an important structural difference in situation of residential schooling between the first and the last two generations of the study. The first generation of informants received primary education in indigenous schools located in Sami villages and lived together with their parents until secondary school. They received only secondary education at boarding schools, where they resided for a period of two years (from 5th until 7th class). This greatly differentiates this generation from second and third generations of the study who received both primary and secondary education at the boarding schools and resided there in eight or ten years of their adolescence (from 1st class to 8th /10th class).

Thus, the second generation of informants (1956-1968) were already bilingual in Sami and Russian in their early school age. The time of second generation was the period of assimilative boarding school policy, proclaimed as Russification. For the informants of this generation, both boarding school education and knowledge of Russian became an obligation. The informants experienced separation from parents and prohibition of Sami language use at boarding schools as well as economic assimilation by means of formal education.

In the mid 1950s, for the first time boarding school started to introduce restrictions in communication of boarding school children with their family members. Informants of this generation could only visit their parents according to specific time schedule and could not leave the territory of the boarding without special permission of the school superintendents. As consequence, children became isolated from the Sami linguistic environment, family-based indigenous economic activities, culture and lifestyles of their parents. This hindered Sami language continuity across generations of parents and children.

As I demonstrated in section 5.2 of the Chapter 5, isolation of children from parents, practiced by Khrushchev's boarding school policies was meant not only to assimilate indigenous children themselves. As I wrote further in 6.1, by prohibiting indigenous languages and isolating children from their parents, it was expected that the children would assimilate their parents in turn and other indigenous milieu around them. Indeed, when informants graduated from boarding schools, they spoke Russian instead of Sami with their parents and other indigenous community members. Another underlying motive behind the idea of isolation of children from their parents was to dissolve indigenous family as a system of social relations. The clan and kinship system of social organization, practiced in Sami communities, was regarded as feudal, tribal and thus backward. It ought to be eradicated in order for the indigenous peoples to progress and become a part of modern Soviet society. By undermining indigenous family as a socio-cultural unit, it was expected that all nationalities of the Soviet Union will merge into one progressive and modern Soviet family. In order to do this, indigenous family cultures ought to be replaced with the Soviet culture and values of the communist ideology.

The boarding school education became strictly compulsory in order for indigenous pupils to acquire new modernist professions instead of backward tribal deeds of indigenous parents like fishing or reindeer herding. In result, indigenous economic activities in tundra, where the Sami language was still widely used, lost its prestige for many Sami informants in front of higher education or mainstream European professions. In turn, these modern professions did not imply knowledge of the Sami language and could be obtained only by means of professional education taught in Russian language in the form of various vocational and labor practices, introduced at boarding schools.

Thus, the prohibition of the Sami language, isolation of children and destruction of Sami family bonds along with integration of boarding school students into mainstream professions seriously harmed the Sami language situation in second generation of informants. The language transmission to next third generation has practically stopped.

As such, in third generation of informants we observe almost complete loss of the Sami language. Most informants of this generation are monolingual in Russian. A few among them have passive or little knowledge of Sami. Basically, the third generation grew up with Russian as their first language with some few exceptions of bilingual speakers who had Sami as first language, which I demonstrated in 8.3.

As I mentioned earlier, like the previous generation, these informants resided in the boarding school from the start of primary until completion of secondary education, approximately from the age of 7 to 17. The earlier endorsement of Khrushchev's boarding school policies on isolation of informants from their parents was still acute in this generation. However, the period of Russification was already over and there was no prohibition of the Sami language use at the boarding school. Well, informants of this generation were already raised with Russian as their first language. In practice, Sami language prohibition was no longer needed. By the end of 1970s, however, when Sami was almost an unspoken language among third generation, it was introduced into boarding school curriculum along with various Sami cultural extra-curricular activities.

Thus, having examined the various experiences of all generations, I conclude that by the time when the third generation completed their residential schooling, they had practically lost the Sami language. The Sami family relations and the institution of indigenous kinship traditions were so undermined that these children simply did not have any accurate resource to be brought up with the Sami language or learn it from elders and relatives. Most of the Sami parents, who had earlier themselves undergone Russification period at boarding schools, could not offer such resources and used Russian in communication with their children. Yet, informants of third generation received some knowledge of the Sami language and culture from the Sami teachers of the boarding school at extracurricular and school classes. However, in absence of the main resource, namely family upbringing in Sami language and transfer of the language through communication with elder generations, the Sami language activities introduced at the school were insufficient to preserve the language among the third generation of informants.

Therefore, we observe a clear Sami language shift towards language loss: from monolingual in Sami with little knowledge of Russian in first generation to bilingual in Sami and Russian in the second generation, and to monolingual in Russian with little or passive knowledge of Sami in the third generation. Of course, specific peculiarities of language situation differ in each generation. Nevertheless, it is possible to trace characteristic dynamics across generations in relation to both loss of language and destruction of indigenous family relations.

The Khrushchev's set of boarding school reforms introduced in the end of 1950's was a decisive, turning point in the boarding school policy, which disrupted connection between Sami children and parents. Particularly, the "Law on Strengthening Ties between School and Life and on Further Developing The Public Education System in the USSR" (1959) resulted in serious limitations of the role of indigenous parents in education of their children. The parental upbringing became replaced with ideological education of children in boarding schools, carried out strictly in Russian language. In result, these policies caused serious harm for language maintenance across several Sami generations. Another severe effect laid in undermining indigenous family structures, which are a central arena for generational transmission of an indigenous language and culture.

9.3 Talent foundry cadres

Educational training of the Sami teachers began as early as in the 1920s. The Sami teachers, educated in the 1920s and the 1930s, were firstly included into the school system before the Second World War. The training of the Sami teachers through the Talent foundry policy introduced the so-called indigenous cadres into elementary schools, located in the Sami villages. Back then, it was anticipated that these teachers would take on the Sami mother-tongue education in indigenous primary schools, what I demonstrate in Chapter 3 of the dissertation.

However, after the Second World War, an entirely new system of residential schooling was created. The indigenous primary schools were eliminated together with the Sami villages. All Sami children were transferred from these villages to one boarding school (Chapter 5, section 5.1). And, the Sami teaching cadres were subsequently assigned to work at the same boarding school. So, what was the contribution of the Sami teachers and educators to the system of local residential schooling?

It was only after Khrushchev's reforms that the Sami cadres were introduced into the system of residential education. In the 1950s and the 1960s, when the Russification policy was actively realized within boarding school practice, the aim of inclusion of Sami pedagogues in the boarding school system was to ensure Sami students' adaption to residential education along with improvement of their skills in the Russian language.

In Chapter 6, I demonstrated how Sami pedagogues believed in the Soviet educational projects and were confident that they could help to improve Sami peoples' way of life. Earlier in 3.5, I discussed that some Sami pedagogues foresaw that the policy towards Sami languages would undergo ups and downs through time. They still believed that the Sami language situation would improve despite these policy shifts. Indeed, starting from the 1970s, after the Russification period was over, the boarding school curricula included Sami language subjects and extra-curricular activities in Sami culture, lore and reindeer husbandry.

The early boarding school system and especially the Talent foundry policy educated generations of Sami pedagogues and intellectuals, the entire social class of indigenous intelligentsia. The free higher education, provided by the state in terms of this policy, was a real opportunity for the Sami to attain formalized professions. In result, many among the first two generations of the study became Sami scientists, literary authors, poets, teachers, doctors and politicians - the enlightened people of their nation. It was truly possible during the first half of the Soviet period as the vast network of institutions for promoting education of indigenous peoples was created both in the Murmansk region and in St. Petersburg.

Nevertheless, this policy had one principle disadvantage. Such formalized professions required profound knowledge of Russian language. Most of the creative, scientific, pedagogic activity of the Sami talent foundry cadres were carried out in the Russian language. Likewise, the inclusion of the Sami pedagogical cadres into the boarding school system required that they follow the guidelines of the Russification policy of the time. In result, the continuity of the Sami language across generations greatly suffered under the benefits proposed by boarding school, higher education or formalized professions.

In my point of view, the Soviet projects on integration of indigenous cadres into the school system had its overall advantages and disadvantages.

On the one hand, in the mid 1950s up to the 1970s, the position of Sami educators within executive powers of the school system was merely subordinate. In fact, recruitment of Sami teachers as employees of the boarding school was principally a strategic step towards the implementation of Russification policies with the help of indigenous cadres. The Russification guidelines of the boarding school policy directed all employees in exclusive use of the Russian language with their students; by that disempowering and marginalizing the role of Sami pedagogues in educational practice. For the specialists themselves, Russification was a serious obstacle to fulfillment of their constructive contributions to indigenous perspectives in education, along with comprehensive application of their cultural and linguistic competence. The strong assimilative orientations in education, precisely in the period when Sami specialists were included in the work of the boarding schools, created serious limitations in the activity of native teachers.

However, immense integration of Sami teachers into boarding school practice that paradoxically took place during the Russification period, laid further foundation for efficient realization of Sami language as an independent subject of boarding school education during the 1970s and up to the end of the 1980s.

9.4 Influence of state policies on three generations

Finally, I conclude with analysis of influences of identified boarding school reforms and external policies on experiences of three generations of the Sami throughout the entire timeframe considered (1939–1989).

Firstly, education in boarding schools became compulsory in the postwar period. My interview material suggests that seven-year school education became compulsory among the Sami in 1949. It was at this time when the first generation of informants began to receive compulsory secondary education in boarding schools. Using the examples from experiences of the first generation of informants, we see that those who started schools from 1935 to 1940 could still refuse to study further at a boarding school. And those informants who started their studies after 1945 were already forced to live in a boarding school for two years. This policy change turned out to be the first step towards a forced nature of boarding school education, practiced in the two subsequent generations.

Secondly, Russification and prohibitions of indigenous languages in boarding schools introduced as a result of Khrushchev's educational reforms and implemented from the 1950s to the 1970s, represent another core overturn in boarding school policy. This cardinal change formed the experiences of the second generation of the Sami. One of the notable aspects of Russification was the aforementioned prohibition of Sami language use in the boarding school and its dormitory. However, as I have revealed in this study, language prohibitions concerned not only pupils, but also indigenous teachers. The Russification goals stretched beyond the boarding school domains and affected the sphere of home communication with parents who were frequently visited by educators and strongly recommended to stop using Sami language at home. Particularly, the informants of second generation recalled that they were forbidden to speak Sami or that they were forced to learn Russian at boarding school.

In addition, Khrushchev's reforms substantially limited involvement of Sami parents into education of their children, creating difficulties in contacts between parents and children. The boarding school rules restricted the number of home visits, obliging students to stay almost constantly on the territory of the boarding school. In such a way, in the third generation of informants we observe the most severe restrictions to freedom of movement of boarding school students. In order to see their parents and relatives, it was necessary to obtain written consent from the boarding school superintendents. In turn, the above-mentioned restriction of freedom of movement originated from another serious change that occurred federally from 1959 to 1965 and implemented regionally in the mid 1970's.

Thus, thirdly, reduction of the network of orphanages and transfer of orphan contingents to ethnic boarding schools (1959-1965) had a major impact on experiences of the third generation of informants. As a result of such reorganization of boarding school system, a number of children having problems with delinquency were transferred to a boarding school for Sami children. According to the recollections of informants themselves, this created numerous misunderstandings about goals and meanings of their stay in the orphanage-type of boarding school. Frequent confusions arouse among the informants, when they thought that their parents either had abandoned them or were deprived of parental rights. In fact, their parents were simply involved in reindeer herding in the tundra, and were not formally deprived of their rights to raise their children. This created serious misunderstandings and tensions within indigenous families, gradually ruining relations between parents and children.

As a result of the decision on convergence of pupils from special orphanages and indigenous boarding schools, families of reindeer herding parents experienced multiple problems with unauthorized deprivation of parental rights. The above-mentioned experiences are strongly reflected in narratives of the third generation of the study and occupy a great deal of memories that informants behold from their studies at boarding school. Informants emphasize that they were overwhelmed with multi-level stigmatization and discrimination from their classmates, teachers, and the rest of majority society in the village. These were the central issues forming their experiences, apart from their strong feelings of being abandoned by or isolated from their parents.

Up to this point, I have listed policy changes that directly occurred within the educational system. However, in the course of this study, I examined influences of other historical events outside of educational policy itself. In particular, policies of the Great Terror and Stalinist repressions from the 1930s to the 1950s influenced perceptions and experiences of the half of informants among first generation. It mostly concerned those informants whose families were repressed and declared "enemies of the people". Accordingly, such informants were treated as "children of the enemies of the people". These informants recalled that they felt discriminated against in comparison with other students in boarding schools. Moreover, they were excluded from various state organizations that could help them to receive higher education and to build careers in adult life (for example, in Chapter 4, I specifically demonstrated exclusions of informants from "Komsomol" state youth organization). This discrimination was a central factor that affected their negative memories about residential schooling.

Then, in the second generation, the policy of agglomeration and economic centralization resulted in closing down Sami settlements where ethnic elementary schools were located. This policy was carried out in the 1950s and 1960s and played a decisive role in how boarding school education for the Sami was organized after enforced resettlement and instrumentally used by the Sami. Transfer of Sami children from the territory of the whole region to one boarding school in Lovozero had multiple consequences. For relocated children, the boarding school dormitories became primarily a way to solve housing problems experienced by their families.

Such children were subjected to much greater pressure from teachers, whose task was to teach them to speak Russian. Sami children from relocated families had the least access to communication with parents. As their parents were considered to be insolvent due to the lack of housing and work, it was generally believed that these children were better off at the boarding school where they spent most of their time. Their parents in turn did not have the opportunity to fully participate in the upbringing of their children and were practically cut off from the possibility of influencing the lives of their children enrolled in a boarding school.

On the one hand, memories of a sufficiently large number of resettled informants among second generation primarily reflect themes about isolation from tundra-based lifestyles, their mother-tongue and traditional livelihoods practiced by their parents, e.g. reindeer herding. Many informants recollect their feelings of being cut off from traditional Sami culture along with opportunity to learn culture and language from Sami elders and family members. On the other hand, their experiences show great desire to acquire modern professions and education, which could only be obtained in Russian language. By receiving higher education they believed that they could overcome economic difficulties that existed in their families and secure a better economic stability in adulthood.

Lastly, how did the above-outlined structural political changes affect memories of all three studied generations of informants?

Experiences and memories of informants throughout three generations transform according to the changes in federal and regional policy of the state in relation to education of indigenous children in boarding schools. Tracing the situation of all study generations, we observe how the number of years spent in boarding schools gradually increased in each generation. The first generation studied in boarding schools for only 2 years, when the seven-year education becomes compulsory in 1949. The second and third generations, when the term of compulsory education rises to eight years in 1958, respectively, already lived in boarding schools for eight years. Also, in 1988, it was again decided to increase the term of compulsory education to nine years. Respectively, some of informants in third generation lived in boarding schools for nine years.

Correspondingly, the number of years of education in boarding schools gradually increased in each subsequent generation, while separation from family was experienced more and more acutely starting from the second generation, and is especially sharply represented in the third generation. The number of years spent at the boarding school was a determining factor in the informants' recalls and experiences. One might observe how more and more of difficult memories appear and transcend through informants' narratives from the second to the third generations, in time memories of the third generation are most painful. In the epilogue, I demonstrate how the situation has worsened in the fourth generation, when even more tragic experiences appear. Although the fourth generation from the post-Soviet period was not the central focus of current research and still requires additional work in the future.

So, if the majority of the first generation of informants noted that they were satisfied with the education in boarding schools, in the second generation prevail memories that they were forbidden to speak Sami and felt themselves less interested in practice of Sami traditional livelihoods than their parents. In the third generation, informants then recollected that they have almost completely lost their knowledge of Sami language and felt extremely detached from culture and communication with their families. Some informants of third generation noted that they did not know their relatives well, and did not clearly understand how one should interact with them.

As we know, Sami language instruction was not included into educational content of the boarding school until the end of 1970's. Therefore, only the informants of third generation had some memories that they attended Sami language lessons at boarding school and facultative classes about Sami culture. Still, they remembered they did not use Sami language, neither in their childhood nor in adult life. The informant, who herself was a teacher of the Sami language in the period of the third generation, repeatedly recalled that it was too late to introduce Sami language as a subject, when third generation of students had already lost knowledge of their native tongue. The small number of teaching hours devoted to Sami language was not enough to bring the language to life and revitalize it among the third generation.

Hereby, I brought together all my findings. I conclude with a discussion of the contribution of this study to the research field. I emphasize some acute questions that remain uncovered by the current research project and deserve additional comprehensive investigation.

The **Significance of this study** lies in the collection of thorough, robust accounts of the boarding school experiences, the narratives of my informants. This dissertation analyzes and theoretically frames boarding school policies, with a focus on language assimilation of the Sami during the Soviet Era. The background of residential education and its immediate effects on the Kola Sami languages and culture have not been examined comprehensively prior to my dissertation.

The contribution of this study is threefold. It has its theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions.

- Theoretical contribution:

I have systematized and critically reviewed available primary and secondary sources on the topic; combined sparse works on the topic into a single picture. I have collected and systematized the data that was previously scattered in the literature.

I scrutinized the historical development of boarding school policies within the timeframe from 1935 to 1989. I compiled periodization of the study and drafted the generational boundaries of the Sami informants, who underwent residential schooling in three generations.

I introduced and disclosed new concepts in the field, such as my introduction and analysis of the concepts of internal social divisions between children residing at the boarding schools – children 'boarders' and children 'homes'.

- Methodological contribution:

I have worked with the development of a method of oral history, based on the collection and transcription of interview data. I have proposed interview methodology and techniques of oral history interviews, which can be further applied in various fields of knowledge.

- Empirical contribution:

I have collected new data in the field (20 hours of raw interview data); compiled field notes and records containing results of ethnographic observations, the actual process of interviews, results and conclusions of formal meetings and informal conversations.

I have collected a substantial amount of new data on boarding school education of the Sami people during the Soviet period, which has not been the subject of comprehensive research before the current dissertation. The data that I have collected and used in this work is a major contribution to studies of the boarding school policies and experiences of the Sami in the Soviet Union.

I have explored archival materials on the topic. About 200 documents were processed in the collections of the State Archive of the Russian Federation and approximately 100 documents in the Murmansk State Regional Archive.

9.5 Suggestions for further research

Hence, what questions remain unresolved in this work? First of all, the situation of the fourth generation of informants who studied in boarding schools from 1989 to 2014 is not completely clear and requires additional research. It is possible to conduct additional interviews and studies of experiences of Generation 4 – those Sami informants who underwent boarding school education in the post-Soviet period. These interviews could be complemented with extensive descriptions of interview progress and detailed ethnographic sketches of fieldwork expeditions.

In future I plan to expand the focus of this work. It is possible to conduct additional fieldwork activities in the villages of Lovozero and Revda in order to explore archival materials of local departments of education and boarding school archives. In addition, it is possible to conduct detailed interviews with Sami teachers of the boarding school in Lovozero along with further studies of the boarding school for the Sami in the Northeast coast of the Peninsula, in the town of Gremikha. This study uncovered archival materials at the boarding schools themselves that are of considerable scientific interest.

As I mentioned in Chapter 8, topic of introduction of the Sami language as compulsory subject of boarding school program in the 1970’s and its subsequent transition to a facultative form of education in the 1980’s remains to be further researched. Additional fieldworks, analysis and collection of primary archival materials at the local departments of education in the Lovozero District of the Murmansk region are essentially required in order to comprehensively investigate this topic.

I had presented certain comparative reflections about the boarding education of the Sami in different countries in-text, along the chapters of the dissertation. It is possible to continue with more through cross-border research and deepen insight into comparative aspects of the boarding school policies as well as its consequences among the Sami in different nation-states.

Onwards, all fieldwork expeditions to various towns and villages of the Kola Peninsula can be described in the form of detailed ethnographic essays. Thus, prospects for further research are very broad and can be realized within various scientific branches, such as ethnography, history, pedagogy, sociology and anthropology.

Epilogue

I have to mention in this epilogue that the generations of indigenous incubator children have not ended with the third generation whose experiences are presented in this study. Generation 4 followed after the end of the 1980s. The story of Sandra's experiences, which I present below, most strongly reflects the perspectives of children-boarders raised at the boarding school in Lovozero in the early post-Soviet period.

Sandra[689] is the daughter of Sami and Komi reindeer herding parents, who have lost their parental rights in connection with alcohol abuse problems. Sandra told that she has never thought about her indigenous identity as a cultural value. Everything she wished for in her childhood was to survive within the boarding school system and later – outside of this system. Only after integrating in wider society, receiving higher education, a job and being happily married did Sandra start to work with Sami cultural issues.

The story of Sandra

> Again, everything starts with love. An unloved child cannot pass love on. When this child was not loved in childhood – when he grows up, he has to learn life all over again – has to learn how to love. Otherwise, he will be embittered and angry.
>
> Every child should be loved, every... And every caregiver at the boarding school should give twice as much love, understanding that if their father and mother did not give enough – I have to give this love to the child. It is clear that you cannot give a mother's love, but you can give some other kind of love because it has different forms and essences. Try to teach love to this type of child. These children, as a rule, were all unloved. All were angry, cruel, embittered...
>
> We were all kept pressed under a thumb, "Don't you dare! Don't you speak, keep silent. Who gave you a word? Shut your mouth!" Always like that. But me, with my character, I thought, "Yes, I will shut my mouth up, but when I grow up – I will tell everything!" I always waited until I'd grow up and speak up about it. But other children, they were just broken, and that's it…[690]

The story of Sandra is about a girl with mixed indigenous identity (half Sami and half Komi) and reflects the situations of many boarding school children with complicated fates. I have chosen her to exemplify the experiences of these Sami children, who lived at the boarding school, who were in difficult life situations. In time, Sandra's story exclusively turns into a brave struggle for her life and fate. I regard this life story as unique. I am very grateful to this informant for her honesty in sharing her story with me, because many of my informants were not willing to share their most difficult experiences, especially knowing that it would be used for research purposes. At the same time, Sandra had a strong desire for her story to be finally heard and brought along.

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[690] Informant A G4. (Translated by A.A.)

Sandra was born in Lovozero in a mixed family of Sami and Komi reindeer herders. She lived and studied in the boarding school from seven years old until 17 (1988–1998). She was administratively separated from her parents and placed under full care of the boarding school. Her parents worked in the tundra during most of the year, and when they came to the village during vacation periods, Sandra and her parents sometimes visited each other. Apparently, apart from her parents, Sandra was taken care of by her grandmother and aunt, who resided in the village on a permanent basis.

Sandra has very negative impressions of her life at the boarding school. During our interview she repeatedly spoke about violence between boarding school students and educators. She has told me that constant ridicule, abusive language and violent behavior on the part of some teachers and caregivers has psychologically broken many of her classmates. Her narratives include stories of how students were beaten and how they all calmed down the abused children, because they felt sorry for each other. Sandra says that she was lucky that she personally did not experience corporal punishment as she did everything according to the rules in order to avoid it. However, she experienced ridicule, insults, harsh psychological violence and pressure. For instance, this is how the informant speaks about the violence she experienced,

> We would always hold on to each other. Even if someone gets beaten or ridiculed by the educators – we all get together, sit down beside each, pat each other on the head. We had a kind of unity between the children, apparently, it came from our lack of love and attention (…) We didn't have enough attention. Our parents worked in the tundra all their lives, and then they came to the village and of course, they wanted to take time to see everyone. Naturally, we didn't receive enough care, but we always waited for our parents. For us, children- boarders, if our parents come from the tundra – it was the celebration of the year! How we waited for this! How we waited for some news from them! And when parents left to the tundra, how we cried when we were returned back to the boarding school! These were not very good memories of my life, but they passed… What to do?

> (..) Every child who arrived at the boarding school – his childhood was over this very second. This child abruptly becomes an adult.[691]

Sandra told me that her boarding school memories were damaging for her as a child. After completion of the boarding school, she set a goal for herself – to study, to create a family and to lead a decent life regardless of the severe childhood traumas that she had received during her stay at the institution. She stressed that her boarding school experiences taught her to be independent and take responsibility for herself from a very young age,

> My parents died early. I was accustomed to taking responsibility for myself, i.e. I am a man, I am a woman – all in one. I had great difficulties in changing, when I got happily married. I was deciding everything myself anyway, and wanted to hold everything under my strict control. Because if you don't think about yourself – no one will think about you. This is what boarding school has taught me.[692]

Sandra spoke a lot about how it was important for her to prove to herself and everybody around her that even being a boarder, a person can have a good life as an adult, and that low social status in childhood should not negatively predetermine people's future. Her narratives confirm how complex and tangled the situations were of children who resided in boarding schools during this period and had difficult life circumstances,

> Incubators, that's how they call us – incubators! And this incubator mark – one couldn't wash it away from oneself for many years. Until you establish yourself in life, until you prove to everyone that this has no meaning! Now I openly tell anyone, "Yes, I studied at the boarding school. I lived at the boarding school. This is how my life turned out. Anyway, as God soars above – this is how our lives will be." Still, at the same time, this did not prevent me from becoming a personality, to achieve things, to receive an education. Although, I bore this mark for a long time – parents alcoholics, incubator child. At first, when I finished my education, no one wanted to employ me. Because you were always evaluated as a former incubator child.[693]

Two main points aroused my interest most of all during our interview – questions of freedom of movement, and the psychological state of the boarding school pupils. Sandra felt that in the boarding school she lived in a confined space and after her graduation she experienced difficulties in socializing with other students in college. She emphasized that the only place they could walk freely was the yard of the boarding school, surrounded by an iron fence. The territory of the boarding school was a social bubble, where students longed for escapism and to run away. Relatives who wished to invite the children as guests had to ask for permission and provide written statements to prove that they would return the child back to the boarding school,

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[691] Informant A G4. (Translated by A.A.)
[692] Informant A G4. (Translated by A.A.)
[693] Informant A G4. (Translated by A.A.)

> Author. Could you go for a walk?
>
> Sandra. Well, there was a fence around the school – there we could go for a walk freely. And still, under the supervision of caregivers. They went for a walk with us and watched over us.
>
> Author. But, could you go for a walk to the village on your own?
>
> Sandra. No. For instance, relatives were supposed to come to the boarding school and pick me up. Then they had to sign a written statement. Otherwise, no one will let you go. It was already later, when I was in the 8th form and if the caregiver was kind this day [then they could move freely in the village]. In older classes we could go for a walk, but at 8.30 p.m. we would run back fast not to be late, because we were supposed to be back at the boarding school already. But in junior classes, for example, my aunt wanted to take me for a visit – she wrote a statement specifying what time she should return us. Every evening the night-time nanny called the fire alarm guards and reported, for example, that all 25 children were going to sleep and that everybody was in place. All that was reported. We were counted. Everything was accurate and strict, what kind of freedom is that?[694]

Children's free movements were restricted to attending facultative groups or various events of the boarding school. Then students were usually organized in line and marched across the village in groups under the control and supervision of educators. The above-mentioned policy on restriction of movement was introduced in order to prevent runaways, which occurred with regular frequency, as also described by the previous two generations. However, in the current period the restriction of movement was executed more strictly then in the situations of the first two generations. Sandra repeatedly compares boarding school with a prison or a children's colony. These perceptions of the boarding school system by informants themselves come out of several factors: strict regime of the day, marching across the village in groups and overall military style atmosphere together with restriction of children's movement outside of the yard of the boarding school. This is how Sandra depicts her feelings when another usual day at school was over and the sleeping bell has started,

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[694] Informant A G4. (Translated by A.A.)

> If we are allowed to watch television a little bit longer – it was our happiness. Though it was different from time to time, "Here you are 8.30 p.m. You should all be sleeping already!" We cry. We lie in bed and envy those children who are at home now. We look out the window – we look at the windows of neighboring houses, where there are lights on. We think, "They're lucky, they're watching television now. Even, they're allowed to have supper with their parents". We always wanted to eat. I don't know why, but I always thought that we were so hungry, underfed. We were fed, but always hungry – these were my inner feelings. We were given food several times a day, but maybe we were missing home-made food and parental care.[695]

Sandra's boarding school experience left serious scars and traumatized memories, which she has been struggling with all her life. Sandra told that today she is happily married and has a healthy family, which she has achieved only by working through her traumatized childhood. She admits that it was extremely difficult for her to establish her own family, because she had no knowledge of how to build kind, loving and healthy human relationships. She received two professional educational degrees. Firstly, she was educated as a pedagogue, receiving education in the city of Murmansk with the help of the state quota for education of Sami students and state financial support as a student orphan. Her second education is in the field of economic audit and accountancy. When she got married, she continued her education further and attained a higher degree in state municipal management. Now she works at a high administrative position coordinating questions of education in the local village administration, where she cares most about assisting young people, like she herself once was, in receiving education. In her free time, Sandra participates in diverse meetings of local Sami political councils and works promoting Sami cultural issues as a part of local NGO activities. Sandra, according to her own words, still prioritizes her family life and motherhood above her career. Evidently, family life is what she did not experience in her childhood, and this predetermines her life priorities today. She states that her shocking memories of childhood are in the past, but she would not wish any child to go through a boarding school system. Her children study in regular secondary school. At the end of our interview I asked this informant to sum up her personal experience of the boarding school education, which she did with the following citation. Her quote confirms that indeed the boarding school in Lovozero was functioning like an orphanage rather than an ethnic boarding school for children of reindeer herders during the current study period,

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[695] Informant A G4. (Translated by A.A.)

> My personal experience is awful. Eight years there is something frightening from scary movies, personally for me. This is very scary. It was different when we were still living at the boarding school together with my sister, while my parents were out in the tundra – we had a hope that our parents would come soon. But, when our parents passed away and all this hope died, and we were still at the boarding school – this was the scariest. You understand that nobody will come for you, that nobody will take you away, that nobody will hug you. And every day, going to sleep, I thought, "I wish I'd grow up sooner". I was in a hurry to grow up, "I wish I'd turn 18 sooner. I wish I could run away as soon as possible from all this madness." I always thought like that. I wanted to get out if this sewer so much. Indeed, I wish no child would end up at boarding school. In its essence, boarding school is like an orphanage.[696]

This informant's main word to describe her experience was "scary". In her narratives, her emotional experiences of 'fear' appear as central across many lines. She constantly underscores that she felt fear during her studies – fear of being abused, fear at the authority of the educators, fear for her future life, etc. In her next citation she comes back to a discussion of her emotional experiences of fear in the following way,

> Indeed, for me it's scary. This school – well, it's a bad school of life, on the one hand. On the other, a good school of life – I became more independent. We are more down-to-earth, we don't fly in the clouds. For example, when I compare myself to children from families where there are both father and mother, i.e. family children – these children, they believe in miracles! Maybe it's great. It really is great. For me, this boarding school interrupted all the miracles, all the dreams up in the clouds. Thus, on the other hand, these rough conditions at school – they broke someone, but for me it was a push to life. Instead, today I let my children dream. I let them fly in the clouds. It's like two sides of one coin, but my general impression – bad, awful.[697]

In turn, when I had listened to her until the end of the interview, I realized that still we had not spoken about Sami culture and identity. Instead, the whole of our interview was devoted to a discussion of the social problems outlined. Therefore, I asked her questions about Sami language and culture at the end of our conversation. Like many informants of her generation, Sandra stressed that she understands the Sami language, but she cannot speak. Due to her mixed family background, she spoke Sami with her mother and her grandmother, but her father spoke mostly Russian. Sandra stressed that she attended Sami language classes at the boarding school, where she communicated in Sami with their teacher of Sami language, although she did not pursue Sami fully in her adult life,

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[696] Informant A G4. (Translated by A.A.)

[697] Informant A G4. (Translated by A.A.)

> My father was a reindeer herder. My mother worked as a female camp worker – she prepared food for the reindeer herders. We spoke Sami with our teacher of Sami language at the boarding school, and my grandmother spoke Sami. Besides, I spoke poorly, but I understood everything. As they say, I was like a dog: "I understand everything, but I can't say anything." For example, my mother spoke only Sami to my grandmother, but my father spoke Russian. Of course, at the boarding school we spoke Russian. We had facultative lessons of Sami language and Sami language lessons as a subject, but we communicated in Russian. Everything was in Russian and children didn't speak their native languages. Perhaps, these are the people of the older generation [who spoke Sami; speaks about Generations 1 and 2], when they were brought [to the boarding school] directly from the tundra. But we – no, we all spoke Russian already.[698]

Even if Sandra herself did not speak about any cultural questions as part of her concerns during our interview, this conversation about her difficult experiences, so heavy in content, in an instant overshadowed my previous research interests. Nevertheless, with the following piece of our interview conversation I would like to demonstrate how my final questions regarding Sami identity and her answer was formed,

> Author. We started our interview with the main thought of discussing Sami culture. But, after all, I have the impression that you didn't have the capacity to think about it while you studied.
>
> Sandra. Yes, we didn't have the opportunity to think about it. Everything we were thinking about – what to eat, how to support our parents when they come back from the tundra – so that we wouldn't be taken back to the boarding school, how to do things right – so you wouldn't get scolded, so you wouldn't receive cuffs on the back of your head! What kind of education are we speaking about? It is clear that when a child lives in normal conditions – you come home. There your mummy waits for you with warm soup, what kind of problems do you have? You have no problem – you eat soup, do your homework and go for a walk. But we had such problems – to wash floors in the dormitory, then run downstairs to pick up clothes, which is allocated for everybody. Then you had to watch

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[698] Informant A G4. (Translated by A.A.)

> over your night table so that our things weren’t stolen. In addition, we lived according to the regulations and school schedule of the day. What kind of culture can we speak about? Of course, I attended Sami dancing group with [names Sami educator]. This was like a real breath of fresh air for me! Especially when she [names the Sami educator] took us to her home to drink tea! I looked forward to it so much! At her place it was so warm, beautiful, she had carpets at home. We didn’t have this in our life – we’re boarders. She took us for some Sami cultural trips – then we didn’t even have any interest in experiencing some other country – we thought about escaping from the boarding school. Oh, for five whole days we won’t be at the boarding school, we will travel somewhere with her [names the Sami educator]. I was ready to go to the tundra with her and live there, but just to escape from the boarding school.[699]

With the example of Sandra I have attempted to show how even her basic needs for love, care and home were not fulfilled when she lived the boarding school from seven to 17 years old. That is why she felt that she had no emotional capacity even to think about her ethnicity or Sami culture at residential school. Everything Sandra thought about can be described by her expression of “mummy with warm soups”. She used this expression in the context of other children, who, according to her view, had no life problems because they lived at home with their parents. During our interview she said, “What kind of problems do you have when you have your mummy waiting for you with warm soup when you get back from school?”[700] Hence, in analysis of her experiences I can refer to the well-known hierarchy of needs proposed by Maslow, demonstrated below. According to Maslow,[701] the deficit of such basic needs as food, water, warmth, rest, security, safety, love should be satisfied in order to proceed to fulfillment of higher self-actualization needs, placed higher in the hierarchy. In this respect, I consider that ethnic self-identification stands on the highest level of the hierarchy. In order to progress to this level of self-actualization, the deficit of basic needs should be fulfilled.

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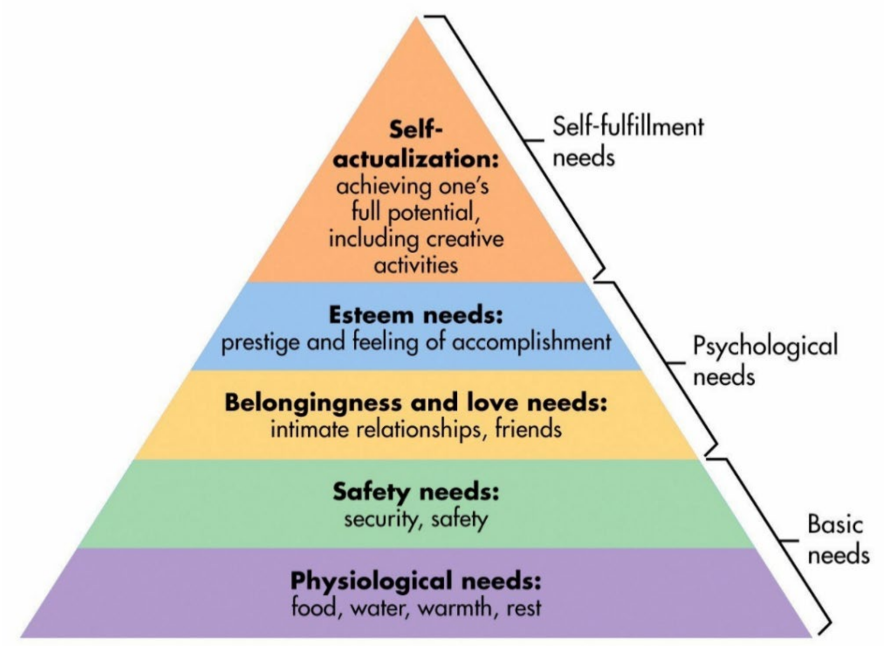
[699] Informant A G4. (Translated by A.A.)

[701] Maslow 1943.

Illustration 5. Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943).


Self-actualization: achieving one's full potential, including creative activities
Esteem needs: prestige and feeling of accomplishment
Belongingness and love needs: intimate relationships, friends
Safety needs: security, safety
Physiological needs: food, water, warmth, rest
Self-fulfillment needs
Psychological needs
Basic needs

Children like Sandra had a feeling that they had no "mummy". Even though normally students were served food in the dining hall of the boarding school three times a day see Table 7), Sandra stated that she still felt hungry. She claims that the feeling of constant hunger arose from the absence of home-made food. How can these children express their needs for ethnic self-identification? Can such children stand up for their culture, for the culture of their parents, even when they become adults? Maslow states that when the basic needs are satisfied, people start habitually progressing towards the self-fulfillment stage.[702] This can explain the fact that Sandra started to be involved in Sami affairs only after she was happily married to a good man, who accepted a girl-orphan into his family and took good care of her. She came back to her Sami roots only when she had two children of her own and reinforced her life with creating a healthy family.

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[702] Ibid.

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3. GARF A296-1-205: 1–2.

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4. GARF 9563-1-519: 109.

   Statistical table, "Numbers of pupils in the boarding schools", 1967–1969. [Statisticheskaia tablitsa "Kolichestvo uchashchikhsia v shkolah-internatakh /vospitannikov/", 1967–1969].

5. GARF 9563-1-4425: 28–29.

   The Decree of Central Committee of KPSS and Council of Ministers of USSR on "Invalidation of decrees of TSK KPSS and Council of Ministers of USSR in matters related to activities of boarding school institutions. [Tsentral'nyi Komitet KPSS i Sovet Ministrov SSSR. Postanovlenie ot 1983 g. "O priznanii utrativshimi silu postanovlenii TSK KPSS i Soveta Ministrov po voprosam deiatel'nosti internatnykh uchrezhdenii"].

6. GARF 9563-1-4425: 30–33.

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7. GARF 9563-1-4425: 35–47.

   Letter to the Secretary of Political Bureau of the Communist Party, Comrade Chernenko K.U., to the Party Secretary of the Ministry of Enlightenment, Comrade Prokof'ev M.A. From writer and the President of USSR Youth Association for Art and Literature, Albert Likhanov [Chlenu Politbiuro Sekretariu TS KPSS tovarishchu Chernenko K.U., Minpros SSSR – t. Prokof'evu M.A.].

8. GARF 9563-1-4425: 78–103.

   The Decree "About General Educational Boarding Schools, Orphanages and Other Residential Institutions", The Council of Ministers of USSR, Moscow, Kremlin. [Sovet Ministrov SSSR, Postanovlenie ot 1983 g. "Ob obshcheobrazovatel'nykh shkolakh-internatakh, detskikh domakh i drugikh internatnykh uchrezhdeniiakh", Moskva, Kreml'].

9. GARF 9563-1-4425: 109–114.

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10. GARF 9563-1-1121: 1–5, 1968; Case is unpublished before this dissertation.

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1) GAMO I18: Ponoi elementary school of the Ponoiskiy parish, the Alexander County, the Arkhangelsk province. Correspondence with Kemsko-Alexandrovskiy branch of the Eparchial Council on reporting questions. Reports on school, student’s lists and other materials.

1. GAMO I18-1-2: 27–28.

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2. GAMO I18-1-2: 41.

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3. GAMO I18-1-2: 85–88.

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4. GAMO I18-1-2: 122.

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5. GAMO I18-1-6: 6–7.

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Map of the Kola Peninsula. In line with the project on geographic demarcation of the Sami communities, Institute of the peoples of the North. [Karta kol’skogo poluostrova. Po proektu natsional’nogo raionirovaniia saamskogo (loparskogo) zemliachestva, Institut Narodov Severa]. Leningrad. 1931.

2. GAMO 194-1-65: 5.

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3. GAMO 194-1-4: 12–15.

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Legal documents (1959–1960)

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Party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers: On Measures for Developing Boarding Schools in 1959–1965. *Current Digest of the Russian Press*, Vol. 11. No. 21. p. 10. https://dlib.eastview.com/browse/doc/13818986?searchLink=%2Fsearch%2Fsimple (accessed 19 June 2017).

Interview material

Interview materials about generation 1, collected fieldwork in Umba, Teriberka, Murmansk and Lovozero during field trip in summer 2015 (Interview volume – 12 hours, informants from A to I). One-hour interview was carried out without consent for digital recording, field notes. Two-hour informal conversation and occasional consultations with Informant J.

Interview materials about generation 2 (Informants from A to G), collected in Lovozero and Apatity during fieldwork in summer 2015 (Interview volume – 5 hours). One-hour interview without consent for digital recording.

Interview materials about generation 3, collected fieldwork Murmansk and Lovozero during field trip in summer 2015 (Interview volume – 10 hours, Informants from A to H). Formal conversations were carried out without use of digital recording with Informants I to J.

During the above-mentioned fieldwork 20 hours of raw data in total were collected and subsequently analyzed.

Interview materials from fieldwork to the Kola Peninsula in 2010. Interview with Informant I (2010). Unpublished material in Master's project, Afanasyeva (2013): Forced relocations of the Kola Sámi people. Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education, University of Tromsø.

Appendix 1 Interview Guide

1. Where you were born? Which sijjt (Sami village) or in which city?
2. How long have you lived there? (Until which year?)
3. Where have you been living there? (In a house, in a tent, with parents, etc.?)
4. What were your parents occupied with? (Did they work? Where?)
5. Which language did your family speak, which language did you speak? (What was the main language of communication?)
6. What was the main language of communication in school or with representatives of official institutions?
7. Did you have a school in your village or other educational facility?
8. Did you go to school? (Where were you provided with education?)
9. Did you have to travel in order to go to school? Who was taking you to and from school? Was it you parents or other people?
10. Did you live at home or in school (most of the time)?
11. Describe your living facilities at school – did you have a kitchen? Bathroom? How many rooms did you have on the floor? How many fellow-pupils were you living with in one room?
12. Did you receive food at school? What type of food was it? How many times a day? Did you like the food?
13. Did you have big classes? How many pupils were in your class?
14. Were most of your classmates Sami? / Were most of your classmates of other nationalities?
15. How did you start your day at school? How many lessons a day did you have?
16. What kind of subjects did you follow in school? In which language were they taught? Were they taught in Russian language?
17. Did you understand Russian? How well did you understand school subjects?
18. How successful were you in school? Did you have any challenges while studying?
19. Did you learn to read and write? Could your parents read and write? Did you parents have education?
20. Did you have any difficulties in reading and writing Russian?
21. Which language did you speak with your parents? Did they like the fact that you learned Russian at school? Did your parents speak Russian?
22. How often did you have the opportunity to meet your parents?
23. Did you like going to school? Did you have friends there?
24. What was your attitude/relations with other Sami pupils from other areas?
25. What was your attitude/relations with other non-Sami pupils from other areas?
26. Do you remember some of your teachers? Who was your favorite teacher?
27. Did you have other teachers? Which language did you speak with teachers?
28. Did they understand Sami? Did you speak Sami at school? Were you allowed to speak Sami at school with your friends or others? During lessons or in your free time?
29. Can you tell something about your experience in boarding schools?
30. If you had had the opportunity not to go to boarding school, would you still have gone?

31. How many classes have you completed in school? Do you have secondary school diploma? Do you have higher education degree?
32. Where did you work after completion of school education?
33. Was it important for you to get education? Why?
34. Where did your children receive school education?
35. Would you like your children to receive a boarding school education?
36. What is *bator (incubator)*? Please explain it in your own words. How do you understand the meaning of this word?
37. How did boarding school system influence situation of the Sami people? In your opinion, were there any type of consequences?
38. How did boarding school system influence situation of the Sami languages? In your opinion, were there any type of consequences?
39. How did boarding school system influence the Sami culture? In your opinion, were there any type of consequences?
40. To sum up, what can you say about your experience of boarding school education? What was your impression of studies at the boarding school?

Appendix 2 Metadata

Table 1. Metadata

Generation 1	**Gender**	**Birth year**	**School years**	**Place of birth**	**Type of data**
Informant A	M	1928	1935–1938	Lovozero	Interview
Informant B	F	1932	1938–1945	Varzino	Conversation (notes without digital recording)
Informant C	F	1933	1943–1950	Varzino	Interview
Informant D	F	1934	1942–1949	Lovozero	Interview
Informant E	F	1934	1944–1947 (started school at 10 years old)	Umbozero	Interview
Informant F	F	1936	1945–1955 (10 classes)	Iokanga	Interview
Informant G	F	1936	1946–1952	Iokanga	Interview
Informant H	F	1938	1946–1953	Gremikha	Interview
Informant I	M	1939	1945–1952	Varzino	Interview
Informant J	F	1939	1952–1955	Varzino	Conversation (notes without digital recording)
Generation 2					
Informant A	F	1946	1953–1961	Chudz’iavv’r	Interview
Informant B	M	1946	1953–1961 (started boarding	Lovozero	Interview

			school in 1957)		
Informant C	M	1949	1956–1964 (started boarding school in 1959)	Chudz’iavv’r	Interview
Informant D	F	1949	1957–1967 (started boarding school in 1961)	Varzino	Interview
Informant E	F	1951	1958–1966	Varzino	Conversation (notes without digital recording)
Informant F	F	1953	1960–1968	Voron’e	Interview
Generation 3					
Informant A	F	1956	1963–1971	Voron’e	Interview
Informant B	F	1959	1966–1977	Lovozero	Interview
Informant C	F	1963	1969–1980	Voron’e	Interview
Informant D	F	1964	1973–1984 worked as primary bording school teacher from 1990 until 2009	Lovozero	Interview
Informant E	F	1966	1972–1983	Lovozero	Interview

Informant F	F	1972	1979–1989	Lovozero	Conversation (notes without digital recording)
Generation 4					
Informant A	F	1981	1988–1998	Lovozero	Interview
Informant B	M	1990	1997–2007	Lovozero	Conversation (notes without digital recording)
Formal conversations					
Meeting 1 with: Head of the Department of Education of the Lovozero region	F	-	-	-	Formal conversation (notes without digital recording)
Meeting 2 with: social worker of the Department of Education of the Lovozero region	F	-	-	-	Formal conversation (notes without digital recording)

Appendix 3 Educational institutions for the Sami (1910–1940)

Table 3. List of educational institutions (parish, elementary and boarding schools) for the Sami (1910–1940).[703]

This table was compiled by the author for the purposes of this study. The table provides an overview of the systems of various educational institutions for the Sami (parish, elementary and boarding schools), established in the period from 1910 until 1935. The table encompasses the following data: names of Sami settlements where corresponding schools were built, and the years of activity of these schools. (See Ch. 3, section 3.4).

Sami village	**School/type**	**Years of activity**
Pazreka	1. Parish school	1. 1917–1920.
Muetk	1. Small-sized primary boarding school	1. Operated until 1940s (until WW2).
Kildin	1. Parish school 2. Indigenous primary school	1. 1917–1920. 2. Opened in 1925.
Voron'e	1. Indigenous primary school	1. Operated until 1940s (until WW2).
Semiostrov’e	1. Nomadic school	1. 1925–1926.
Varzino	1. Indigenous primary school	1. Opened in 1926/1927. Operated until

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[703] The table is based on data from the following sources: Kiselev and Kiseleva 1979; Volkov 1996; Documents of the Committee of the New Alphabet (Tromsø Museum); The Sami-Russian Dictionary and documents of the State Archive of the Murmansk Region (GAMO).

		1940s (until WW2).
Iokanga	1. Nomadic school 2. Indigenous primary school	1. 1925–1926 2. Operated until 1940s (until WW2).
Lumbovka	1. Nomadic school 2. Indigenous primary school	1. 1925–1926. 2. Opened in 1924; Closed in 1940.
Ponoi	1. Parish school 2. Indigenous primary school (3 classes) 3. Small-sized primary boarding school	1. Operated until 1917–1920. 2. Opened in 1927. 3. 1930–1935.
Songelskii	1. Parish school	1. Operated until 1917–1920.
Notozero	1. Parish school 2. Indigenous primary school (with residential facilities).	1. Operated until 1917–1920. 2. 1925–1930.
Babinskii	1. Indigenous primary school	1. 1925- 1930.

Lovozero	1. Parish school 2. Indigenous primary school 3. Small-sized primary boarding school	1. Operated until 1917–1920. 2. Opened in 1927. 3. Opened in 1940 (before start of WW2).
Gremikha	1. Secondary boarding school	1. Opened in 1940 (before start of WW2).
Zapadnaia Litsa	1. Indigenous primary school	1. Opened in 1940 (before start of WW2).
Tuloma	1. Indigenous primary school (with residential facilities).	1. Opened in 1929.
Chudz'iavv'r	1. Indigenous primary school	1. Opened in 1927.

Appendix 4 List of Boarding School Rules

In the same way as Krongauz, I use this “list of internal routines of the Sartyn’inskaia boarding school (1937–1938)” [704] to demonstrate the overall concept of the organization of life and housing rules at a typical boarding school for indigenous children of the North. (See Ch.8, section 8.1.)

Table 6. List of rules and regulations of the Sartyn’inskaia boarding school in 1937–1938.

1. After rising bell and reveille, each student must make his/her own bed according to the approved administrative standard.
2. Students must wash their faces in an organized manner, each student should wait for his/her turn.
3. It is obligatorily to wash face, ears and neck with soap, and brush your teeth.
4. The girls should comb their hair and make braids.
5. The boys should have hair cut short.
6. After morning toilet, everybody attends morning exercises.
7. After morning exercises, students go to the dining room in an organized manner.
8. After school lessons, the current brigade goes to the workshop room, the rest of the students have a rest.
9. It is forbidden to walk without permission of a duty teacher to the House of the Peoples of the North, to the shop or any other public place.
10. By 16.00, all students should be on the territory of the boarding school.
11. It is forbidden to be late for lunch and dinner.
12. The homework must be done in the classroom always at the same time (according to the approved regime of the day).
13. It is forbidden to go to the bedroom in outdoor clothing and bring clothes into the bedroom.
14. It is forbidden to lie on the beds during daytime.

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[704] Cf. Krongauz 1948: 88–90. (Translated by A.A.)

15. All children’s games should be held in the school, in specially designated rooms.

16. Weekly, on an especially allocated day, students have to beat out their beddings.

17. It is forbidden to store food in the bedrooms. All produce brought from home should be stored in a specially-allocated room.

18. Every day (at temperatures no lower than minus 25 degrees) one must conduct a walking tour before bedtime.

19. It is forbidden for two people to sleep in one bed.

20. It is obligatory to wash your hands before eating.

21. Each student must be neatly dressed.

22. After 19.00 any absences from boarding school are prohibited.

23. Each student must greet on the street other students and adults, and behave well (do not jump on passing sledges, do not scream, etc.).

Appendix 5 Letter to Ministry of Enlightenment (1983)

The original letter of Albert Likhanov, the President of USSR Youth Association for Art and Literature to The Party Secretary of the Ministry of Enlightenment (1983).[705] (See Ch.7, section 7.1.)

Dear, heartedly respected Konstantin Ustinovich!

Several years have passed since my heart encountered such an uneasy problem as the contemporary orphanage. My novel “Good Intentions” preceded this. The novel is written and published, but my literary, and simply human obligation told me to speak again and again about the faith of a little person, who from the beginning of his (her) life appeared to be in trouble.

What is this trouble? The main point is that the overwhelming majority of pupils in today’s orphanages are staying there while still having living parents. In the name of justice, in the name of law these children are deprived of their parents. These children are filled with hidden or obvious suffering. Their psychology is uglified by the life and behavior of their own parents. Today in the country there are thousands of orphanages, where almost 150,000 children live. Besides, we have 422 children’s homes, where 41,780 babies are placed. (…) In our time, when the boarding school system was established, the topic of orphanages was removed from the agenda, in a way. We all thought that this time is over, that it has ended with the post-war epoch. However, life shows that the orphanage will not soon leave our educational system, and that orphanages especially today should be cared about (…) A scientifically proven explanation of the concept of orphanages is absent (…) Problems aroused in orphanages, children’s homes and boarding schools should be regarded as a particular shortcoming. But an important shortcoming that requires a solution. Will they grow up happy? Can they overcome the misfortunes of their fates at the very beginning of their lives? Will they fill up the ranks of active builders of the future of their country, Komsomol or communist youth or will they bear through their whole lives their unhappiness, misbelief in calm sanity, negativity of early child memory, traumatized by no fault of their own – we are responsible for this. Besides, I note that we speak about **two hundred thousand human souls**, and this number is constantly increasing.

26.04.1983.

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[705] GARF 9563-1-4425: 35–47. (Translated by A.A.)

Appendix 6 Map of the Sami settlements (1930s)

Map 3. Sami settlements (1930s) based on materials of the Institute of the Peoples of the North (1931).

This graphic representation is based on the original map of the Sami ethnic districts on the Kola Peninsula, originally compiled at the Institute of the Peoples of the North in Leningrad (1931). The original map is provided courtesy of the Murmansk State Regional Archive (GAMO 194-1-65: 4). Current archival material was collected by the author during fieldwork in the Murmansk region in 2015.

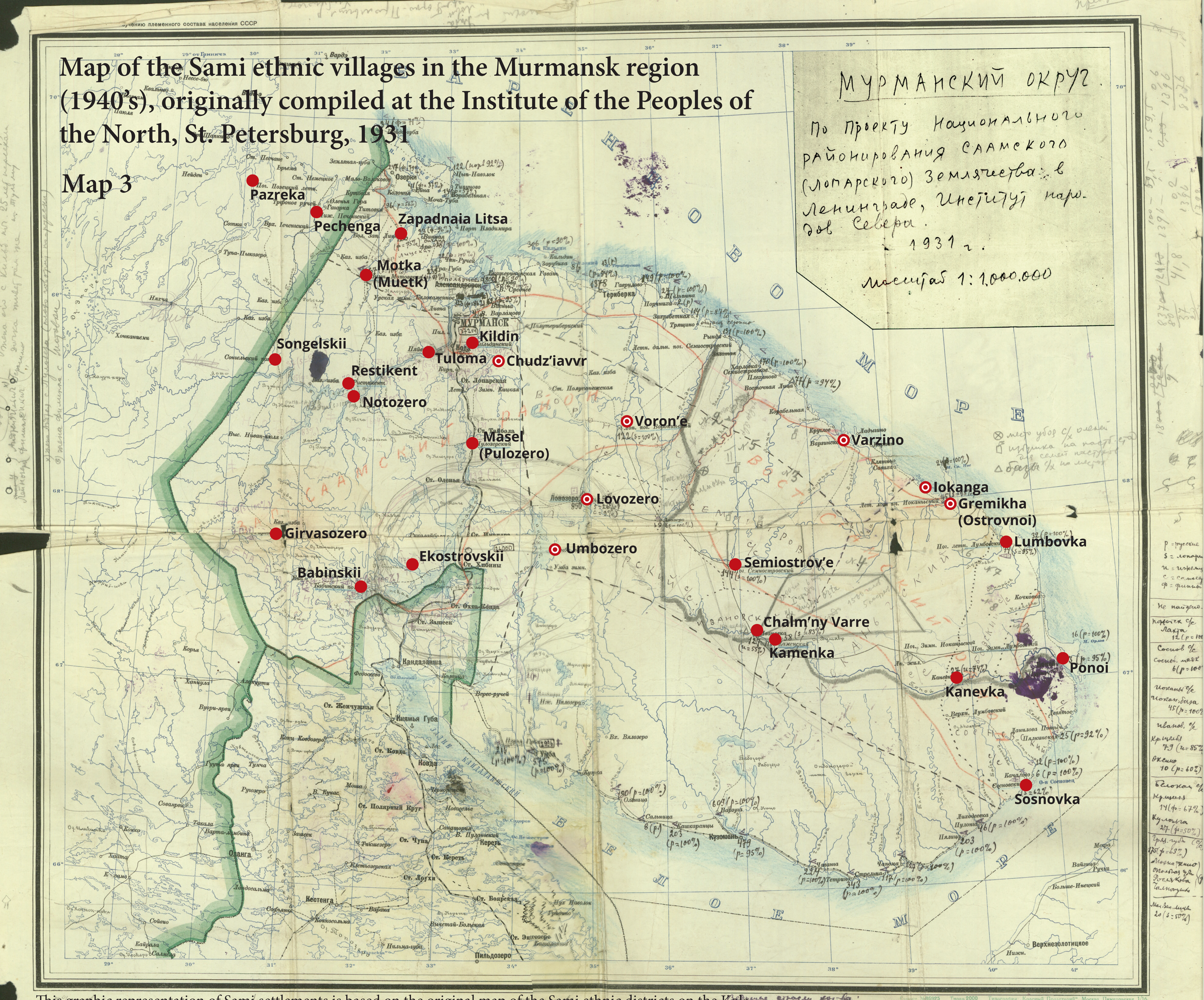
Appendix 7 Fieldwork locations in the Murmansk region

Map 4. Main cities and towns of the Murmansk region (1950s) based on Charnolusskii V.V. (1927).

This graphic representation is based on the original map of the Sami settlements on the Kola Peninsula, dated 21 August 1927. Compiled and handwritten by the famous Russian ethnographer V. V. Charnolusskii, the original map is available courtesy of the Murmansk State Regional Archive (GAMO 194-1-65: 5). Current archival material was collected by the author during fieldwork in the Murmansk region in 2015.

Map of the Sami ethnic villages in the Murmansk region (1940's), originally compiled at the Institute of the Peoples of the North, St. Petersburg, 1931

Map 3

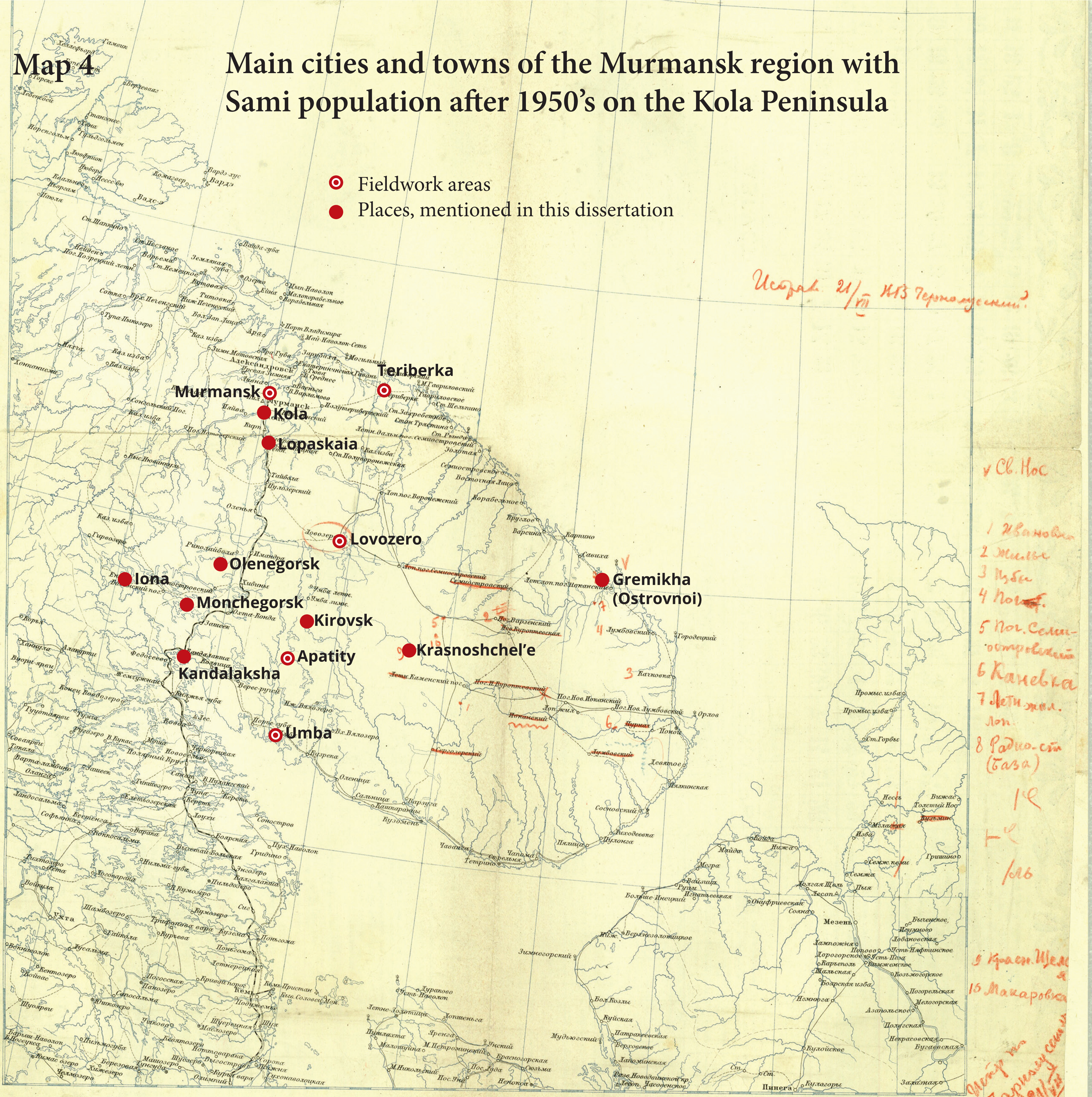

Мурманский округ
По проекту национального районирования саамского (лопарского) землячества: в Ленинграде, Институт народов Севера.
1931 г.
масштаб 1:1.000.000
Pazreka
Pechenga
Zapadnaia Litsa
Motka (Muetk)
Songelskii
Kildin
Tuloma
Chudz'iavvr
Restikent
Notozero
Voron'e
Varzino
Masel (Pulozero)
Iokanga
Gremikha (Ostrovnoi)
Lovozero
Girvasozero
Lumbovka
Umbozero
Ekostrovskii
Semiostrov'e
Babinskii
Chalm'ny Varre
Kamenka
Ponoi
Kanevka
Sosnovka

This graphic representation of Sami settlements is based on the original map of the Sami ethnic districts on the Kola peninsula, dated 1931.The original map is a courtesy of the Murmansk State Regional Archive (GAMO 194-1-65: 4). Current archival material is collected by the author during fieldwork in the Murmansk region in 2015.

◎ Birthplaces of my informants
● Other Sami villages

Map 4

Main cities and towns of the Murmansk region with Sami population after 1950's on the Kola Peninsula


Fieldwork areas
Places, mentioned in this dissertation
Teriberka
Murmansk
Kola
Lopaskaia
Lovozero
Olenegorsk
Iona
Monchegorsk
Kirovsk
Gremikha
(Ostrovnoi)
Krasnoshchel'e
Apatity
Kandalaksha
Umba

This graphic representation is based on the original map of the Sami settelements on the Kola peninsula, dated 21. 08. 1927. Compiled and handwritten by the famous Russian ethnographer Charnolusskii V. V. (1894-1969).The original map is a courtesy of the Murmansk State Regional Archive (GAMO 194-1-65: 5). Current archival material is collected by the author during fieldwork in the Murmansk region in 2015.