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*Multiethnica* is edited and published by the Hugo Valentin Centre, which is an inter-disciplinary research unit at the Department of History, Uppsala University.

HUGO VALENTIN-CENTRUM
The Hugo Valentin Centre
multiethnica
ISSN: 0284-396X

# multiethnica

Journal of the Hugo Valentin Centre
42

**ARTICLES:**



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March 2023

# multiethnica

Journal of the Hugo Valentin Centre




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# multiethnica

Journal of the Hugo Valentin Centre

No. 42, March 2023

HUGO VALENTIN CENTRUM
The Hugo Valentin Centre

multiethnica
ISSN: 0284-396X

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Journal of the Hugo Valentin Centre

ARTICLES:

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# Positioning the Voice and Agency of Young Children in the Distance Education of the Sami Languages

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This article examines the agency and voices of children aged six and seven who study the endangered Indigenous Sami languages Northern, Skolt and Inari Sami through distance education in Finland. While ensuring the agency and voices of children, this article addresses connections between microlevel actions in online teaching and, more widely, the surrounding sociopolitical context. About 75% of Sami-speaking children under the age of 10 live outside the Finnish Sami homeland, while the Basic Education Act secures teaching in Sami languages only within the homeland. Outside this region, children can participate in teaching for two hours per week as an extracurricular activity. The data is drawn from children's interviews (N=10) conducted in spring 2020. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, interviews were conducted online, mainly as group interviews, but individual interviews were also conducted. The findings indicate that despite the challenging learning context of distance education, children with diverse linguistic backgrounds were highly motivated to learn Sami languages and connect to their Sami backgrounds through an integral motivation strategy. Despite receiving varying levels of support at society, at home and at school, there was a strong relational intergenerational connectivity fostered between parents and children through Sami language learning.

This article presents the results of the Finnish case study *Socially Innovative Interventions to Foster and to Advance Young Children's Inclusion and Agency in Society through Voice and Story* (ADVOST), a research project funded by the Academy of Finland (1/2020–2/2023). The ADVOST project is an international collaborative study with the goal of describing and developing young children's learning in Northern and Arctic educational contexts. The overall purpose of the Finnish case study is to strengthen children's voice and agency in distance education of the Sami languages and to develop new pedagogical models for providing culturally responsive Sami teaching in a distance learning environment. The Finnish case study focuses on studying and developing Sami language distance education in a situation in which 75% of Sami-speaking children live outside the Sami homeland municipalities (Utsjoki, Inari, Enontekiö, and Sodankylä). In the Sami homeland, Sami language education is secured by an education act, the national curriculum and supportive funding. Outside of the homeland, municipalities can arrange Sami language education as an extracurricular activity, but the funding does not cover all the costs of education.

This article focuses on young children as language learners in distance education and their attitudes towards language and learning (see Garrett 2007). We were spe-

cifically interested in what kinds of attitudes young children share about the Sami language[1] and how they study it from their own perspectives. The children interviewed were six- to seven-year-old pupils in the Pilot project on distance education in Sami languages (henceforth also "the Pilot project"). This article deals with a language community outside the Sami homeland that has experienced a language shift, meaning that the children interviewed and their parents did not necessarily speak Sami. This language shift affects, in part, at least one generation.

Thus, this article addresses pedagogical, sociolinguistic and language political questions related to children's learning. The research takes considers the theoretical guiding principles for facilitating and enhancing young children's voices in specific contexts (see Blaisdell et al. 2019; Wall et al. 2017). It contributes to young children's empowerment and wellbeing while highlighting important knowledge about Sami children as language learners and revitalisers, providing a picture of their language attitudes.

The children in this study live outside the Sami homeland, where Sami languages are barely heard or seen. One of the parents may speak Sami, but some children only hear the language of their family and their ancestors during Sami classes and while visiting Northern Finland. It is not possible for such children to receive as extensive educational support for the study of their Indigenous Sami language as it is in the Sami homeland area. This reveals a language learning context that is quite demanding, even though the Pilot project on distance education in Sami languages has facilitated the accessibility of Sami education in Finland. Sami language distance education began at the end of the 1990s (Rasmus-Moilanen and Pautamo 2012). However, this language education model is a so-called weak model (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar 2010) that entails two hours of endangered language learning as an additional curriculum outside the regular teaching hours of children. A strong model is needed but is not widely available outside the core Sami areas. Only Helsinki provides over 50% of classroom teaching in the Sami language, which could be called a strong model.

It is important to take children's voices into account in education and language planning, as their attitudes are crucial for the future of the Sami languages (Johansen 2019.) Technical innovations, such as distance education, are needed to promote Sami children's language skills and identity building, especially for those living outside the traditional Sami areas. Measures in education ensuring language revitalisation are necessary so that children can learn the language (Albury 2015). How these arrangements function and cater to young children's needs are pivotal questions. This article seeks to answer the following research questions about children positioning themselves as Sami language learners:

What kinds of ideas do children share about why they study Sami?
What do children gain by studying Sami?
How do children perceive studying Sami?
Why do they choose to study Sami?

This article calls urgent attention to the endangered Sami language development needs in the educational field caused by recent demographic changes in society, changes in Sami culture and migration from the core Sami areas, usually to southern suburban areas. Distance education has also become an important topic for mainstream education research since the advent of COVID-19, so educators and

researchers in other contexts can also learn from this article. The study offers important information about Sami children as language learners and revitalisers by describing their language attitudes. More information is needed on the attitudes of young children towards language learning so that teaching can be organised more effectively and endangered languages can survive for future generations.

## Sami Language Situation as a Basis for Learning Contexts

The Sami people live in the central and northern areas of Sweden and Norway, Northern Finland and Russia's Kola Peninsula. There are approximately 100,000 Sami, depending on the definition criteria applied, of whom approximately 30,000 speak Sami languages (Lehtola 1997). In Finland, it is estimated that there are over 10,000 Sami people. There are no ethnic statistics available for the Sami, but statistics are available from the Finnish Authority Magistrate based on individual mother tongue self-reporting. According to these statistics, 1,700 people report Sami as their mother tongue (Sami Parliament 2021). Not all Sami speakers have done this, so it can be estimated that approximately 3,000 people speak at least one of three Sami languages spoken in Finland (North, Skolt and Inari Sami) as their mother tongue (Seurujärvi-Kari 2011).

Sami languages are defined as endangered (Salminen 2007). The Sami people have faced centuries of assimilation policies, including in the form of education, which has resulted in a generation of ongoing language loss. Speakers resolve to take their Indigenous mother tongue back (Huss 1999; Huss and Lindgren 2010; Pietikäinen et al. 2010; Rasmussen 2014). It is crucial to understand how Sami education is organised and how Sami languages are promoted in a situation in which historical assimilation policies still have lasting effects and the pressure of continuing language and cultural feature loss is still occurring. According to Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar (2010), mother tongue does not always refer to the ability to speak and the competency of language use but is related to belonging and identity. An integral motivation to study means that learners can connect to their family backgrounds (Todal 2002).

Communities are increasingly facing growing diversity resulting from global and local migration, including Indigenous families moving from their traditional areas to urban environments. In educational contexts, classrooms have become more diverse, and in the future, this diversity is expected to increase (Adams et al. 2007). This diversity has the potential to enrich communities, but it can also threaten social cohesion and wellbeing. This is especially true when socially marginalised children and young people must compromise their identity to "fit in". At worst, this can lead to an outsider position and dropping out of school (e.g. Le Compte and Dworkin 1991). Therefore, the teaching of endangered and Indigenous languages requires pedagogies that are suited to these new situations created by demographic changes (Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar 2010). Challenges in the education of the Sami language and culture are related to a lack of resources, such as a shortage of teaching materials and qualified teachers, and sometimes negative attitudes towards the Sami language (Arola 2020; Rahko-Ravantti 2016).

According to Fishman (1991), urgent and crucial action must be undertaken when language is transmitted from one generation to the next and to identify endangered language communities. According to Gorter (2007), the Sami languages are in stage three when identifying language learning factors in Europe, relying on the "strong side" related to the "high power". The stages are adapted from the eight-stage "Graded

Intergenerational Disruption Scale" theory by Fishman (1991, 395).

Young children's attitudes about the language and their study of it, based on their own voices, are an integral part of the surrounding linguistic reality and language policy (e.g. Dressler 2014; Spolsky 2004). Ethnic language communities have different attitudes towards their own language. Some members of the minority language community find their language impractical and unnecessary, a negative attitude that is often the result of pressure from the dominant linguistic community. Others actively revitalise and stabilise the language by combating threats through various measures (Garcia 2009). Children's appreciation for endangered languages is a result of educational action, such as language teaching in day care and school education (Ball 2010).

There is a lot of previous research on children in endangered language situations worldwide, highlighting the importance of environmental support and attitudes towards language revival, including in Indigenous language contexts (Dorian 1994; Fishman 1991; Grenoble and Whaley 2005; Hinton 2001; Hornberger 2006; Outakoski 2015; Pasanen 2015; Reyhner 1999). Previous literature indicates that young children are often viewed as "becomings" rather than as "beings" within their communities. This is especially true for children from non-mainstream communities, like Indigenous children, where "becoming" might also mean becoming a national citizen and basing their identity on their own language and culture (e.g. von Benzon and van Blerk 2017; Sköld and Vehkalahti 2016).

## The Voice and Agency of Young Children as a Subject of Research

This article is grounded in the genre of the new sociology of children and the perception of children and childhood, which have developed over the last 20 years as a means of understanding children (e.g. Löfdahl 2007). This understanding has been developed as a continuum of traditional understanding presented in prior studies, based on developmental psychological theories that are individual-centred and functional (e.g. Gesell, Piaget); that is, they strive to explain the child's behaviour in relation to future goals. In traditional developmental psychology, research has understood children as passive recipients of culture. Socialisation processes include children learning and embracing the norms, values and skills of society, as conveyed by adults, to gradually become equal citizens of society (Gaitán 2014). In contrast, in recent decades, several researchers from different disciplines have dedicated themselves to criticising traditional models of socialisation and development (e.g. Honig 2011; James 2010). Scholars have developed new trends in child and childhood research and have described theoretical concepts to analyse and view children as competent (skilled) social actors (e.g. Canosa & Graham 2020; Gaitán 2014).

Children's competency is closely related to their agency, which is also central to the new understanding of children and childhood developed since the 1980s. The concept of children's agency includes the view of children as co-creators of social responsibility and their own development. However, there is criticism of the increasingly common concept that "children have agency". In the sociology of childhood, children are mostly considered as being between the agent and the independent child. These conversations can be criticised: it goes without saying that children are independent, rather than children and adults being interdependent (Valentine 2011.). This is the case, for example, with Mayalls' (2002, 40) concept of intergenerationality, which describes how children and adults are involved together in the processes by which the social positions of children and adults are constituted, reproduced and transformed through relational activity.

Children and young people are considered by society in general, as asserted by Biesta et al. (2009, 20), "part of the social fabric" of our world. As Bartels et al. (2016, 681) stated, even very young children are "involved in social life and society", and as such, it is essential that their voices are encouraged and facilitated. Article 12 of the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (United Nations, 1989) states clearly that children should be consulted on matters that affect them and that they should have the right to express their views freely on these matters. What these matters are can vary between individual children and the communities in which they live, from matters affecting their immediate lives, such as family life, their physical surroundings and education, to more universal issues, such as climate change, war and economics (Cassidy 2017). The academic literature (James et al. 1998; Lundy 2007) also recognises that despite UN Article 12, how children's opinions are taken into account depends on adults' assessments of their maturity. Hendrick (2000) and Hammersley (2017) note that children are often still considered deficient in many ways compared with adults. It has been noted that adults filter children's voices and views, often for well-meaning reasons, when working with them (Bucknall 2014). This is especially true when they are working with very young children (Wall 2017).

To correct this situation, a recent child study focused specifically on how to facilitate the recognition of very young children's voices (Wall 2017). The study resulted in a set of theoretical principles that allow practitioners to guide their own practices as they seek to facilitate and strengthen the voices of young children. The principles are based on the work of Lundy (2007) and her idea that in addition to the Bakhtian polyphonic voice (Robinson 2011), practitioners must consider three features in their practice: space, audience and influence. Lundy advocates that *space* is considered essential, as children must have space in which they are enabled and supported to consider and share their views. An *audience* is required to listen to those views, and *influence* refers to the requirement that those views be taken seriously and result in visible consequences. This underlying theoretical understanding of the most effective way to facilitate and enhance the voices of marginalised children has led to eight guiding principles (Blaisdell et al. 2019; Wall et al. 2017), which are presented in the next chapter.

## Methodology

Sami language distance education is organised by the Pilot project that started in 2018 to meet the needs of Sami children living outside the Sami homeland, where the Basic Education Act and curriculum create limited support for Sami language learning. This situation is a result of primary school system development in the 1970s, when most Sami people still lived in the Sami homeland. Sami language education was given Act-based support during the period 1990–2000 (Aikio-Puoskari 2009). The situation did not adapt to developments caused by migration, in which increasing numbers of Sami had moved away from Northern Finland to suburban areas of Lapland County and other regions in Finland. Today, Sami children attending Sami language distance education outside the Sami homeland are following practices based on a special decree of the Ministry of Education (1777/2009), which is problematic in many ways as it perpetuates the uncertainty and temporality of teaching. Supplementary Sami language education, provided for two hours a week, is available to pupils who speak Sami as their mother tongue, as well as pupils with more diverse language skills. According to the decree, a teaching group can

be made up of children from different schools and levels of education from pre-school, primary and upper secondary education. In the National Basic Education Act (628/1998, 10 §), the Sami language is defined as a medium for teaching only within the Sami homeland: "Pupils living in the Sami homeland who are proficient in the Sami language shall be primarily taught in Sami".

Around 60% of contemporary Sami live outside the Sami homeland, along with 75% of Sami-speaking children (Aikio-Puoskari 2016). This creates new demands for education. Technical innovations, such as distance education, are needed to promote Sami children's language skills and identity building, especially with children living outside traditional Sami areas. This study was carried out in close collaboration with the *Pilot project on distance education in Sami languages* launched in 2018. It is led by the municipality of Utsjoki, coordinated by the Sámi Parliament and funded by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The project provides primary and high school education in the Sami languages outside the Sami homeland. Teaching is carried out in the three Sami languages spoken in Finland: Inari Sami, Skolt Sami and North Sami.

In the school year 2022–2023, around 150 pupils are studying Sami languages in the Pilot project. There are 30 teaching groups, and the average group size is five pupils. Distance education is conducted synchronously, meaning that the teacher and the pupils participate in the classes at the same time from their own laptops but are physically in different places. According to Nummenmaa (2012), distance learning refers to all digitally assisted teaching and guidance in which the learner and teacher are physically present in different places. Distance learning is an option when face-to-face learning is not possible (Nummenmaa 2012). Teaching takes place on Adobe Connect (school year 2019–2020) and Microsoft Teams (school year 2020–2021 onwards), and learning materials are shared in OneNote environments. Online learning environments are crucial for distance management, but there are limited pedagogical models that cater to young children's learning in such environments.

### *Data*

Language attitudes can be measured using different methods. In this research, semi-structured interviews were conducted with all children aged six or seven (N=10) attending Sami language distance education to explore their experiences of being heard within educational contexts. The first author of this article, Hanna Helander, in addition to her researcher position at the University of Lapland, is a project manager of the Pilot project. She contacted parents by email and phone to obtain parental consent for the children to participate in the study and interview. The children were also asked to consent to participate in the interview (see Cariño 2005).

The researchers were aware of the challenges of research with small children (see Hoff and Rumiche 2012; Mandell 1988; Reitzell 2000). The Covid-19 pandemic also complicated the interviews, as they could not be conducted face-to-face but were held online. The interviewer initially attended a distance class to introduce herself to the children and talk about the research. The distance teacher and parents discussed the study with the children in advance. Distance interviews were conducted in the Adobe Connect classroom, which was already familiar to children from distance learning. Some of the interviews were conducted after distance classes as group interviews, while others were conducted at a separately agreed time as individual interviews. The interviews were conducted in Finnish, which was often the

children's strongest language and the common language of the interviewer and the children. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and anonymised. The anonymised data were kept in a secure system at the University of Lapland, and only the researchers of the ADVOST research project had access.

At the beginning of the interview, the interviewer told the children why the research was being conducted and that the researchers were interested in their views on Sami distance education. The children were also told that the interview would be recorded but would not be viewed by anyone other than the interviewer or another researcher. They were told that research texts would be written on the basis of the interview and aimed to influence, for example, the permanence of distance learning. It was emphasised that they could not be identified from the study and that everything they said in the interview was confidential. Particular attention was paid to ensuring that the children were told things in a way that they could understand.

The children were then asked for background information, such as how long they had studied Sami. After that, they were asked questions about studying the Sami language. Why did the child start studying Sami? Did they like it and did they plan to continue studying? Children were also asked about distance learning arrangements, such as whether they were studying Sami at home or at school, if the classes were at a suitable time, what happened in the classes and whether something should be done differently. The children were asked about the content and learning materials of distance learning. They were asked about technology, such as whether they enjoyed studying with a laptop, whether they could use the laptop well enough, and who could help them in the event of technical problems. Finally, the children were asked if there was anything else they wanted to say about distance learning and were offered the opportunity to ask the interviewer questions.

The children were given time to answer, and the same questions were asked more than once in slightly different ways. Sometimes, the child wanted to return to a previously asked question after having thought about it. Although efforts were made to make the interview situations as comfortable as possible for the children, online interviews may have affected communication so that they answered with shorter responses than normal (see Opdenakker 2006). Talking to an unknown adult online was easier for some children than for others. In group interviews, the children were more talkative and the challenge was to make the voices of the quieter children heard. The research design was created by applying Caralyn Blaisdell et al.'s (2019) framework for studying small children.

### *Analysis*

The data were analysed using the framework developed by Blaisdell et al. (2019) to identify the voice and agency of young children. It was applied in the interviews to allow the children's voices and agency to appear. The framework consists of eight perspectives: defining, inclusion, empowerment, listening, process, structure, approach and purpose (Blaisdell et al. 2019; Wall et al. 2017). Blaisdell et al. (2019) created the framework with an awareness of the challenges of facilitating research with young children from different groups and capturing the complex nuances of fragile learning contexts. The framework was used as an analytical lens in its applied form to help them consider many aspects of the diverse and complex contexts of Sami education and Sami language teaching in an online environment. With the children's voices included, it proved beneficial for comprehending the complicated conditions of Sami language online teaching and learning. The research data was

carefully analysed and contextualised, placing the children's voices at the centre.

Blaisdell et al.'s (2019) analytical framework was applied to secure a data-driven reading of the data. In this context, *purposeful* means explaining the children's motivation to learn the Sami language, as described in their own voices. *Inclusion* refers to how they become language learners. *Define* refers to how the children defined Sami language study. *Empowerment* refers to their connection with the Sami language and culture as a strength in studying the endangered language in demanding situations. *Listen* refers to how the children's voice and agency were maintained in teaching according to the children. *Process* refers to developmental needs and things that interfere with pedagogical practices. *Structure* refers to the content of practical teaching and how it was perceived by the children. *Approach* describes how the children's voice and agency were promoted.

Table 1. Analytical frame of the study.

| Analytical frame | Explanation |
|---|---|
| Purpose | Children's ideas about why they study Sami |
| Empowerment | What do children gain through studying? |
| Definition | How do children perceive studying Sami? |
| Inclusion | Why do children choose to study Sami? |

The interviews were planned to cover Sami language teaching contexts with the help of this analytical framework. To avoid overlapping themes, we read the data thoroughly and made decisions about the best-fitting category. We aimed to maintain the children's voices in this research and article rather than fitting them into Blaisdell's framework. The analysis frame is presented in table 1.

The results section analyses the voices of young children describing Sami language distance education, first from the perspectives of purpose and second empowerment; third, in terms of definition; and fourth, for inclusion. The goal was to understand the children's language attitudes with the help of these themes.

### *Ethics Highlighting the Agency of Indigenous Participants*

Research ethics are always critical, especially when including Indigenous participants, because of their history of oppression and skewed power relations (Olsen 2016). Because there were Indigenous Sami children with diverse backgrounds involved in the research, the ethical aspects were dealt with in a detailed manner during the process. In the research reported in this article, the children's voice was given space, as the theme at the heart of the research was "children in the centre" (see Clark 2011). During the research process, the methodological dimensions were dealt with carefully. This meant contacting the parents and children and conducting the interviews and working with data in a secure manner. When writing about the results, careful ethical considerations were made, taking into account the sensitive research setting.

The ethics of the current study were approved by the ethical review at the University of Lapland, which places special attention on data gathering, storing and handling. The ethical conduct of the research follows the rules of the Finnish National Board on Research Integrity (TENK) and Regulation (EU) 2016/679 of the European Parliament and European Council, which is known as the General Data

Protection Regulation (GDPR). It is also highlighted that Indigenous involvement should be meaningful and serve the Indigenous community (Juutilainen and Heikkilä 2016), in this case, the children, families and teachers.

The participants were offered the option to withdraw at any phase of the study. The ethical review highlighted the importance of the minors and ethnic groups involved, so special attention was given to protecting the interviewees. This meant careful anonymising and taking into account the small Sami communities in which the individuals might be easily identifiable. Hence, this included paying attention to indirect identifiers, such as the mode of speaking, the setting and clothing. Citations are not named so that they will not facilitate the identification of the children.

## Findings

The children in the study were six or seven years old. Some had been studying Sami for a year, while others had just started their studies. The teaching groups were quite small; the average size of the group was five children. Teaching was organised in three different Sami languages: Northern, Inari and Skolt Sami.

### *Purpose and Empowerment*

This article highlights what kinds of attitudes the weak model of Sami language teaching represents. Children's language attitudes, according to Blaisdell et al.'s (2019) category *purposeful,* explain their motivation to learn the Sami language. There seemed to be diversity in the children's language proficiency. The children in this research had either started studying Sami when they started preschool or school or had used it at home with their parents. Some of the participants had not been using Sami in their homes much before starting their studies, so they had beginner-level language competency. This meant that the Finnish language sometimes dominated their linguistic resources, although Sami was the language of their origins. It is often the situation that in a suburban context, the dominant language is the mainstream language and the endangered language holds a minor position in children's linguistic repertoires (Cenoz and Gorter 2017; Salo 2012). Endangered languages are being revitalised after long periods of language shift, and there are many ways to encourage this (Tsunoda 2006). The Pilot project has taken steps to reverse the language shift outside the Sami homeland, where many Sami now reside.

There seems to be a capacity to also keep Sami as a language used at home as an intergenerational activity, even outside the Sami core regions, when children are motivated to learn the language. One learner stated that the motivation to learn Sami in a school-related setting depended on the family's willingness to use the language. For some children interviewed in this research, it was the only way to study Sami through online means (example 3):

> Child: Well, then I can answer my mother in the Sami language, for example.
> Interviewer: Do you talk in Sami, you and your mother?
> Child: Yes.

Most of the children expressed strong motivation to study Sami. They described their integral motivation to study (Todal 2002), which was that they connected to their family backgrounds. Based on this, motivational issues should be of benefit in classroom situations. Teachers do not need to struggle with children's motivation in this respect; rather, they benefit from it.

The excerpt below relates to the children's reasons for studying Sami. The purpose of studying was related to their connection to the Sami homeland area through their parents' backgrounds, particularly when Sami was not used as a main language between the parents and child, but the parents still attempted to keep the language in use at home. In some cases, the parents did not even speak Sami as their first language, and the child felt that the parent was struggling quite a lot while trying to teach them. This again seems to indicate an integral motivation (Todal 2002) to connect to the parent's background. Before the Pilot project, many parents struggled alone to teach their children. For example, in a situation in which Sami has no official status in children's learning paths, the parents seemed to take responsibility for their learning. The children seemed to realise the benefit of nationalised distance education in taking this responsibility from parents, as shown in the example below (example 2):

Interviewer: Why did you want to study Sami?
Child: Well, because… one of my parents was born in Lapland. My parent speaks Sami for me sometimes, so I would like to learn more, so that parent does not need to do it, so…
Interviewer: So that your parent doesn't need to teach?
Child: Yes.

There seemed to be harmonious language strategies built by parents living in suburban areas (De Houwer 2015). Parents valuing the Indigenous Sami language had a positive impact on their children, while parental struggle and awareness had a positive impact on their children's motivation to learn the endangered language (Garcia 2005). According to Guardado (2006), the complexity of the issues affecting maintenance and loss of first language (L1) indicates the multifaceted nature of the attendant consequences revolving around the issues of cultural identity, the role of family, intergenerational communication and the size of the L1 community. There are around 2,000 Northern Sami speakers registered in Finland and 400–500 Inari and Skolt Sami speakers per language, so outside the Sami homeland area, children mostly meet their heritage language needs at home or school or through contacts in the Sami homeland area and among other Sami. Connection to the Sami language was mainly expressed as strong (example 3):

Interviewer: Why do you study Sami?
Child: Because it is my mother tongue and a very good language.

The children valued the Sami language very highly, as expressed in the example above. This kind of valuing is important for an endangered language and can be a strong reason to study the language and develop integral motivation. Promoting learning opportunities for languages that have been excluded from our school systems up to the 1970s is crucial (see Cummins 2000). It was only in recent years that outside the Sami homeland, studying Sami became possible in a broader sense, despite there being organised lessons in some areas (e.g. Rovaniemi) since the 1980s. Sami becoming more visible and gaining more institutional and societal support seems to have had a positive effect, which can also be seen in the children's ideas. The Sami Parliament in Finland has worked since its establishment in 1996 to promote the Sami language (Aikio-Puoskari 2009).

How is it then possible to maintain Sami languages in suburban areas? The interviews revealed that the families had strategies for this. One such strategy was to have the children attend Sami language classes. However, there are 2,000 Sami children living outside the core areas, and only 10% of them attend Sami language lessons, so it would appear that accessing Sami language studies could be challenging. In addition, being in contact with the Sami homeland and the wider family living there was seen as important (Helander et al. 2022). Indigenous people worldwide are living in diasporic situations in which finding a new way to live Indigenous life is called for (Burke 2013). It appeared that some families travelled quite a lot to Northern Finland, as suggested in this excerpt (example 4):

Child: Mum wants us to be able to talk with her Sami language in Northern Finland.

Family travels to Northern Finland seem to support Sami learning in many ways. The motivation to learn was connected to meeting families in the north. To build a purposeful picture behind the language attitudes of children, empowerment is also important when building harmonious bilingual development for children through language contact with their relatives (de Houwer 2015; see also Blaisdell et al. 2019). A positive impact is made on children's attitudes towards languages through socialisation patterns and the frequency with which they hear the language (de Houwer 2015). When the language is promoted and is part of children's lives, the children seem to appreciate it (see also Linkola 2014; more general knowledge expressed by Cummins 2000; Fishman 1991).

The children also described what it was like to live in a situation in which the Indigenous Sami language was not the family language. They said that after they studied, they would understand the language, but their parents did not (example 5):

Child: Mum and dad do not know and we [siblings] know.
Interviewer: Oh, you mean that is your secret language, then, Sami?
Child: Yes.
Interviewer: Your mum and dad do not understand Sami?
Child: Mm.

The excerpts may indicate that children felt a bit awkward in a situation where they understood Sami but the parents did not. In some cases, it is encouraged for family members to study the endangered language so that the impact can be positive for the whole family through the value of empowerment (King et al. 2008).

Children expressed that through studying Sami, they gained the value of speaking competently and expressing connections to their origin. These results are promising in that children's endangered language study was strongly motivated by connections to their backgrounds. These young children learning endangered languages offer hope for the future of these languages (Hinton 2011).

### *Inclusion*

Next, we present the inclusion perspective (Blaisdell et al. 2019) of becoming learners of endangered Sami languages. Around 200 of the 2,000 Sami children living in suburban areas outside the Sami homeland attend Sami language classes. It is an extracurricular activity, and parents need to be active in registering children

to attend lessons. The distance education of the Pilot project does not yet have permanent status. The children described in interviews that parents had been active in enrolling them in classes (example 6):

> Interviewer: Why do you study Sami language?
> Child: They [parents] placed me there.

The example above shows us that families play a role in enrolling children in Sami language classes. Schools are often not aware of the distance education of the Sami languages, but parents must be active to help the child get Sami language education.

Parents' role in raising new speakers of endangered languages in a voluntary situation is important to foster language-aware thinking and positive language attitudes (Hinton et al. 2018). The Sami Parliament has been active in initiating and developing the distance education programme and providing support for Sami languages in a situation where no Education Act–based support is available outside the Sami homeland area. Children also seemed to be positive about studying as well as acknowledging their family's desire for them to learn Sami (examples 7 and 8):

> Interviewer: Why do you study Sami?
> Child: My parents enrolled me and I wanted it myself as well.

> Interviewer: Can you explain to me why you study Sami?
> Child: One of my parents talks a bit about Sami. They asked me to study [the Sami language] and I also wanted to study.

Participating in the teaching of the Pilot project requires that the parent enrols the child for the education by filling out an online form. It seems that Sami society itself has been active in taking measures to address the needs outside the Sami homeland and to ensure the Indigenous right to cultural and educational self-government. Despite long-standing demographic change, no Act-based support has yet provided for the ongoing change in Sami society, with most children living outside the core Sami areas.

Another child expressed that when other siblings in their family studied Sami, their parents suggested that they should also study Sami. Negotiations between parent and child took place, as shown in the expression "mother suggested". The child then approved of this suggestion:

> Child: My mother suggested it for me as my other sibling was studying, so then I started to study as well.
> (Example 9)

Example 9 does not indicate what would have happened if the child did not agree to the offer to start studying, as all the participants interviewed were Sami language learners. The Sami becoming a language for all children in one family seemed to be a strategy that fit the endangered Indigenous language well. Family was recognised as a critical domain of the nation-state in the revitalisation and learning of languages (Spolsky 2012).

Sami language study as an extracurricular activity demands a lot from children and families in terms of finding time to participate in online classes outside of ordinary school hours (example 10):

Interviewer: Are the Sámi language lessons at a suitable time?
Child: Sometimes, I get home from school later than my classmates.

More specifically, it seems to be Sami society and family-oriented activism that keeps Sami alive in suburban areas outside the homeland (see also Äärelä-Vihriälä 2020; Nesheim 2013).

*Define*

An important factor in investigating children's language attitudes is to find out how they find out about studying endangered Indigenous languages (Simpson 2013). The children expressed their feelings about studying the Sami and how they defined the language study (example 11):

Interviewer: Is studying Sami easy?
Child: Yes.
Interviewer: Why is it easy?
Child: Well, because always when we travel north, we are asked questions and we say stuff in Sami, [based on what] I know when I visit my friend there.

The children acquired their language proficiency while visiting relatives. They knew that they had learnt Sami when they could converse and answer when someone asked questions. One of the children told us that when visiting a friend, the discussions were conducted in Sami. These travels seem to have meaning, both as an opportunity for using the language and as a positive sign of their learning. Connection to the culture through regular visits to the Sami homeland area and meeting and talking to people supports the children's learning and provides a self-evaluation platform for them, as well as being a natural place to demonstrate their language competency (examples 12 and 13; see also Genesee et al. 2004):

Interviewer: Is the Sami language easy to study?
Child: Not easy, not complicated.

Interviewer: Is studying Sami easy?
Child: Not so specifically [easy], but it is a bit easy as well. What makes it easy is that we study many words for quite a long time. We play quite a lot when studying; those study issues we normally do by playing and then… playing and studying at the same time.
Interviewer: What is not so easy?
Child: Those long words.

Such shared ideas indicated that the children found the Sami language moderately demanding. Sami languages are Finno-Ugric and contain especially long words that can be complicated. Considering the fact that the language is almost invisible because of the status of Sami languages as Indigenous languages in society, the situation can become very demanding for learners, and this needs to be taken into account by pedagogical organisations (Linkola 2014).

In the excerpt above, a child also expresses how the language is learnt through actions that repeat the study content and words. The methodologies for complex language situations need to be developed urgently. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, 570)

asserted that "schools cannot save a language on their own, but schools can be an important change agent". It seems that there are many benefits and some challenges that the Sami language distance education meets in pursuing the education of young Sami language learners through distance learning.

## Conclusion

This article describes special distance education in the Indigenous Sami language for children outside the Sami homeland. The framework of Blaisdell et al. (2019) helped categorise and highlight children's nuanced ideas about the Sami language, the process of learning it and their motivation to study it.

The motivations expressed by the children strongly connected language learning with cultural heritage, which provided a good starting point for learning. This is in line with previous research showing that children express integrative and continuous motivation and the desire to belong to a specific language group as reasons for learning the Sami language (Todal 2002). Both parents and teachers worked with the agency and listened to the voices of the children attending Sami language distance education when analysing the data by giving attention to the interconnectivity of adults and children, jointly creating a space for learning the endangered language, as Mayalls (2002, 40) expressed. Strong relational activity between parents and children can be seen as a result of the Sami language distance education.

The present study provides encouraging knowledge about small Sami children's language attitudes despite the fact that the Sami languages do not receive strong institutional or societal support outside the Sami homeland. The learning context is much more challenging than if Sami would be part of their education programmes. This practice is also challenging for schools, as they need to buy the Sami language distance education from the municipality of Utsjoki, organise laptops and other equipment needed for distance education and organise supervision for the children.

Based on the research findings, language revitalisation seems to be an empowering action and is possible with the support of family and projects (Bell 2013). Still, more stable solutions are needed. According to the knowledge gained in the Pilot project, Sami language distance education should become a permanent solution in wider areas where there is a dearth of teachers and children, making it difficult to organise face-to-face teaching.

Working with language attitudes is very important to provide a situation for children that is positive and supportive. Structural compromise, rather than purism, seems to be a solution for language revitalisation and revival (Dorian 1994). There are already good practices created in Sami language revitalisation that should be promoted further, such as Inari Sami language revitalisation for kindergarteners to adults (Olthuis et al. 2013; Pasanen 2015).

Wider sociopolitical contexts should be established to support Sami language distance education. Struggling for mutual understanding on the micro level is connected to macro-level contexts. Increasing numbers of Sami live in suburban areas outside the Sami core areas, resulting in an educational situation in which no Education Act–based support is given for language learning in the new context (Arola 2020; Huhtanen and Puukko 2016). This article calls for urgent attention to the endangered Sami language situation and development needs in the educational field caused by recent demographic changes in society. Endangered Sami language

development deserves attention so that the project-based practice of Sami language distance education can become a permanent solution.

## Endnote

[1] Of three spoken Sami languages in Finland, Inari, Skolt and North Sami, children attend to one of these languages' teaching. That is why singular is used in this regard here.

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# Villkorad frihet: Om valfrihet och generation inom Det sverigefinska barn- och ungdomsparlamentet och *Laakso Chikks*

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Den här studien handlar om Det sverigefinska barn- och ungdomsparlament och Laakso Chikks, två projekt som under 2010-talet riktades till barn och ungdomar med nationell minoritetsbakgrund. Artikeln undersöker hur de kan förstås utifrån teorier om medborgarskapande tekniker och styrning samt begreppen Governmentality och Dispositif. Studien använder sig av en diskursanalytisk ansats och den centrala frågan handlar om vilket konstruerat samhällsproblem som projekten syftar till att lösa. Genom att diskursanalytiskt undersöka problemkonstruktioner och presenterade lösningar, drar studien slutsatsen att projekten, utöver en språksatsning, också tagit som uppgift att stärka deltagarnas känsla av tillhörighet, identitet och rättighetsmedvetenhet. Med hjälp av uppmuntran och vägledning skapas möjligheter att stärka sig som medborgare och utbildas i de minoritetspolitiska rättigheterna. Inte sällan kopplas de politiska strävandena till deltagarnas egna erfarenheter, till generationsöverskridande relationer och förväntade livslinjer. Studiens slutsats är att medborgarskapande tekniker möjliggör en typ av styrning som krävs i identitetsrelaterade frågor, men som skapar problematik när det gäller ansvarsfördelningen för att politiken ska realiseras.

Att skapa ökade möjligheter för barn och unga att delta i politik har blivit en återkommande knäckfråga i västerländska demokratier. Deltagandet har kommit att betraktas som tecken på ökad egenmakt och demokratisering (Arnott 2008, Bessant 2003). FN:s barnkonventions artikel 12 som handlar om barnets rätt till inflytande och delaktighet har varit särskilt viktig i denna utveckling (Raby 2014). Att involvera yngre generationer har med andra ord blivit en viktig uppgift, dels för att grupperna ska ha möjlighet att påverka sin situation nu, men också då de är framtidens vuxna medborgare. Detta gäller barn och unga generellt, men när det gäller politik om grupper med särdrag såsom språk, identitet och kultur kan oengagerade barn och unga utgöra ett hot för gruppernas framtid, som är beroende av att generationer av nya talare och kulturbärare fortsätter avlösa varandra. Detta har identifierats som ett centralt problem inom den svenska minoritetspolitiken, liksom barns och ungas vikande intresse för att involvera sig i minoriteternas traditionella organisationer som, likt politiska ungdomsförbund, förväntas fungera som ett avstamp till engagemang i vuxen ålder (Huss 2012, Lainio 2018, Orama 2011, Rodell Olgaç 2020, Syrjänen Schaal och Huss 2014). I centrala, minoritetspolitiska dokument har barn och unga kommit att benämnas som särskilt viktiga för minoriteternas framtid (Prop. 2008/09: 158, SOU 2017:88, SOU 2020: 27). Det har bland annat resulterat i öronmärkta projektmedel för att engagera barn och unga i aktiviteter som ökar engagemanget i minoritetspolitiska frågor. Den här studien

handlar om två sådana projekt – Det sverigefinska barn- och ungdomsparlamentet och mentorsprojektet Laakso Chikks. Initialt kan dessa uppfattas som disparata, men de har visat sig ha flera gemensamma drag när deras verksamhet analyseras utifrån teorier om medborgarskapande tekniker och styrning.

## Tidigare forskning

Vikten av att lyssna på barn och ungdomar och beakta deras rättigheter har de senaste årtiondena blivit ledord i utformningen av politik som rör grupperna (Anderson 2018, Earl et al 2017, Määttä och Aaltonen 2016, Raby 2014). Detta blev särskilt aktuellt i Sverige när barnkonventionen blev lag år 2020. Parallellt har det skett en förskjutning i synen på barn och ungdomar. Förenklat har den gått från att betrakta barn och unga som passiva och beroende av att vuxna, till att förstås som aktiva och kompetenta nog för att kunna lära vuxna om världen (Jones 2001, Philo 2003). Detta har bland annat resulterat i att barn och unga ska i allt större utsträckning ges möjligheter att påverka beslut rörande dem. Ett centralt resonemang handlar om hur barn och ungdomar ska få verkligt inflytande, något som också fått ett genomslag inom forskningen om ungas deltagande. Inom denna tradition ses barn och ungas deltagande som ett tecken på ökad demokratisering och egenmakt (Coe et al 2016, Earl at al 2017, Elliot och Earl 2018, Sant och Davies 2018).

Den här artikeln tar en annan utgångspunkt och betraktar barns och ungdomars deltagande som en medborgarskapande styrning, där individerna skapas och skapar sig själva som en särskild sorts subjekt som kan orientera sig i relation till det som konstrueras som önskvärt. Istället för att betrakta deltagandet som ett tecken på empowerment, egenmakt, förstås den som en maktutövning (Anderson 2018, Bessant 2003, Bragg 2007, Raby 2014). Ingången innebär att medborgarskap inte längre betraktas som en vuxen angelägenhet i formen av ett kontrakt som reglerar civila, politiska och sociala rättigheter och skyldigheter. Istället betonas processen i medborgar*skapandet* och betraktas som ett livslångt fostransprojekt, där barn och unga tidigt inkluderas i praktiker som är tänkta att forma önskvärda individer (Bessant 2004, 387, Cruikshank 1999, Nicoll et al 2013). Parallellt med att barn och ungdomar i allt högre utsträckning kommit att inkluderas i medborgarskapande praktiker, har de ungdomar som av olika skäl inte deltar i dessa återkommande praktiker diskuterats utifrån temat *"Youth at Risk"* (Bessant 2003). Hit räknas ungdomar med ett farligt eller kriminellt beteende, men också de som riskerar utanförskap om inte speciella stödåtgärder vidtas (Cruickshank 1999, Del Percio och Wong 2019, Raby 2014, Rose 1999). Den sistnämnda gruppen kan exempelvis vara barn och ungdomar med funktionsvariationer, en annan sexuell läggning än heterosexualitet eller de som tillhör en språkligt och kulturellt särpräglad grupp såsom en minoritet eller ett urfolk (Rose 1999). Den här studien av Det sverigefinska barn- och ungdomsparlamentet samt Laakso Chikks har visat att barn och ungdomar med minoritetsbakgrund återkommande beskrivs vara i behov av uppmuntran för att förstärka sin identitet samt tillhörighet till minoritetsgruppen. Ett annat återkommande tema är att relationerna mellan minoritetsgenerationer behöver förstärkas. Generation används i vardagligt bruk som en kategorisering av människor födda under samma historiska tid och därför antas ha liknande erfarenheter. Genom att placera in människor i kronologisk ordning skapas en linjär tidsuppfattning, där äldre generationer följs av nya. En sådan definition av generation, som ett naturligt och nästintill ostoppbart förlopp, har problematiserats av exempelvis queerteoretiker, som menar att synen på generation är bero-

ende av normativa uppfattningar om hur livet bör se ut (Edelman 2004, Freeman 2010, Halberstam 2005). Problematiseringen av generation pekar på de sprickor som uppstår när någon inte klarar av att leva upp till det förväntade, vilket också synliggör det omfattande arbete som krävs för att det ”naturliga” ska framstå som just det. Problematiseringen av en normerande livslinje och generation kan förstås genom det som Halberstam kallar för *Time of Inheritance,* arvetid, (Halberstam 2005, 5). Detta perspektiv belyser hur exempelvis värderingar, moral och materiella tillgångar förs vidare från en generation till en annan. Det kan användas för att förstå hur den enskilda individen knyts samman med förfluten tid, men också med framtiden genom löften om barn, barnbarn och nya familjer (Ambjörnsson och Bromseth 2010, 225–226). Den här studien använder problematiseringen av generation och en förväntad livslinje för att belysa vilken typ av språkligt, kulturellt och identitetsmässigt agerande som krävs för att minoriteternas framtid ska vara möjlig.

## Teoretiska utgångspunkter

För att teoretiskt förklara Det sverigefinska barn- och ungdomsparlamentet och Laakso Chikks används de teoretiska begreppen *Governmentality* (Barakos 2016, Rolfe 2018, Pennycook 2002, Urla 2019) samt *Dispositif* (Agamben 2009, Foucault 1980, Frost 2019, Thomas 2014, Villadsen 2008). Governmentality är en styrningsrationalitet som kommit att bli central i liberaldemokratiska samhällen (Foucault 1991), där det som ligger utanför den disciplinära maktens ramar, måste styras genom att bejaka människors viljor snarare än att gå emot dem (Rose 1999). Det gäller exempelvis frågor rörande identitet och modersmål. Governmentality-studier handlar om att undersöka de föreställningar och praktiker som möjliggör varlig styrning som kräver subjekt som både kan och vill orientera sig mellan det som i sammanhanget anses som lämpligt och olämpligt. De subjekt som inte passar in i det förväntade kommer varken tvingas eller straffas, utan snarare stöttas, utbildas, övertalas och uppmuntras att förändra sitt beteende. Governmentality handlar om en internaliserad och ständigt närvarande maktutövning som inte bara utövas utifrån, utan som individen utövar mot sig själv och andra i sin omgivning. Makt och kunskap är sammankopplade, och är produkter av specifika diskurser, där varje försök att benämna och kategorisera världen skapar normer och skillnad. Governmentality tillåter oss att studera det sätt på vilket individer, genom lokala praktiker, aktiveras och subjektifieras. Vidare låter den oss ana de makttekniker som sätts i spel för att åstadkomma detta samt vilka potentiella konsekvenser det får på de som omfattas av sorteringen (Dean 2010, Urla 2019, Rose 1999). Härigenom uppnås en mer komplex förståelse för hur makt, på ofta motsägelsefulla sätt, verkar på olika nivåer och genomsyrar individer och institutioner, och formar människors val gällande språk och gemenskaper.

Pennycook (2006) har tillämpat governmentality i relation till modersmål och språkgemenskaper. *Language/Linguistic Governmentality* (Pennycook 2002, Urla 2019) används för att förstå hur språkrelaterade beslut skapar specifika uppsättningar av tekniker, praktiker och kunskap, som reglerar språkanvändning och formar individers, gruppers och organisationers tankar om exempelvis modersmål och språköverföring över generationer (Del Percio och Wong 2019, Pennycook 2005, Rojo 2019, Urla 2019, 262). Vidare betonar Rose relevansen av att även belysa att, och hur, de berörda grupperna också förväntas lära sig att styra sig själva, vad han kallar styrning genom gemenskap, *govern through community* (Rose 1999, 167–196, Rose och

Miller 2010). Med det menas sättet som individer, genom exempelvis uppmuntran och utbildning, bör vidta åtgärder för att förstärka kopplingen till en gemenskap som de antas tillhöra, men också antas sakna tillräcklig relation till. Självidentifikation och kunskap om gruppen är väsentlig, för att ett varligt styre ska vara möjligt och politiken uppfattas som legitim. Detta har medfört att icke-statliga organisationer fått en allt större roll i politikens utformning och genomförande. Det beror dels på att de är förankrade i gruppen och känner till deras önskemål, men också att engagemanget i dem är förknippat med frivillighet, vilket innebär att styrning genom gemenskap inte behöver uppfattas som politiskt betingat av deltagarna (Bryant 2002). För individen handlar det om att vilja inkludera sig i ett vi, det vill säga att lära sig att internalisera moral och hantera de risker som betraktas som viktiga i det aktuella sammanhanget (Miller och Rose 2010, Rose 1999).

Allt sammantaget gör att maktutövning bör betraktas som tvetydig, ofrånkomlig och ständigt närvarande, också i projekt som utgår från goda föresatser och exempelvis vill skapa ökad egenmakt. Istället för att betrakta det som en frigörelseprocess kommer studien att utgå ifrån att det är en medborgarskapande teknik, som syftar till att skapa kapabla medborgare som kan agera, delta och ta ansvar (Cruickshank 1999, Barakos 2016, Bröckling 2015, Urla 2019).

För att binda ihop de empiriska exemplen samt förstå governmentality i ett större sammanhang, används det teoretiska begreppet *dispositif,* apparat (Foucault 1980). Det används för att belysa konstruktionen av och lösningen på det som kommit att kallas för *"An Urgent Need"* (Foucault 1980, 194–195), ett brådskande befolkningsproblem. Med det avses konstruktionen av en företeelse eller en grupp människor, som i en given tid kommit att betraktas som ett brådskande problem som måste lösas (Thomas 2014). Apparaten består av relationerna mellan en samling diskursiva och icke-diskursiva element, som producerar makt och kunskap vid en given tidpunkt, samt utesluter det icke-önskvärda. Begreppet sammanlänkar människors liv med mål och strävanden i politiska program och undersöker hur en heterogen uppsättning av diskurser, institutioner, lagar, vetenskapliga utsagor och administrativa åtgärder mobiliseras för att lösa det konstruerade befolkningsproblemet. Med hjälp av apparat går det att studera både det diskursiva och icke-diskursiva och framförallt relationen mellan dem. Genom att fokusera på *hur* det diskursiva, i form av muntligt och skriftligt tal, växelverkar med det icke-diskursiva, såsom materiella objekt och praktiker, riktas fokus på hur fenomen ges betydelse och i förlängningen skapar olika politiska praktiker som är möjliga att studera (Agamben 2009, Barakos 2016, Foucault 1980, Johnson 2013, Thomas 2014).

Kombinationen av governmentality och apparat möjliggör studiet av det som sker i mötet mellan de olika parterna, där makten på samma gång fungerar som villkorande och möjliggörande. Apparaten företräder varken staten eller tillhör specifika organisationer, verksamheter eller individer, utan skapas i genomskärningen av dem, vilket projekten som analyseras i den här studien kan ses som exempel på. De drivs inom ramen för minoriteternas intresseorganisationer, med finansiering från offentliga instanser och där olika experter, forskare och politiska företrädare återkommande medverkar. De mer eller mindre uttalade strategiska målen är normativa, men det är långt ifrån alltid som konsekvenserna blir de önskade.

Istället tar maktutövningens realiserade effekter oväntade riktningar, vilket tydliggör behovet av att studera vad som faktiskt händer när organisationer och individer skapar praktiker i utrymmet som ramas in av lagtexter, rättigheter, policydokument och utredningar (Barakos 2016, Peltonen 2004, Pennycook 2002).

## Metodologiska val

Den teoretiska utgångspunkten att språket skapar vår förståelse av världen gör diskursanalys till ett lämpligt metodval, då den fokuserar på det sagda och skrivna, men också på de praktiker som verklighetskonstruktioner kan komma att leda till (Börjesson och Palmblad, 2007; Foucault, 1993). Diskursanalys handlar om att undersöka hur verkligheten konstrueras genom att vissa kategoriseringar och beskrivningar framställs som sanning. Därmed för varje försök att definiera världen med sig en maktdimension, då beskrivningarna av det önskvärda också ringar in det oönskvärda, åtminstone implicit (Foucault 1993).

Den centrala frågan handlar om vilket brådskande befolkningsproblem (Foucault 1980, 194–195) som projekten syftar till att lösa och på vilket sätt. Metodologiskt är studien inspirerad av Carol Bacchis angreppssätt *"What´s the Problem Represented to Be?"* (Bacchi 2012), som främst använts för att undersöka vilka problemkonstruktioner och lösningar som går att skönja i policydokument. Vidare handlar det om att studera vem deltagaren antas vara utifrån vilka egenskaper, förmågor och värderingar det aktuella subjektet antas ha samt vilka medborgarskapande praktiker som lyfts fram som möjliggörande när det kommer till de önskvärda egenskaper, förmågor och värderingar (Dahlstedt och Olson 2014). Forskningsfrågorna är ställda i ljuset av det teoretiska ramverket om medborgarskapande styrning, minoritetspolitiska risker samt hur detta kan förstås i relation till förväntningar när det kommer till generationskiften. Artikeln ställer följande frågor:

Hur konstrueras befolkningsproblemet som projekten är tänkt att lösa?
Hur kan projekten förstås utifrån teorier om medborgarskapande praktiker?
Hur används generationsrelationer i skapandet av unga minoriteter?
Vilka konsekvenser för ansvarsfördelningen får utformning av den svenska minoritetspolitiken?

## Empiriskt material

Den här studien är del av ett avhandlingsprojekt, vars empiri insamlats mellan åren 2008 och 2022. Ur det totala materialet har två projekt utvalts till denna delstudie för att närmare kunna belysa hur projekt för barn och ungdomar med minoritetsbakgrund kan förstås i ljuset av governmentality, apparat och medborgarskapande praktiker. De två exemplen kan vid en första anblick uppfattas vara olika. Men de har valts ut för att visa på den bredd av projekt som riktas till barn och unga med minoritetsbakgrund, som trots vissa olikheter också uppvisar flera likheter. De aktuella projekten, som under 2010-talet bedrivits av och för barn och ungdomar med nationell minoritetsbakgrund är

1. Det sverigefinska barn- och ungdomsparlamentet
2. Mentorsprojektet Laakso Chikks.

Materialet gällande Det sverigefinska barn- och ungdomsparlamentet består av artikelförfattarens fältanteckningar från parlamentssessionen år 2013 samt dess förberedande och efterföljande delar. I materialet inkluderas även de informella samtal som jag haft med deltagarna och personer som planerat och genomfört parlamentet. Också dessa har dokumenterats i fältanteckningar. Vidare finns en mängd skriftligt material, såsom ansökningen om finansiering, projektbeskrivning, materialet som användes i förberedelserna inför parlamentet, samt det material

som deltagarna arbetade med under parlamentsdagarna. Till materialet hör också projektets hemsida, som bland annat innehåller de inledande hälsningstalen, informationsmaterial, en blogg samt intervjuer med politiker och beslutsfattare. Därutöver finns en filminspelning av själva parlamentssessionen, som spelades in och tv-sändes av Sveriges Television.

Materialet om Laakso Chikks består av skrivet material som producerats inom ramen för och om projektet: Chikksbloggen, magasinet Laakso Chikks, som båda författats av deltagarna under projektets gång. I materialet ingår också den presentation som ett av deltagarparen gjorde under konferensen ”Minoritetspolitik på ungas villkor”, som spelades in och tv-sändes av Utbildningsradion.

För att kontextualisera de ovan beskrivna projekten har en stor mängd bakgrundsmaterial använts. Dessa har inte detaljstuderats utan snarare använts för att förstå hur de utvalda projekten, till utformande och innehållsligt, förhåller sig till andra projekt riktade till barn och unga med minoritetsbakgrund. Det materialet är insamlat mellan åren 2008–2021, och inkluderar exempelvis 33 projektansökningar, som år 2016 beviljades sammanlagt 3.5 miljoner kronor i statsbidrag av Institutet för språk och folkminnen för insatser till stöd för de nationella minoritetsspråken, där särskilt fokus låg på projekten som riktades mot barn och ungdomar. Vidare rör det sig om utredningar och informationsmaterial, såsom broschyrer som delats ut av myndigheter, på konferenser och på besök hos olika minoritetsorganisationer. Därutöver har artikelförfattaren gjort fältarbete och publicerat vetenskapliga artiklar inom ramen för två forskningsprojekt, som på olika sätt berört Sveriges nationella minoriteter. Detta har skett främst inom ramen för två forskningsprojekt. Det första var vid Helsingfors Universitet mellan åren 2009–2011 och hette Bilingualism, Identity and the Media. Det andra gick under namnet European Language Diversity for All och bedrevs vid Mainz Universitet mellan åren 2010–2011. Det materialet består av fältanteckningar samt formella och informella samtal som jag haft med människor, som jag har träffat under fältarbetet. Det handlar om beslutsfattare och myndighetspersonal som på olika sätt arbetar med minoritetsfrågor, samt om människor med bakgrund i någon av språkgrupperna och representanter för minoriteternas olika intresseorganisationer. Långt ifrån allt av det ovan nämnda materialet är explicit synligt i de kommande analysavsnitten. Men de fyller ändå en viktig funktion då erfarenheterna resulterat i en mängd bakgrundsinformation, som möjliggör hur de två presenterade projekten kan förstås i ett större sammanhang, vilket ger legitimitet för den omfattande helhet som studien gör anspråk på att göra.

## Etiska överväganden

Artikelns empiri kan betecknas som naturligt förekommande (Potter 2002), då materialets tillblivelse inte varit beroende av mig som forskare. Därtill kan det även beskrivas som offentligt, då båda projekten valt att öppet presentera sin verksamhet på olika plattformar. Deltagare har medverkat i tv-sända produktioner, där de berättat om sitt projekt. Dessa har tv-sänts på public service-kanaler, samt varit tillgängliga på SVT Play och UR Play. På Laakso Chikks-bloggen har deltagarna publicerat personliga texter om exempelvis privata tankar och identitetsfunderingar. Bloggen är inte begränsad i den mån att den skulle kräva en inloggning, vilket föranleder slutsatsen om att den är tänkt att nå en publik.

Även om materialet tillkommit utan min inblandning så är urvalet av material samt det teoretiska ramverket som använts forskarstyrda, vilket får konsekvenser för den berättelse som skapas genom denna artikel. Att materialet är offentligt minskar inte heller betydelsen av att fatta etiska beslut kring hur materialet presenteras och deltagar-

nas integritet bibehålls. Detta är särskilt viktigt då det rör sig om barn och tonåringar.

Jag har valt att inte skaffa informerat samtycke från deltagarna då studiens syfte inte varit att samla information om enskilda individers agerande eller åsikter, utan snarare skapa en helhetsbild kring vad barn och unga kan sägas vara en del av genom sin medverkan i de två projekten. Deltagarna är inte namngivna och artikeln innehåller inte heller citat från deltagarna som kan klassificeras som ”känsliga personuppgifter” (www.etikprövningsnämnden.se).

För att skapa öppenhet och möjligheter till dialog har arrangörerna/projektledarna försetts med information om min forskarnärvaro (både den fysiska och digitala). Inför Det sverigefinska barn- och ungdomsparlamentet träffade jag projektledaren för att informera om mitt forskningsprojekt och dess syften. I samförstånd med arrangören kom vi överens om att hen skulle meddela deltagarna om min närvaro under parlamentet samt att alla samtal med mig var frivilliga och konfidentiella. I de fall jag samtalade med parlamentsdeltagare under dagen berättade jag om vem jag är, vad mitt syfte är samt att deltagaren kan välja att inte tala med mig och att de har rätt att ångra sin medverkan närsomhelst. Inga av de informella samtalen jag fört redovisas i detalj i den här artikeln, men har hjälpt mig att förstå vad som hänt under de olika parlamentsmomenten. Ett liknande samtal fördes via mejl och telefon mellan mig och projektledaren för Laakso Chikks som hade informerat projektdeltagarna om min forskning. Båda projektledarna har försetts med mina kontaktuppgifter och har, närsomhelst, kunnat kontakta mig för att ställa frågor. Projektledarna har även fått ett dokument som sammanfattar god forskningssed, som jag förbundit mig att följa. Allt detta har resulterat i att jag både blivit inbjuden att observera projekten samt fått min närvaro godkänd.

Även om deltagarna informerats om forskarnärvaro kan unga deltagare ha svårt att överse konsekvenserna av sin medverkan. Medverkan kan upplevas särskilt problematiskt när deltagaren möter sin upplevelse omvandlad till en forskningsberättelse, som processats genom ett teoretiskt ramverk som riktar analysen åt ett särskilt håll. Att något som deltagaren kan ha uppfattat som roligt och meningsfullt, av mig blir benämnt som maktutövning och styrningsteknik, kan det upplevas som både förminskande och kränkande (Edenroth Cato 2019, Kozinets 2010). Detta torde vara särskilt aktuellt när det gäller kritiska och problematiserande forskningsansatser. Här träder dock en annan aspekt in, som handlar om vikten av det vetenskapliga bidraget och dess samhällsnytta (Kozinets 2010). Men då forskning om och med minoriteter återkommande beskrivs vara ett eftersatt forskningsområde, särskilt den forskning som handlar om barn och ungas deltagande i minoritetspolitiska sammanhang, överväger artikelns vetenskapliga bidrag de eventuella nackdelar som artikeln kan tänkas medföra.

## Att skapas som medborgare

År 2012 lanserade Sverigefinska Riksförbundet ett demokratiprojekt, särskilt riktat till barn och ungdomar med sverigefinsk bakgrund. Syftet var att skapa tillfälle för deltagarna att träna på politiskt påverkansarbete utifrån ett minoritetsperspektiv. Projektet kulminerade i ett sverigefinskt barn- och ungdomsparlament, som hösten 2012 samlade drygt hundra 12–26 åriga barn och ungdomar i Sveriges Riksdag. Deltagargruppen bestod av elever på en sverigefinsk skola, samt ungdomar som redan engagerat sig i sverigefinska intresseorganisationer. Det breda åldersspannet var medvetet för att de äldre, redan engagerade ungdomarna skulle kunna fungera som stöd och förebilder åt de yngre deltagarna. Dagen inleddes med öppningstal från bland annat talmännen i Sveriges respektive Finlands parlament. Resten av dagen tränade deltagarna på att arbeta i utskott och medverka vid en utfrågning av

dåvarande integration- och minoritetsminister Erik Ullenhag och de andra riksdagspolitikerna som fanns på plats.

Parlamentet är ett tydligt exempel på hur olika avsändare, från tillsynes skilda håll, samverkar. Det arrangerades av intresseorganisationen Sverigefinska Riksförbundet och finansierades av Europeiska unionens program, som arbetar för ett ”aktivt europeiskt medborgarskap, solidaritet och tolerans” (Youth in Action [europa.eu]). Förberedelserna inför och deltagandet under parlamentet var även en skoluppgift i samhällskunskap på en sverigefinsk skola. Därutöver medverkade även de etablerade politiska partiernas representanter.

Att leka parlament är inte unikt för minoritetspolitik utan är en del av en bredare medborgarskapande praktik, där barn inkluderas i ett livslångt lärande gällande medborgarskap (Anderson 2015, Anderson 2018). Också i det här projektet fick deltagarna lära sig allmänna demokratiska grundprinciper: hur Sveriges statsskick fungerar, hur lagar stiftas och om retorikens betydelse i politiken. Det speciella med Det sverigefinska barn- och ungdomsparlamentet var det explicita syftet att öka kompetensen om och skapa vilja till engagemang i frågor som drivs av sverigefinska organisationer. Detta tydliggjordes på flera sätt. Exempelvis var inbjudningen riktad till *”yngre generationens sverigefinnar”*, och den distribuerades genom skolor, föreningar och mediekanaler med sverigefinsk koppling. I informationsmaterialet som delades ut inför parlamentet kunde deltagarna läsa om den sverigefinska gruppens historia och den lagstiftning som ger Sveriges nationella minoriteter särskilda rättigheter. Förutom att göra deltagarna medvetna ingick även träning i att lära sig formulera krav baserat på de särskilda rättigheterna. I Sverigefinska Riksförbundets beskrivning för demokratiprojektet går att läsa om hur många nationella minoritetsungdomar saknar kunskap om sina språkliga och kulturella rättigheter och om hur *”den som inte känner till sina rättigheter har svårt att fråga efter dem!”* (Det Sverigefinska Barn- och Ungdomsparlamentet 2012).

Det sverigefinska barn- och ungdomsparlamentet presenteras som en lösning på svårigheten att rekrytera barn och ungdomar som både *vill* och *kan* engagera sig i den organiserade formen av minoritetspolitiskt påverkansarbete, vilket i sammanhanget får betraktas som ett befolkningsproblem som kan få långtgående konsekvenser för minoritetsgruppernas framtid. Under parlamentet delades deltagarna in i olika utskott som skulle hitta lösningar på specifika minoritetspolitiska problemområden som var definierade av arrangören och löd: språkrevitalisering, kulturens betydelse för sverigefinländarna samt gruppens möjligheter till inflytande. Dessa teman är vanligt återkommande inom det minoritetspolitiska fältet i stort och frågorna har under lång tid varit en central del av Sverigefinska Riksförbundets arbete. På så sätt gav rubrikerna en indikation på arbetets önskade riktning och ringade på samma gång in vilka sverigefinländarna är och vad de har för behov, mot vilka deltagarna uppmuntrades att jämföra sina egna erfarenheter med. Särskilt personliga exempel på situationer, då deltagarna inte fått sina rättigheter tillgodosedda välkomnades av arrangören. Genom att berätta om egna erfarenheter och lyssna på andras, skapade barn- och ungdomsparlamentet ett tillfälle att förstå den egna och andra jämnårigas livssituation, i relation till den aktuella juridiska och politiska kontexten. Härmed skapades ett erbjudande om att bli en del av gruppen och vara med och ställa krav på det omkringliggande samhället. I linje med den varliga styrningens logik är deltagandet i en intresseorganisation i hög grad förknippad med frivillighet, vilket skymmer styrningens villkor. Detta är särskilt viktigt då minoritetspolitik baserar sig på självidentifikation. Det finns såklart en möjlighet att välja att inte vara en del av minoritetsgruppen. Men när erbjudandet väl har presenterats får ett eventuellt nekande potentiella konsekvenser. Den som inte

vill delta riskerar att sälla sig till gruppen som inte tar ansvar för minoritetsgruppens fortsatta existens och välmående. Vikten av frivillighet betonades flera gånger under parlamentsdagen, där deltagandet benämndes som något roligt och som en ära att få ta del av. Dåvarande integration- och minoritetsminister Erik Ullenhag sade i sitt tal att han inte kan bestämma hur deltagarna i salen ska identifiera sig. Däremot kan han vara med och skapa ett samhälle där det är möjligt att *"välja fritt och inte välja bort"*. Den meningen rymmer en central paradox för minoritetspolitiken: det ska vara möjligt att välja fritt, så länge som det inte innebär att välja bort minoritetsidentiteten. Gör tillräckligt många människor det sistnämnda valet faller grunden för att grupp- och identitetsbaserad politik, som kräver människor som identifierar sig med och vill tillhöra gruppen. Demokratiska stater kan inte bestämma hur människor fattar beslut kring modersmål och identitet. Däremot går det att genom vänliga erbjudanden skapa praktiker, där människors intressen, värderingar och behov plockas upp och förstärks. Styrningen sker helt enkelt genom individens vilja och inte emot den (Rose 1999). Talmannen Per Westerberg sa i sitt välkomstanförande att *"det är ju ni själva som vet bäst vad som behövs för att bevara och stärka språket och kulturen. Och hur ni vill att detta en dag ska föras vidare till era barn"*. Det tycks återigen handla om ett villkorat erbjudande, där deltagarna ges möjligheten att välja hur de bäst vill bevara och stärka språk och kultur, under förutsättningen att dessa stärks och bevaras. Med andra ord blir deltagandet ett sätt att lära sig betrakta sig själv och andra på ett specifikt sätt och ett villkorat sätt att göra frihet på (Masschelein och Quaghbeur 2005, 53).

Det sverigefinska barn- och ungdomsparlamentet kan även ses som ett sätt att placera sverigefinska barn och ungdomar i ett kontinuum av tid, där generationer har olika betydelser när det kommer till att få minoriteternas rättigheter tillgodosedda. Ett av parlamentets mål var, enligt arrangören, att skapa en kunskapsöverföring från de äldre till de yngre. De redan föreningsaktiva ungdomarna och vuxna hade som uppgift att välkomna och fånga upp de nytillkomna som visade intresse. Under evenemanget presenterade Sverigefinska Riksförbundet sin verksamhet och de milstolpar som organisationens påverkansarbete resulterat i genom åren. Detta placerade deltagarna i relation till tidigare generationers kamp men också till det som komma skall, vilket positionerar barn och unga som länken mellan då- och framtid. I inbjudningen stod *"både inom organisationslivet och till politiska beslutsfattare behövs det kontinuerligt personer med kunskap och kompetens. Nya doers sökes och behövs"* (Det Sverigefinska Barn- och ungdomsparlamentet 2012). Vidare skulle parlamentet fånga upp de mest intresserade deltagarna till en framtidsgrupp som fungerar som en *"samarbetspartner till parlamentsarrangören Sverigefinska Riksförbundet och andra intresserade parter"*. Detta tydliggör hur viktigt det är att nya engagerade generationer är beredda att driva frågorna vidare. Dels för att skapa legitimitet åt sverigefinska riksförbundets förmåga att representera barn och unga. Men också för att gruppbaserade rättigheter kräver människor med vilja, kompetens och förmåga att ställa krav på beslutsfattare, myndighetspersonal och andra inblandade. För de nationella minoriteterna tycks det vara av särskild vikt att börja i tid, så att kapaciteten och viljan att vidareföra språk, kultur och identitet finns när personen väl blir vuxen. Om inte, riskerar det att uppstå ett hack i generationsföljden som riskerar att få ödesdigra konsekvenser för gruppens framtid. Barn- och ungdomsparlamentet kan därför ses som en del av en apparat, som genom medborgarskapande praktiker fostrar den typ av medborgare som krävs, nu och i framtiden. Detta kan kopplas till den risk som står på spel om minoriteterna inte lyckas med att skapa engagemang bland de yngre generationerna. I projektbeskrivningen för Det sverigefinska barn- och ungdomsparlamentet står vad en bristande återväxt i

värsta fall kan leda till. *”Konsekvensen av detta riskerar på ett missvisande sätt att tolkas som att den nationella minoriteten sverigefinnarna inte är intresserad av sin språkliga och kulturella särart.”* Citatet sammanfattar vad som står på spel om minoriteterna inte själva visar tillräckligt intresse för sin sak - risken att ingen annan gör det heller. Problematiken måste förstås i ljuset av hur lagar och rättigheter gällande minoriteter har utformats och implementerats. Som tidigare nämnts bygger identitets- och språkrelaterad rättighetspolitik på individens egen definition och är något som staten inte bör påverka. Dock leder bristande implementering sällan till konsekvenser för de kommuner, regioner och myndigheter som brister (SOU 2017:60, SOU 2017:88, SOU 2020: 27). Och när rättigheternas och lagarnas existens inte är en garant för att de realiseras, krävs det en alldeles särskilt aktiv grupp som bevakar sina intressen. Med andra ord krävs det en utbildad och kompetent medborgare som både vill och kan kräva sina rättigheter (Rose 1999). Ulf Mörkenstam skriver om hur urfolksrättigheterna i Sverige visar upp en stor diskrepans mellan ord och handling och kallar det för *Organised Hypocrizy,* ett organiserat hyckleri, där utlovade insatser bäddas in med överord, medan utfallet ofta landar platt (Mörkenstam 2019). Liknande tendens går att skönja här, då minoritetspolitiken utformats som ett val öppnas en bakdörr till ansvarsfrihet för stat, kommuner och myndigheter. Det går, med andra ord, att välja fritt men om grupperna väljer bort, så sker det under eget ansvar. Detta lämnar minoritetsorganisationer och de enskilda individerna med ett stort ansvar för att vidta tillräckliga åtgärder och i de fall som det inte sker, är det svårt att placera skulden på någon annan än minoriteterna själva. Genom detta läggs ett stort ansvar på barn och unga, som måste vara beredda att föra vidare de tidigare generationernas kamp för språkliga och identitetsmässiga rättigheter eller riskera att hamna utanför det önskvärda beteendet och därmed medverka till att kommande generationer förlorar sina rättigheter.

## Att förändras på djupet

Föregående avsnitt om barn- och ungdomsparlamentet visade vikten av att barn och unga lär sig att koppla sina egna erfarenheter till lagar och rättigheter och därigenom lär sig ställa krav på det omkringliggande samhället. Och även om att ha kännedom om sina rättigheter förefaller viktigt, är det inte alltid tillräckligt för att säkerställa de nationella minoriteternas existens och välmående. Det krävs också lösningar som kombinerar utbildande insatser med möjligheter till personlig reflektion och fördjupning av minoritetsidentiteten. Generationsbaserade mentorsprojekt har visat sig vara ett återkommande arbetssätt. Det vanligaste är att mentorskap används som ett medel för att skapa språkanvändningstillfällen. Sådana projekt har bedrivits för samtliga minoritetsgrupper, även om utformningen präglats av stor variation och uppfinningsrikedom. Projekten har kombinerat det språkliga med inslag av bland annat slöjd, renskötsel, naturkunskap, matlagning, produktion av radioprogram, teater och cykling.

Därutöver finns projekt som riktar sig bortom det språkliga och aspirerar på att skapa en förändring eller förstärkning i deltagarens identitet. Sådana projekt har arrangerats för romska, samiska och tornedalska tjejer. Det romska projektet Mentori ville *”mobilisera unga kvinnor från hela den romska gruppen för att motivera, inspirera och stimulera varandra till egen och gemensam utveckling, samt höja den egna kapaciteten att tillvarata sina rättigheter och ta plats i det offentliga rummet”* (Trajoskodrom u.å.). Den samiska motsvarigheten hette Niejda - Chicks in Sápmi och fungerade som inspiration till det tornedalska projektet Laakso Chikks, som är i fokus för detta avsnitt. Där barn- och ungdomsparlamentet handlade om att utbilda nya generationer i de-

mokrati- och minoritetsfrågor, kan Laakso Chikks förstås som ett organiserat tillfälle att jobba med sin identitet i generation. Sprickor i arvetid (Halberstam 2005) kan i minoritetssammanhang betraktas som ett brådskande befolkningsproblem (Foucault 1980, 194–195) som Laakso Chikks försöker att lösa. Enligt det empiriska materialet har sprickorna uppstått på grund av att minoriteterna utsatts för svensk assimilationspolitik, rasism och rasbiologiska övergrepp och har lett till att den tornedalska gruppens tid och överföring av språk, kultur, identitet, sammanhållning, värderingar och traditioner inte fungerat på ett sätt som gynnar gruppens framtida existens. I det ljuset kan mentorsprojekt förstås som ett organiserat försök att reparera sprickorna och de bristande relationerna mellan de olika generationerna.

Finansieringen av Laakso Chikks tydliggör åter hur olika avsändare också här strålar samman för att försöka lösa ett brådskande befolkningsproblem. Projektets finansiering kom från Myndigheten för ungdoms- och civilsamhällefrågor, Kalix, Kiruna och Gällivare kommun samt av Svenska kyrkan och genomfördes av Tornedalingarnas Riksförbund (Svenska Tornedalingarnas Riksförbund u.å.). Laakso Chikks bestod av 16 deltagare som genom personliga brev parades ihop med varsin kvinnlig mentor. Enligt projektbeskrivningen skulle deltagarna ha någon sorts anknytning till Tornedalen, vilket öppnade upp även för de som upplevde osäkerhet eller ambivalens kring sin tornedalska identitet. Syftet var skapa tillfällen och relationer där deltagarna *”under trygga, roliga, förbehållslösa och respektfulla former ska få kunskap om det historiska och nutida Tornedalen och meänkieli, hitta inspirerande förebilder och få reflektera över och förhålla sig till sitt eget kulturella arv”* (Svenska Tornedalingarnas Riksförbund u.å.) Givet den historiska inramningen med övergrepp och krav på assimilation kan Laakso Chikks ses som ett försök att skapa ett tryggt rum där deltagarnas identitetsarbete och reflektioner kan få ske i fred. Tanken med trygga rum är avsaknaden av makthierarkier och härskartekniker, som ska skapa utrymme för konstruktiva diskussioner, där deltagarna förbehållslöst kan utforska det aktuella ämnet (Perez Aronsson 2020). Men helt förbehållslöst är utforskandet inte då projektets utgångspunkter pekar ut vissa faktorer som särskilt viktiga: att skaffa kunskap och förhålla sig till Tornedalen, meänkieli och ett kulturellt arv. Projektet är därmed inte riktat till vem som helst. Även om projektet inte flaggar för ett tvång att hålla sig till dessa ämnen eller förbjuder andra så interpellerar inramningen deltagarna på ett särskilt sätt och riktar, åtminstone potentiellt deras blickar i en önskad riktning. Också det faktum att deltagarna ska ha någon slags koppling till Tornedalen ramar in en önskvärd utgångspunkt och utesluter annat. Här iscensätts den varliga styrningens logik tydligt – det är inte upp till andra att bedöma huruvida styrkan i någons koppling till Tornedalen är tillräcklig och också den med en eventuellt svagare koppling är välkommen för att stärka sig. Navet i Laakso Chikks var åtta helgläger, så kallade peppträffar, som ägde rum på olika platser i Tornedalen. Dessa varvade teman som språk, kultur och minoritetsidentitet med mer generella ämnen som positiv psykologi, vikten att konkretisera drömmar och övervinna hinder. Mellan peppträffarna hade paren en summa pengar att använda till valfria aktiviteter. Ett av mentorsparen gjorde exempelvis en 85 mil lång bilresa genom Tornedalen, då de bekantade sig med tornedalsk matkultur samt pratade om identitet, språk och kultur med äldre släktingar och andra tornedalingar som de träffade under resan (http://str-t.yours.se/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Laakso-Chikks-Magasin.pdf).

Förutom att skapa tillfällen till språkanvändning gav projektet de yngre deltagarna möjlighet att stärka känslan av tillhörighet samt relationen till ett kollektivt förflutet. Genom att lyssna på äldre tornedalingars minnen, besöka historiskt viktiga platser, äta traditionella maträtter och lära sig om gammal hantverkskultur. Praktikerna gav del-

tagarna möjlighet att placera sig i ett tids- och generationsförlopp och därigenom förstå sig själva i ljuset av det som varit, nuet och det som kommer. Att detta sker är en nödvändighet för minoriteternas framtida existens, som kräver stora insatser från gruppmedlemmarna själva. Politik som bygger på självidentifikation är beroende av att det finns individer som både vill och kan känna tillhörighet till den aktuella gruppen. Att känna till gruppens historia och traditioner blir särskilt viktigt i och med minoritetspolitikens kategoriseringsprincip utgår från att grupperna funnits i Sverige ”sedan hävd” (Proposition 2008/09:158. 2009). Det är därmed angeläget att också de yngre generationerna känner till och kan förhålla sig till det som varit. Och i de fall där glapp uppstått behöver yttre insatser gå in och stärka tillhörigheten, exempelvis genom mentorsprojekt. Laakso Chikks handlar utöver det förflutna även om nu- och framtid. För att (för)bli relevant behöver tornedalskheten inte bara handla om det förflutna utan också om nuet. Namnet ”Chikks” ger en indikation på att projektet också handlar om samtiden, liksom de teman som avhandlats under peppträffarna. På sin blogg skriver deltagarna om ämnen som de själva är intresserade av. *”Vi fortsätter att prata, om makt, lika värde, menskoppar, språk, meningen, politik, kärlek, moral, plats, nagellack. Vi fortsätter med relationsbygget, med oss själva, i gruppen och som par. Vi ses i cyber och på byn!* (Laakso Chikks 2012).

Genom att blanda samtida ungdomsfenomen med traditionell tornedalskhet, skapas en pendling mellan det förflutna, det samtida och det framtida. Det ena utesluter inte det andra, att vara tornedalsk idag är att både vara *i cyber och på byn*. Pendlingen är viktig dels för att koppla deltagarna till en förflutenhet som ger förståelse för varför gruppen blivit som den blivit. Den fungerar som en ankare bakåt, som grundar tjejernas upplevelser och identitet i den tornedalska myllan och gör dem till en del av gemenskapen och en generationsföljd. Vidare skapar pendlingen ett utrymme för att tillåta någon mån av ny tornedalskhet, då också mentorerna erbjuds möjligheter att arbeta med sin identitet och spegla den mot en samtida tornedalskhet, som kan bestå av såväl språk, byn, menskopp, cyber och nagellack.

Användningen av generation skapar även ett varnande exempel att ta spjärn mot när framtiden ska utformas. I Laakso Chikks verksamhet återkommer frågor kopplade till makt, maktlöshet och maktmissbruk. På bloggen går det att läsa om hur deltagarna ägnar sig åt övningar och reflektioner kring härskar- och främjartekniker. Den historiskt upplevda maktlösheten, som aktualiseras genom projektets historielektioner och mentorernas berättelser, blir till påminnelser om vikten av att dagens och framtidens tornedalingar ges och tar makten över sitt liv. Med den inramningen blir praktikerna som strävar efter att stärka och frigöra högst relevanta. Praktikerna kan förstås vara en potentiell lösning på det andra befolkningsproblemet som mentorsprojekt måste hantera - avsaknaden av makt. På Chikksbloggen skriver en av deltagarna om hur det kan vara att när man har tillräckligt med egenmakt. *”När jag hör min egen röst, och är vän med hela dess register, då är jag en trygg och stark makthavare över mitt eget liv och jag är med och formar vår morgondag”* (Laakso Chikks 2012).

Kravlistan på den som vill vara sitt eget livs makthavare är diger: att såväl höra och bli vän med sin röst, att vara trygg och stark och vara med och forma framtiden. Laakso Chikks kan beskrivas som ett kollektivt tillfälle att förändras och få ökad egenmakt. På bloggen skriver deltagarna återkommande om vikten av personlig utveckling och hur den bäst ska gå till. I det arbetet beskrivs kunskapen om sin egen bakgrund, sina förutsättningar, styrkor och svagheter som en nyckel till ökad egenmakt. Det är även viktigt att kunna klä förändringsarbetet i ord, vilket blivit ett sätt att visa på förmågan till självreflektion (Fejes och Nicoll 2014, Nieminen Mänty 2017, Rose 1996, Rose 1999). Detta

har blivit en central aspekt av den nationella minoritetspolitiken, där personliga berättelser kommit att bli en hårdvaluta i politiska praktiker såsom samråd, där minoriteter förväntas känna till och delge andra sina behov och önskemål (Nieminen Mänty och Börjesson 2013). Under projektet delade deltagarna i Laakso Chikks regelbundet med sig av sina förändringar genom att skriva på bloggen, delta i konferenser och medverka i tv-sändningar, och uppfyller därigenom kravet på att inte bara förändras utan också att kunna verbalisera/formulera sin resa och förmedla den till andra för att på så sätt sprida budskapet.

Ur studiens teoretiska utgångspunkter kan praktiker som strävar efter ökad egenmakt förstås som en medborgarskapande teknik, som syftar till att skapa en mer autonom, självständig och kapabel medborgare. Även om ökad egenmakt återkommande presenteras som ett sätt att skapa en maktförskjutning, vore det olyckligt att betrakta praktikerna befriade från makt. Utifrån den här studiens maktdefinition går det inte att skapa trygga rum som inte också kommer med föreställningar om rätt, fel, gott och ont. Draget till sin spets går resonemanget ut på att talet om en ökad egenmakt kan fungera som en täckmantel för att ”smuggla” in mer styrning och social kontroll i sammanhang som antas bygga på frivillighet och baseras på människors innersta behov (Bulley och Sokhi Bulley 2014, 466). Att benämna en grupp vara i behov av ökad egenmakt är en maktutövning i sig, där de berörda först måste definieras som maktlösa. Särskilt problematiskt blir det när gruppen som definierats som (åtminstone delvis) maktlös, också är den som ska skapa förändringen. Den enskilda måste återigen välja att vidta åtgärder för att skapa en förändring eller ställa sig utanför möjligheterna att påverka framtiden. Att delta på peppträffar, åka på utflykter, lära sig att känna igen härskartekniker och att försöka bli starkare i sin identitet blir sätt varigenom deltagarna bör lära sig att parera maktlöshet och bli den medborgare som sammanhanget kräver. Ungdomarna blir bärare av förhoppningen om en ljusare framtid och ansvaret för att det ska bli just ljust flyttas över till deltagarna själva och blir beroende av huruvida de lyckas med sin uppgift eller inte. Den som inte vill eller kan leva upp till kravlistan, tackar därmed nej till riskreduktion och till att skapa potentiell förändring (Barakos 2016, Bessant 2003, Bröckling 2015, Cruickshank 1999). På så sätt kan projekt med syfte att stärka egenmakt sägas strö salt i de sår som de säger sig läka (Bröckling 2015, 140).

Precis som i fallet med Det sverigefinska barn- och ungdomsparlamentet, fick också Laakso Chikks ringar på föreningslivsvattnet. De tornedalska ungdomarna saknade länge ett eget ungdomsförbund. Men år 2014 bildades Met Nuoret (Vi unga), bland annat med hjälp av deltagare från Laakso Chikks. I projektmagasinet berättar en av tjejerna om hur hon aldrig hade engagerat sig i Met Nuoret, om hon inte först hade deltagit i Laakso Chikks. Genom projektet hade hon förstått hur viktigt det är med en egen arena som kan fånga upp de tornedalska ungdomarnas röster. Met Nuoret blev ytterligare ett sätt för ungdomar att engagera sig i det tornedalska och Laakso Chikks är ett exempel på hur arbetet med den egna identiteten och känslan för en kollektiv och en generationsöverskridande gemenskap, också kan leda vidare till organisering i föreningsliv och politiskt påverkansarbete.

## Slutdiskussion

Syftet med den här studien har varit att belysa hur projekt riktade till barn och ungdomar med minoritetsbakgrund kan förstås utifrån teorier om medborgarskapande praktiker och parering av befolkningsproblem genom varlig styrning. Trots projektens olikheter har de vid en närmare undersökning visat sig ha mycket gemensamt. De handlar återkommande om riskhantering, medborgarskapande,

utbildning, generationsöverbyggande relationer, identitetsarbete samt om att öka barns och ungas engagemang i minoritetspolitiska frågor. Det handlar om projekt som genom sin verksamhet vill öka deltagarnas egenmakt. Vidare innehåller båda projekten moment där deltagarna ska lära sig att koppla samman sina erfarenheter med krav på rättigheter och förändring. Den personliga kopplingen skapar legitimitet åt politiken då de berörda till viss del medverkar i både utformning och verkställande av politiken. Men det som på ytan kan verka vara ett projekt i frigörelsens tecken kan också få konsekvenser som är väl värda att problematiseras. För det första kräver utformningen av lagar och rättigheter aktiva minoriteter, vilket åläggs ansvaret för politikens efterlevnad på minoriteterna själva, då utformningen kräver minoriteternas aktivitet. Politiken bygger på en självidentifikationsprincip och att grupperna kräver sina rättigheter och ser till så att lagar efterföljs. När grupperna inte kan eller vill kräva sina rättigheter riskerar det att leda till att lagar och rättigheter blir verkningslösa. Därför behöver minoriteterna vidta åtgärder, i form av exempelvis ett barn- och ungdomsparlament eller mentorsprojekt, för att utbilda nya generationer så att de lär sig att agera på ett fruktbart sätt i framtiden. Vad som står på spel nämns bara en gång i det empiriska materialet, men vad som återkommande kan anas är frågan om vad som händer om barn och ungdomar inte engagerar sig tillräckligt? Den överhängande risken är att det omkringliggande samhället tolkar gruppernas ointresse eller bristande kunskaper som tecken på att de inte vill ha sina rättigheter tillgodosedda. Att säga detta rakt ut kan bli för anklagande. Men omskrivet i termer av att få ökad egenmakt, stoltheten i att få delta och jobba med sin identitet går i linje med den varliga styrningens logik, där uppmuntran och beröm ersatt tvång och skuldbeläggande. Priset för självidentifikation är kravet att axla ansvar för att skapa en framtid för gruppen och det blir en moralisk skyldighet att ta ansvar för såväl lyckade som misslyckade insatser (Bryant 2002, Määttä och Aaltonen 2016). För den svenska staten finns en möjlighet att omformulera sin berättelse. En liberal stat kan inte tvinga sina medborgare att identifiera sig på ett visst sätt, men bara det faktum att minoriteterna nu erbjuds rättigheter och skyddande lagar ger skenet av en ny och förbättrad stat som är för minoriteters rättigheter och mångfald.

För det andra är det viktigt att forskningen analyserar projekt som vill stärka och öka deltagarnas egenmakt utifrån också de oväntade konsekvenser som projekt i frigörelsens tecken kan medföra. Paradoxen i att välja fritt *och* inte välja bort ringar in problematiken kring den villkorade valfrihet som minoriteterna har. Att välja bort tycks inte vara det önskvärda alternativet, vilket disciplinerar både de som hamnar innan- och utanför den normativa konstruktionen. I och med att minoriteternas överlevnad är beroende av att generationer med lämplig kompetens fortsätter att avlösa varandra, kryper makten närmare inpå livet och landar i en fråga om hur familjeliv och relationer i släkten bäst ska organiseras. Minoriteterna har inte bara ett stort ansvar för nuet, men även för gruppernas framtida välmående, generation efter generation. Disciplinerande förväntningar på generationsföljd, där rätt insatser måste göras i rätt tid och ordning, blir något som minoriteterna måste lära sig att förhålla sig till. Det blir en förväntad nationell minoritetslivslinje som främst kretsar kring relationen mellan generationer. När det gäller minoriteter räcker det inte med att reproduceras i biologisk mening, utan föräldragenerationen måste också ha särskilda kompetenser och färdigheter som de kan föra över på sina barn. Det handlar exempelvis om att behärska minoritetsspråket, ha kännedom om kulturen, känna till sina rättigheter och vara tillräckligt stark i sin identitet. Den som inte lyckas, riskerar att skapa ett ödesdigert hack mellan genera-

tionerna och riskerar därmed minoritetsgruppernas framtid. Det empiriska materialet har visat exempel på det reparationsarbete som krävs när hacket uppstått, i form av utbildning och skapade tillfällen att konstruera generationsband.

För det tredje är ett förgivettagande av modersmålets och minoritetsidentitetens ontologiska status problematiskt, inte minst för de individer som vill välja fritt *och* välja bort. När minoritetsspråk och identitet diskuteras utifrån att det som väljer bort står med en ofullständig identitet, finns risken att minoritetstillhörigheten essentialiseras och det faktum att minoritetsspråk, identitet, kultur och generation kräver ett pågående arbete förblir dolt. Också detta är inbyggt i politiken, som behöver utgå från vissa specifika föreställningar om en grupp. Samtidigt är den förda politiken med och bidrar till att återskapa föreställningarna (Mörkenstam 2003). I ett försök att lösa dilemmat har Gayatri Chakravorty Spivac (1999) föreslagit begreppet strategisk essentialism, som innebär att gruppmedlemmarna tillfälligt essentialiserar föreställningarna om sig själva, i syfte att uppnå rättigheter och slippa diskriminering som baserar sig på just dessa föreställningar. Strategisk essentialism får sin legitimitet dels genom sitt rättighetssträvande, men också av att den bygger på självidentifikation. Projekt som syftar till att stärka minoriteternas språk, kultur och identitet betraktas ofta som strategier mot rasistisk eller kolonial språkpolitik (Pennycook 2002). Men i förlängningen kan det leda till att politiken fortsätter att skapa annanhet genom att reproducera kategorier som majoritet och minoritet. Oavsett om essentialismen är strategisk eller inte, kan strävandena inte avstanna där, utan måste följas upp med strategisk problematisering (Pennycook 2002). Med det menas att den kritiska udden måste riktas mot de grunder som används som frigörelsestrategi. Utan att problematisera grunderna som politiken vilar på riskerar verksamheten att få protektionistiska och exotifierande effekter och reducera grupperna till gatekeepers för en svunnen tid (Wetherell och Potter 1992, Pennycook 2002) och individer till drabbade, oavsett hur deras liv artar sig med eller utan minoritetstillhörigheten.

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# Mandarin-plus to Mandarin-inclusive: Conceptualising the New Pluralistic Language Policy in Taiwan

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The term "Mandarin-plus" has been used in the past to explain language policy in Taiwan since the 1990s; Mandarin as the sole national language with de facto toleration of local languages. Since 2017 there have been three major laws passed in Taiwan, giving over 20 languages the status of national language and granting them legal protection. Because of these changes in language policy, this paper introduces a new term after an analysis and discussion of the written laws: "Mandarin-inclusive." In Taiwan, previous language policy and language planning has been very successful in changing language use. By 1945, most of the population had a high working competence in Japanese; within a generation the Japanese language was mostly gone from use. This is also true of local languages, as a result of suppressive Mandarin-only education and bans on local languages. During the 1990s and 2000s, bans on the use of local languages were lifted, and "mother tongue classes" were added to the national school curriculum. This paper is part of a larger project looking into the impact of these laws on youth in multiple local and indigenous communities in Taiwan and attempts to create an outline of the current language policy shift in Taiwan in the hope of aiding future studies on the indigenous and minoritized languages in Taiwan.

Language policies have been used for centuries as the cornerstone of nation-state building (Wright 2016). Legislation giving certain language varieties national or official status can be seen as legitimising a nation and guiding its population towards or away from a certain focal point in the corresponding political and cultural context. Taiwan (officially the Republic of China) has debated the language status of the over twenty-six local languages multiple times in the past three decades, seeing a gradual decolonisation of language entailing a more pluralistic view of national languages and national identity. Historically, Taiwan has followed the doctrine of one nation, one language. However, during the 2000-2008 presidential tenure of Chen Shui-bian, a member of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), a shift started in political rhetoric and there were suggestions by a few Legislative Yuan (the legislative body of Taiwan) members to make Taiwan an officially multilingual country by passing legislation to give multiple local languages in Taiwan the status of national language (Dupré 2015). In 2008 Ma Ying-Jeou (KMT) became president. After the change of ruling political parties, the talks lost momentum and the laws were not passed. Since the election of President Tsai Ing-wen in 2016, the debate on a framework of multiple national languages has resurfaced and the subsequent passing of multiple major laws saw the status

of over twenty different languages change from having no status to being equal national languages.

The goals of this paper are to (1) synthesise information from previous research on language policy and planning (LPP) in Taiwan, (2) analyse recently passed legislation in order to update previous research, and (3) propose a new concept to describe the current language situation in Taiwan. The overarching aim of this paper is to introduce the unique way that Taiwan is addressing the issue of decolonising and attempting to lift up its local languages and cultures. The paper begins with a presentation of the historical context of Taiwan, an explanation of language policy and planning, an introduction of Stewart's Language Functions(1968), and a brief methodology section, followed by a discussion and the conclusion.

## Socio-Historical Context

Historical migrations and the transfer of Taiwan between different empires have led to the development of a diverse multilingual and multicultural population. Traditionally, this population has been subdivided into four main ethnolinguistic groups: Hoklo people (also known as Southern-Min/Nan-Min), Hakka people, indigenous Taiwanese (in Mandarin: *Yuánzhùmín*原住民) and Mainlanders (in Mandarin: *Wàishěngrén* 外省人). The first three groups collectively will be referred to as local Taiwanese (Chen 2010; Wu 2011; Dupré 2015). The fourth group, Mainlanders, is composed of migrants from China who arrived in Taiwan post-1949 as Chiang Kai-Shek's nationalist government (Kuomintang) was pushed out of China and retreated to Taiwan during the Chinese civil war. Each of these groups have their own languages and cultural customs. Recent publications and census data point to a growing fifth group made up of the foreign spouses of Taiwanese citizens (in Mandarin: *Xīnzhùmín*新住民). These spouses are mainly from China or other southeast Asian countries, and a smaller proportion from Western countries (Chen 2010). Due to length limitations, this paper will focus on the first three groups—the local Taiwanese ethnolinguistic groups and their corresponding languages.

Historically, the earliest groups of people in modern day Taiwan were the indigenous Taiwanese people who speak Formosan languages, comprising a subdivision of the Austronesian language family (Chen 2010; Ang 2013; Dupré 2015). Today, speakers of these languages account for about 1.4% of the population (Department of Census 2013).

The remaining three ethnolinguistic groups, all speakers of languages belonging to the Sino-Tibetan language family, consist of the descendants of immigrants or are immigrants themselves. The immigration of non-indigenous Taiwanese groups started in the seventeenth century with the colonisation by the Dutch in the south of Taiwan from 1625-1662, and the Spanish in the north from 1626-1642 (Sandel 2003; Chen 2010; Wu 2011; Dupré 2015). During this first period of colonisation, groups of people from the southern coastal regions of present-day China immigrated to the western plains of the island; their descendants are the modern day Hoklo population. Along with Hoklo people came smaller populations of Hakka people. The language used by Hakka people is distinct from and not mutually intelligible to the language of Hoklo people, though some varieties have been significantly influenced by the language of Hoklo people. Immigration of Hoklo and Hakka people continued until the start of Japanese rule in 1895. Today, Hoklo people account for 82% of the population and Hakka people account for 7% (Department of Census 2013). Taiwan's language status quo was further altered after the handover of power from the Japanese

to the Republic of China in 1945. The subsequent 1949 retreat of the Kuomintang (KMT), the Nationalist Chinese Government from Mainland China to the island of Taiwan solidified this change. With them the KMT brought approximately two-million Mainlanders, whose descendants make up 13% of the current population. The Mainlanders came from various regions of China which had their own dialects. They also brought the Mandarin language with them, as it was the national language of the Republic of China at the time (Wu 2011; Dupré 2015).

## The Names of the Taiwanese Languages

When discussing Taiwanese languages, it is imperative to discuss the names by which these languages are referred to, as the names for the different languages in Taiwan sometimes come into political debate. The name for referring to Taiwanese Mandarin has been debated. In the past, Mandarin in Taiwan has been referred to as *Guóyǔ* 國語 or "national language," but due to recent legislative changes this name now refers to multiple different languages and not just Mandarin. Mandarin was extensively promoted in Taiwan after the arrival of the KMT government in 1949. The variety of Mandarin that the standard is based on was historically from Beijing. Some have suggested the use of *Běijīng huà* 北京話 or Beijingese. This can be seen as an issue because of the distance between Taiwan and Beijing, as well as the difference in the varieties of Mandarin spoken in each region. The term *Zhōngwén* 中文 is the most commonly used colloquial term used, but it is still quite controversial because it refers to the "language of China." Another commonly used and less controversial term is *Huáyǔ* 華語, the literal meaning of "the language of *Huá* (Chinese ethnicity) people." The regulations for naturalisation tests to become a Taiwanese citizen also refer to Mandarin as *Huáyǔ* (Standards for the identification of Basic Language Abilities and General Knowledge of the Rights and Duties of Naturalized R.O.C. Citizens 2017). Most Mandarin language learning centres in Taiwan also refer to the language as *Huáyǔ*.

After the influx of Hoklo people to Taiwan, the Taiwanese variety of the Southern Min/Hokkien language spoken by Hoklo people was the main *lingua franca* among the different ethnolinguistic groups in Taiwan. There have been many names for the variety of Southern Min spoken in Taiwan over its close to five-hundred-year history there, and one of these names in Mandarin is *Táiyǔ* 臺語 [tʰaɪˊyˇ]. This is a controversial name because the first word, *Tái* 臺, is in direct relation to the name of the island, *Táiwān* 臺灣. Those who are against the Mandarin name given to this language say that it positions the language as being more inherently Taiwanese than others, since other local languages do not have *Tái* 臺in the name. The Hakka say their language is just as much "Taiwanese," whereas the indigenous Taiwanese groups argue that they are the original people of the island, therefor their languages should be considered *Táiyǔ* (Dupré 2015). Nowadays in Taiwan, when speaking Mandarin, it is becoming common to hear people codeswitch to the variety of Southern-Min and refer to the language of Hoklo people as *Tâi-gí* [taiˍˊgi`]. This word, *Tâi-gí* 臺語 as well refers directly to the island of Taiwan, but since it is pronounced within the language itself, and the pronunciation is distinct from Mandarin, it does not come across as claiming to be more "Taiwanese" than the other languages, but rather just as a neutral name. The controversy of calling the language *Táiyǔ* 臺語 in Mandarin stems from the fact that Mandarin is currently the *lingua franca* in Taiwan.

Colloquially in Taiwanese Mandarin the non-Mandarin local languages are referred to as *Mǔyǔ* 母語 or Mother-language. Separately, the varieties of the language spoken by the Hakka people are called *Kèyǔ* 客語 (in that language it is called *Hak-kâ-fa* 客

Table 1. Languages of Taiwan.

| | |
|---|---|
| Taiwanese Indigenous Languages (TIL)<br>Austronesian/Formosan languages<br>(16 languages) | - Amis<br>- Atayal<br>- Bunun<br>- Kanakanavu<br>- Kavalan<br>- Paiwan<br>- Puyuma<br>- Rukai<br>- Saaroa<br>- Saisiyat<br>- Sakizaya<br>- Seediq<br>- Thao<br>- Truku<br>- Cou<br>- Tao* |
| Sign languages<br>(1 language) | - Taiwanese Sign language (TSL) |
| Sino-Tibetan<br>(5 languages) | - Taiwanese Mandarin<br>- Tâi-gí (Taiwanese Hokkien/Southern Min)<br>- Hak-kâ-ngî (Taiwanese Hakka)<br>- Bàng-huâ/Matsu<br>- O-ku-uā |
| "New Taiwanese" languages (NTL)<br>(4+ languages) | - Indonesian<br>- Thai<br>- Tagalog<br>- Vietnamese<br>(etc…) |

* Tao is a Malayo-Polynesian language closer related to languages of the Philippines than to other Formosan languages.

話). In addition, in Mandarin the languages spoken by the various indigenous groups are collectively called *Yuánzhùmínzú Yǔyán* 原住民族語言 (short version *Zúyǔ* 族語 "ethnic language"), or else the exact variety is specified. For example the name used for the variety of the Bunun language spoken by the Isbukun community is *Jùnshè Bùnóngyǔ* 郡社布農語. When referring to the different local Taiwanese languages, this paper uses the name the speakers of the language call it. The language of Hakka people will be referred to as Hakka, the language of the Hoklo people will be referred to as Tâigí, and the languages of the indigenous people will be collectively referred to as Formosan languages or Indigenous Languages, and then the indigenous names will be used for the specific language. For example, Isbukun is used for the variety of the Bunun language of the Isbukun community.

## Language Policy Planning History in Taiwan

This section attempts to illustrate the different push and pull factors that have influenced Taiwan's languages. Most scholarly literature depicts Taiwan as a place that has only been influenced by Mandarin, or Chinese languages, but in reality, there have been multiple different political regimes, and Mandarin was only introduced to Taiwan as a major language in 1945. This section provides a historical background with which to understand the rest of the paper.

## Western Colonisation and the Qing Dynasty

The Dutch and Spanish colonial authorities in Taiwan focused mostly on economic opportunities, and thus the language policies that were adopted supported the codification (development of written forms or scripts) of local vernacular languages. There were no significant efforts to promote the Dutch or Spanish languages among the population (Wu 2011). After the influx of Hoklo people in the seventeenth century, the *lingua franca* of the colonies was Tâigí in its different varieties depending on region. The Hakka and indigenous Taiwanese minorities were mostly bilingual or multilingual.

In the past, many languages in East Asia had no vernacular written form; for centuries the written tradition in most of East Asia was to write in something called *Bûn-giân* 文言[1] (Chen 2010). The *Bûn-giân* writing tradition was used in the areas of modern-day Korea, Japan, China, Vietnam and Taiwan. *Bûn-giân* uses the *Hàn-jī* 漢字 script (also referred to as Chinese Characters). Traditionally, *Bûn-giân* is read in the local language variety; as such a Cantonese speaking person reads a text aloud differently than a Southern-Min-speaking person (see He 1999). The grammar and syntax of *Bûn-giân* is very different from the languages spoken by its writers thus it does not serve as a means of writing vernacular forms of the languages and was only used as a written *lingua franca*. As time went on, places like Korea, Vietnam and Japan began using different scripts to write their vernacular languages. After the establishment of the Republic of China, the national language was chosen based on the variety of Mandarin spoken in Beijing; thus *Bûn-giân* was replaced by a vernacular written form of Beijing Mandarin. This written form used the same script as *Bûn-giân*: the *Hàn-jī* script. The written forms of local Taiwanese vernacular languages were mostly developed by missionaries for translating the Bible and other religious texts. Klöter (2011) writes about such activities in various regions in East and Southeast Asia. For Tâigí, these written forms are called *Pe̍h-ōe-jī* 白話字 (henceforth POJ).

## Japanese Colonisation

At the end of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Taiwan was handed over to Japan. During the first few years, the colonial government focused on infrastructure and economic growth in Taiwan, letting the Taiwanese people use local languages in most sectors of everyday life (Sandel 2003; Chen 2010; Wu 2011). The government started to promote the Japanese language through the education system in an effort to have the Taiwanese population assimilate into a greater Japanese context (Chen 2010). Those who could speak fluent Japanese were rewarded with higher social status and better governmental positions, while families were encouraged to adopt Japanese surnames.

## Kuomintang and *Guóyǔ*

In 1945, the era of Japanese colonial rule ended, and Taiwan was handed over to the control of the Nationalist government of China, the KMT. The following decades saw a push to assimilate the local Taiwanese "back" into the greater Chinese cultural context (Sandel 2003; Scott and Tuin 2006; Dupré 2014, 2015). Linguistically, this was seen through top-down efforts to promote Mandarin, the *de facto* national language. The promotion of Mandarin was known as the "National Language Movement" (Chen 2010). After the transfer of power from Japan to the KMT government, Mandarin became the sole language of the government, education, and other sectors of public life. This was intensified as Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Army, along with other Main-

land refugees, arrived in Taiwan after their retreat during the Chinese Civil War (Chen 2010). As pointed out in Scott and Tuin (2006), the Mandarin-only policy gave the Mandarin speaking Mainlanders a higher advantage, which then allowed them to assume many high-ranking positions in the government. On the other hand, the Japanese-educated local Taiwanese population was at a disadvantage.

An example of the effects of the Mandarin only policy can be seen in Sande's 2003 investigation of the fast shift from the local language to Mandarin in the private household which happened in the span of one to two generations. Sandel opens the article by referring to a quote by the former President Lee Teng-Hui (1988-2000), depicting the punishments that he and his children were subject to under the different political regimes (Japanese and KMT) for the act of speaking their mother-tongue, Tâigí. President Lee was the first locally-born president, had a strong connection with the local majority, Tâigí speakers, and during his presidency the nation saw a greater promotion of local languages. This promotion was seen by many in his party, the KMT, as a push for "Taiwanese independence" and the further positioning of Taiwan away from China (Sandel 2003; Dupré 2014). The then-presidential candidate Lee knew that in order to connect with the majority Tâigí speaking population, he would have to make speeches in both Tâigí and Hakka. At the time, the only language that was "appropriate" for formal use was the *de facto* national language, Mandarin.

## Language Policy and Planning

Language policy and planning (hereafter LPP) has been extensively defined by many scholars (Stewart 1968; Gorman 1973; Cooper 1989; Wright 2016; Hornberger et al 2018). It is generally described as a deliberate and direct action to alter the linguistic trends within a specific language or which language, or language variety, is used by a group of speakers. Language planning refers to the deliberate and direct top-down efforts by a political entity to steer its population one way or another. Language policy, at times, is referred to as the actions taken to attempt these changes (Hornberger et al 2018). Hornberger (2018) describes LPP as an intertwined process where language policy does not overshadow language planning and vice versa.

Its usefulness lies in its ability to call attention to the dynamic ways in which language planning and language policy are each able to give rise to the other while simultaneously highlighting their interrelatedness (Hornberger et al. 2018, 156)

Hornberger's description encapsulates the dynamics of LPP in a country such as Taiwan. Previous analysis of LPP in Taiwan shows the push and pull of language regimes that try to guide the population to align with a particular linguistic, cultural, or political centre. As political regimes change and new ideals are set in place, that political centre also shifts (Chen 2010; Wu 2011; Dupré 2014, 2015).

LPP traditionally comes in three forms: (1) status planning, (2) acquisition planning, and (3) corpus planning. Status planning is the change of the social role which a particular language holds (Kloss 1969, p. 80). To further understand status planning and the different social roles of language, Stewart (1968) compiled a list of these different functions in multilingual nations, including: official, provincial, wider communication, international, capital, group, educational, school subject, literary, and religious. Of these functions, *Official*, *Provincial*, *Group*, *Educational*, and *School Subject* will be used in this paper's analysis. "*Official*" is described as the language used for government and politics. "*Provincial*" language is similar to "*Official*", but it is limited to a specific region; this paper refers to this concept as "*Regional*" language. "*Group*" is the language that is used within a specific group of people, such as a family, or community. "*Educational*" is

the language which is used as the medium of education. "*School subject*" is any language that is taught as part of the national or regional curriculum but is different than the "*Educational*" language.

Table 2. Language Functions Typology.

| CATEGORY | FUNCTION |
|---|---|
| Official | Used for all governmental, political, legal purposes. |
| Regional | *Official* for specific regions. |
| Group | Used by family, community, local society. |
| Educational | Used to learn core subjects such as mathematics, science, history, etc. |
| School subject | Learnt as a sperate class in school. Different from *educational*. |

Source: Stewart (1968).

Acquisition planning refers to the process by which the targeted population learns the language, be it an official or national language, or the language of education, etc. (Cooper 1989). Acquisition can be in the form of learning an additional language, a group of people relearning a specific language, or maintenance of a language so that it does not continue to lose speakers. Corpus planning usually includes the compilation of dictionaries or the development of a standard written form for languages. The above-mentioned aspects of LPP in the past have been top-down measures by governments to control linguistic aspects of society.

## Methodology

This paper analyses recent LPP activity in Taiwan. The data will be derived from existing legislation and regulations that directly impact the status of languages in Taiwan (see figure 4). The texts of the laws and regulations were read and analysed using Stewart's language functions (1968). The functions of *Official*, *Regional*, *Group*, *Educational*, and *School Subject* (figure 2) were used to understand the domains which the different Taiwanese languages occupied before and after the legislations were enacted. This approach was greatly inspired by Dupré's research (2015) on the "failed" LPP attempts by the Taiwanese government during the 2000-2008 Democratic People's Party (DPP) government.

The newly elected DPP government set out on a campaign to revitalise the local Taiwanese languages that had previously been restricted by the KMT military government, and before that by the Japanese colonial government. The goal of the KMT military government was to eventually restore KMT rule in Mainland China, therefore LPP was centred on guiding the population towards the use of the exclusive national language: Mandarin. In order to aid the spread of Mandarin, the restriction of local languages in schools was enforced by fines and other punishments. This was a relatively successful policy in that it caused parents to begin raising their children in bilingual Mandarin and local language households, with some raising their children entirely in Mandarin and ignoring the local language or allowing grandparents to take on the role of local language teacher (Sandel 2003). Before the 2000 election of the DPP, LPP in Taiwan had already begun to focus on the shrinking use of local languages (Sandel 2003, Dupré 2014). In the 1980s, the policy of local language restriction had eased, and schools started to have optional "mother tongue" language classes. This began what Scott and Tiun (2007) call the change from "Mandarin-only to Mandarin-Plus." In 2001, these courses became man-

datory for grades 1-6, with 4-8 hours weekly of "mother tongue" language classes, while being optional in high school (Dupré 2014). Dupré (2015) states that the election of the DPP in 2000 had the potential to change the language regime in Taiwan, but further legislation on language issues struggled to gain much support. In order to gain support from minority groups, political parties emphasised or deemphasised their corresponding "Hoklo-Taiwanese" or "Mainland-Chinese" identities. This created an environment where any reference to changing the language regime was seen as extreme. Instead of pushing to elevate Tâigí (the most spoken local language) to the same status as Mandarin, the DPP put its efforts into constructing more inclusive LPP legislation that sought to bring equality to all the languages in Taiwan. These pieces of legislation included the "Language Equality Law" (LEL) which aimed at creating a category of "common languages" made up of Tâigí, Mandarin, Hakka, and Formosan languages (Dupré 2015). This draft was composed of multiple LPP legislative drafts which previously had not gained enough support to pass. These drafts included the Indigenous Languages Development Act (ILDA) (discussed further below), and the Language Script Basic Act (LSBA). The LEL did not go on to be passed into law; "[…] a fourteen plus language formula was simply unworkable" (Dupré 2014, p. 420). After the failure of the LEL, another LPP law began to be formulated. The Development of National Languages Act (draft law) took the approach of preserving cultural heritage (Shih 2003 p.14). The act sought to aid the standardisation of local languages that had been "weakened" in the previous decades of official suppression (Dupré 2015). Though many of those in support of the law stated that it was not an effort in the direction of Taiwanese Independence or an anti-China stance, the two main political parties were too polarised in their beliefs (Dupré 2015). In 2008, the KMT won the presidential election and the DNLA lost momentum with Taiwan returning to the norm of Mandarin-Plus (Dupré 2015).

Considering Stewart's functions before democratisation and the implementation of mother-tongue classes, Mandarin was dominant in the *Official*, *Regional*, *Educational*, and *School Subject* functions. English was the only other language to have the function of *School Subject*, with weekly lessons required by the national curriculum. Other languages in Taiwan during this time only occupied the *Group* function– usage in local communities and homes. As mentioned above, "mother-tongue" classes were instituted from 1980 and further expanded in 2001. From that point forward, local languages joined Mandarin and English in the *School Subject* function (Figure 3).

Table 3. Mandarin-plus Functions

| | Official | Regional | Group | Educational | School subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mandarin | X | X | X | X | X |
| Tâi-gí | | | X | | X |
| Hakka | | | X | | X |
| TIL | | | X | | X |
| TSL | | | X | | X |
| WDL | | | X | | X |
| English | | | X | | X |
| NTL | | | X | | |

TIL – Taiwanese Indigenous Languages; TSL – Taiwanese Sign Language; WDL – Outer Island Languages (Matsu and O-ku-uā); NTL – New Taiwanese Languages (Vietnamese, Indonesian, Thai, etc.…).

"Mandarin-plus" can be further described as Mandarin being officially acceptable in all domains of life: government, commerce, education, and so on. The "-plus" signifies the growing tolerance, by the government, of Local and Indigenous languages, and a shift from complete suppression to limited tolerance in the *School Subject* function.

Since the election of the DPP presidential candidate Tsai Ing-Wen in 2016, LPP legislation in Taiwan again has had the potential to create significant change to the linguistic landscape. The following sections of the paper will be an analysis and discussion of these LPP activities in an attempt to synthesise this new information and add to LPP scholarship within a Taiwanese context.

## Language Legislation since 2016

President Tsai Ing-Wen is the first woman, and the first person of partial indigenous descent, to be elected to the presidential office in Taiwan. President Tsai's election was controversial because of her stance on issues such as marriage equality, economics, and the independence of Taiwan (Ramzy 2016). Since her election, she has promoted LPP legislation that directly elevates the status and spread of local languages. There have been three major language acts that have been passed by the Legislative Yuan: the Indigenous Languages Development Act (2017), the Hakka Basic Act (2018) and the Development of National Languages Act (2019).

Table 4. Taiwanese Language Acts.

| Name of the act | Languages it impacts |
|---|---|
| Indigenous Languages Development Act 2017 (ILDA) | Taiwanese Indigenous Languages (see figure 1 for complete list) |
| Hakka Basic Act 2018 (HBA) | Hakka language and varieties |
| Development of National Languages Act 2019 (DNLA) | Tâi-gí, Matsu, O-ku-uā, Taiwanese Sign Language (as well as languages in ILDA and HBA) |

Enacted in June of 2017, the current version of the Indigenous Languages Development Act (henceforth ILDA), marked the first time since 1945 that languages other than Mandarin were given the status of national language. Currently, sixteen indigenous languages are officially recognised by the Taiwanese government: Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Kanakanabu, Kavalan, Paiwan, Puyma, Rukai, Saaroa, Saisiyat, Sakizaya, Seediq, Thao, Truku, Cou, and Tao. These languages, which represent four different branches of the Austronesian language family, have dialectal variants of their own as well (Ang 2013). The ILDA is composed of thirty articles outlining statuses, definitions, responsibilities, and means of acquisition and promotion. The ILDA does not explicitly list the different indigenous languages, rather it sets out a definition for what constitutes an indigenous language. The second article states "'Indigenous languages' refers to languages traditionally used by indigenous ethnic groups as well as scripts and symbols used to record such languages." The law also includes the concept of *Tē-hong-thong-hêng-gí* 地方通行語 or Regional Common Languages. Specifically, in the ILDA is called it Indigenous Regional Common Languages. The law stipulates that each municipality must conduct surveys and decide based on the needs of the local population what the Indigenous Regional Common Language(s) should be. This has been conducted by the Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP) and there are fifty-five regions that now have designated Indigenous Regional Common

Languages, some with more than one, making a total of seventy-four languages given this status (Council of Indigenous Peoples).

In January of 2018, the Legislative Yuan passed a revision to the 2010 Hakka Basic Act (hereafter HBA). The law designates special protections for Hakka culture, as well as legislating that areas consisting of larger populations of Hakka people are to be classified as Hakka culture development communities. The revised, passed version of the HBA adds the following line: "Hakka is one of the national languages and is equal to all other languages of different ethnic groups" (Hakka Basic Act 2018). It further defines the Hakka language that is being referred to in the Act as the different varieties, idiomatic phrases and expressions which are spoken in Taiwan. This is to address the issue that some varieties of Hakka are so different that they are on the verge of being non-mutually intelligible.

## Development of National Languages Act of 2019

The Development of National Languages Act (2019) was reintroduced in 2016 and passed in December 2018. The passed version of the Act took a different approach than the previous draft law. The previous draft of the law listed the languages that were to become national languages. The most controversial part of the former draft was Tâigí. Those who were against the act were concerned that making Tâigí a national language would allow it to naturally become the main language of Taiwan, since those who speak Tâigí massively outnumber other language-speakers. The other problem with the Act was what to call Tâigí. The first draft had written it in such a way that Tâigí arguably came across as being inherently more Taiwanese than other languages. This is due to the fact that the draft law is written in Mandarin, and Tâigí was referred to as *Táiyǔ* 臺語 [tʰaɪ´yˇ]. After a period of rewriting, the next draft referred to Tâigí as *Holo*, a term rarely used by speakers. Now, more than ten years later, the current and passed version of the law gives a definition for National Language: "'National language' as referred to in this Act shall mean the natural languages and sign languages used by the different ethnic groups in Taiwan" (Development of National Languages Act 2019). This new approach by avoids the controversiality of listing the languages by name but rather allows people to argue that their language falls under the definition.

## Language Status Planning

After the Legislative Yuan passed the ILDA in May of 2017, legislator Kolas Yotaka addressed the Legislative Yuan. First, she spoke in her native language, Amis (an indigenous language), expressing her excitement and happiness regarding the passage of the law and the prospect of Amis' future development. (Taiwanese Indigenous TV and FM96.3 Alian Radio. 2017.) She then spoke in Mandarin stating:

> It was very difficult [for us] to imagine that we could stand here, in the hall of the Legislative Yuan speaking our indigenous languages. We all have experienced in school, even myself, being reprimanded for speaking local languages". (Taiwan Indigenous TV and FM96.3 Alian Radio 2017 – my translation)

Previously, speaking indigenous languages in the Legislative Yuan was not allowed; the only official working language had been Mandarin, and sometimes Tâigí was used because of how many people in Taiwan speak and understand it. At the time of the passage of the ILDA, because Mandarin was only the *de facto* national language, Indigenous Languages became the first and sole National Languages protected by written law.

Using the language functions set out by Stewart (1969), we can compose a clearer picture of the current situation in Taiwan. To begin with the *Official* function, the ILDA, HBA, and DNLA all explicitly use the term "National Language(s)". The ILDA gives National Language status to all Indigenous Languages and the HBA to the Hakka language. The DNLA gives a definition of National Language. The languages that fit the DNLA definition are Tâigí, Taiwanese Sign Language (TSA), Taiwanese Mandarin and Matsu (a language variety of Eastern Min spoken on Matsu Island). All the acts also state that all the National Languages are equal to each other. The fourth article of the DNLA states "All National Languages shall be equal; nationals using a National Language shall not be discriminated against or face restrictions" (Development of National Languages Act 2019). In this sense, it could be inferred that since all the National Languages are equal and are not to be discriminated against or face restrictions, all National Languages can be used in the *Official* function capacity.

Further evidence of national languages being used in the *Official* function can be seen via two other laws. In December 2016, the Legislative Yuan passed an updated version of the Nationality Act (2016). The third article of the act discusses the language requirements of naturalisation to become a citizen of the Republic of China (Taiwan). In the act it states that the applicant for naturalisation must prove their basic proficiency in the language of the nation (Nationality Act 2016). The ways in which one must prove this proficiency have been defined in a subsequent regulation that was passed by the Legislative Yuan. The regulation Standards for Identification of Basic Language Abilities and General Knowledge of the Rights and Duties of Naturalized R.O.C. Citizens (2017) lays out the various ways one might be able to prove their linguistic ability and general knowledge of society in order to be naturalised. The sixth article describes the naturalisation test procedure. There are two types of tests an applicant can choose from, an oral one and a written one. The oral test can be given in "Mandarin, Taiwanese Hokkien (Tâigí), Hakka, or an Indigenous Language" (Standards for Identification of Basic Language Abilities and General Knowledge of the Rights and Duties of Naturalized R.O.C. Citizens 2017). At this time the written version of the test is only available in Mandarin. The only languages left out of the regulation are the Matsu language and O-ku-uā. This might be due to the distance Matsu Islands are from mainland Taiwan, and the lack of foreign citizens living there applying for naturalisation.

The ILDA and the HBA discuss the concept of *Tē-hong thong-hêng gí* 地方通行語 or Regional Common Language. The ILDA stipulates that the CIP designates which languages are Regional Common Languages. The HBA states that areas with one third Hakka people, Hakka will be one of the regional languages. In areas where half the population are Hakka, Hakka will be the *Chú-iàu-thong-hêng-gí* 主要通行語 or Main Regional Common Language. The DNLA as well makes mention to a similar concept of Regional Language, but uses a different term *Khu-hek-thong-hêng-gí*區域通行語 or Common Language of the Region. According to Article Twelve in the DNLA, the designation of a National Language as a common language is the duty of the local municipal governments.

The competent authority of special municipalities, counties, and cities shall consider the needs of their respective populaces and, with the passage of a related resolution by the local legislative body, determine which national languages shall be used. It shall also draft measures protecting their use (Development of National Languages Act 2019)

It must also be kept in mind that the DNLA also pertains to all National Languages, including Hakka Languages and Indigenous Languages. Therefore, if a municipal or local government deems that there is a need or a desire for services to be offered in a

certain National Language, there can be regulations passed to allow for it to happen. For the case of the *Regional* function of Taiwan's National Languages, Hakka and Formosan Languages in certain contexts automatically take on these functions whereas Tâigí, Matsu, O-ku-uā, Mandarin and TSL must have local and municipal governments pass legislation in order to obtain this function. In some contexts there might be a hierarchy of the *Regional* function. For example, in Renai township in Nantou County, the CIP designated that Bunun is the Indigenous Regional Language. If the township's government deems that there is a need for more services in TSL, or more publications posted in Tâigí or Hakka, they can pass legislation to allow for this.

The *Educational* and *School Subject* functions depend on the language. Currently across Taiwan in most schools the only language with the function of *Education* is Mandarin. The HBA explicitly states that Hakka people shall be guaranteed the right to study in the Hakka language. The law also states that the relevant authority shall create plans for the implementation of teaching in the Hakka language. The central authority in this case is the Hakka Affairs Council (HAC). The HAC has since published plans for implementing immersion education in Hakka (Hakka Affairs Council). As of yet, there are only a few schools who have implemented full immersion programmes for Hakka; this is due to the lack of teachers who are proficient in Hakka. Most teachers grew up in an era where Hakka and other local languages were supressed and Mandarin was encouraged as the sole language of education. Despite the lack of trained Hakka teachers, there has been a gradual start of Hakka immersion kindergartens in places such as Taichung (Li 2021). Currently there are fourteen schools offering Hakka immersion kindergartens with a total of thirty-six classes. The plan of the HAC is to bring these programmes into elementary and middle schools. The thirteenth through seventeenth articles of the HBA deal with Hakka language acquisition outside of schools, stating that the government will provide incentives for families, companies, schools, colleges and universities for people to learn and communicate in the Hakka language. The sixteenth article states that the central government shall provide incentives for institutions to establish Hakka colleges and graduate programmes for the Hakka language and culture. These institutions will also aid in the development (standardisation) of the Hakka language.

The ILDA stipulates that the government shall give priority to the revitalisation of languages that are considered endangered by UNESCO. In reality, all of the Formosan languages are deemed to be at least endangered, with some extremely endangered or moribund. There are at least ten Formosan languages that are already extinct (Liu et al. 2015). In articles six and eight of the ILDA, the law stipulates that the central governmental organisation (in this case the CIP) shall promote the use of Indigenous Languages in all areas of society. Articles eighteen through twenty-two define the learning and promotion of Indigenous Languages. The eighteenth article stipulates that the central and local governments shall provide opportunities for young children to learn Indigenous Languages, the nineteenth article states that in accordance with the twelve-year "Compulsory Education Native Language Curriculum", schools must provide courses on Indigenous Languages. In order to address populations that have already finished mandatory education, the twentieth and twenty-first articles state that higher education institutions shall be encouraged to establish courses and training programmes for indigenous languages, and that the local governments shall provide courses for residents to learn indigenous languages. The twenty-second article addresses the lack of trained teachers of local languages. The CIP has also created plans for the implementation of immersion schools in indigenous languages (Council of Indigenous Affairs). Currently the plan is for fifty-fifty immersion of Indigenous

Languages with Mandarin. This is due to the lack of teachers who have completed full training in Indigenous Languages. The plan was to start from 2021 with these fifty-fifty immersion schools (these programmes have yet to begin).

There is also some movement for immersion schools for Tâigí. Since the situation for Tâigí under the DNLA is different, it is up to municipal and local governments to implement such programmes. One example of an immersion programme is in Taoyuan city, where nine schools have started offering immersion programmes in Tâigí (Wei 2020). The programmes in Taoyuan are starting with fifty-fifty Tâigí-Mandarin kindergarten immersion, with Tâigí being used for content for life skills, songs and games. There are also plans for the programmes to be extended to elementary and middle schools.

Other than the immersion programmes that are popping up throughout Taiwan, the DNLA also stipulates that there must be lessons to teach national languages in schools. These are taken in the form of weekly school subjects not dissimilar to foreign language courses in school. The Ministry of Education regularly publishes updates about the national curriculum. The current plan is that elementary schools introduce one mandatory weekly class for National Languages. Middle schools will have National Language courses until seventh or eighth grade, but for Indigenous students this is extended until the ninth grade. From eight grade (ninth for indigenous students) and beyond the courses will become optional. In high school these courses become credit based. Each course will count for two credits, and in order to fulfil requirements students must earn four credits (Ministry of Education).

The HBC, ILDA and the DNLA have provided the mechanisms to extend the function of *Education* language to the Local Languages in Taiwan. In regard to the *Education* function, as with the Regional Common Languages, the HBC offers an "automatic" triggering of developing this function in that it explicitly calls for such immersion programmes to be offered. The ILDA does not have such wording, but it designates the CIP to make such decisions, and the CIP has begun to offer plans for immersion programmes. The DNLA also allows for local and municipal governments to assess the needs of residents, which some have done, and begun to offer immersion programmes in Tâigí. In the case of Mandarin, since Mandarin has been the de facto official language since 1945, it already serves the function of *Education* language. The function of *School Subject* on other hand has been given to Local Languages for a few decades. "Mother tongue" courses have been offered since the 2000s after the relaxation of bans against their usage.

Figure 5. Mandarine-inclusive Functions.

| | Official | Regional | Group | Educational | School subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mandarin | X | X | X | X | X |
| Tâi-gí | X | X | X | X | X |
| Hakka | X | X | X | X | X |
| TIL | X | X | X | X | X |
| TSL | X | X | X | X | X |
| WDL | X | X | X | X | X |
| English | | | X | | X |
| NTL | | | X | | X |

Source: Stewart (1968).

## Mandarin-inclusive

Previous research on language policies in Taiwan has shown a shift in the overall characteristics in the hierarchy of language. After the democratisation in the 1980s and the subsequent establishment of "mother-language" classes, Taiwan went from being "Mandarin-only" to "Mandarin-plus" (Scott and Tuin 2007). "Mandarin-only" implies that Mandarin is a higher status language compared to local languages. That is, only Mandarin was deemed to be fit for use in all areas of life. Another way to put it is that before the ban on local languages was lifted, only Mandarin could fulfil the functions of *Official*, *Regional*, *Education* and *School Subject* language. After the ban was lifted, and new era of "Mandarin-plus" began—local languages were able to fulfil the function of *School Subject* languages.

Since the passage of the ILDA, the HBA, and the DNLA, Local Languages now are able to fulfil the *Official*, *Regional*, *Educational* and *School Subject* functions; all the functions that previously only Mandarin could fulfil (figure 5). That said, the previous mentioned term "Mandarin-plus" has become out of date. This paper introduces the term "Mandarin-inclusive" as an updated term. The reasoning behind this term is that as before, Mandarin still holds immense linguistic capital in Taiwan. It has been the main language of government, education, and commerce since 1945, and there have been three to four generations that have been educated exclusively in Mandarin. The "inclusive" part of the term shows how with the current language legislation, the move away from "Mandarin-only" is picking up pace.

## Discussion

The DNLA has allowed for the furthering of "Mandarin-inclusive". The thirteenth article stipulates that the central government must provide broadcasting services in National Languages. Prior to the DNLA, only Indigenous Languages and Hakka had their own respective public broadcasting television channels. Since the DNLA, the public television authority has opened a new channel called *Kong-sī Tâi-gí Tâi* 公視台語台 (Public Tâigí Television –PTT) (Office of the President 2019). PTT broadcasts news, children's shows, drama series and educational shows entirely in Tâigí. Also, the subtitles of the shows are written in Tâigí. Even dialog in Mandarin is subtitled and translated into Tâigí.

"Mandarin-inclusivity" is also seen in the actions of politicians. As mentioned earlier, directly after the passage of the ILDA, Kolas Yotaka addressed the legislative Yuan in her native language. Her other Indigenous colleagues also gave short speeches thanking those who voted in favour of the legislation (Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation 2017). Legislative member Sra Kacaw, from the Amis people, spoke in Amis stating, "our indigenous languages have been here in Taiwan for more than a thousand years, but the country (Taiwan) has never identified with them, that is why in the first article of the law it clearly states that indigenous languages are national languages" (Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation 2017). This shows that the legislative categorisation of indigenous languages as national languages was intended to create a more inclusive and diverse Taiwanese national linguistic identity. Thus, the ILDA shifts the act of using indigenous languages in the Legislative Yuan from being a display of an indigenous peoples' identity to a pluralistic display of national and indigenous peoples' Taiwanese identity.

In 2018, Kolas Yotaka left her position in the Legislative Yuan after she was appointed the new spokesperson for the Executive Yuan. Yotaka is from the Amis tribe, one of the indigenous Taiwanese groups, and is an avid supporter of the ILDA. At the time of

the announcement of her new job, Yotaka asked the public to respect her choice to use her Amis name, Kolas Yotaka, rather than the Mandarin transliteration of her name; *Gulasi youdaka* 谷辣斯·尤達卡. She went on to say that, in spoken and written form, she would like to be referred to as such. She stated that the best way to pronounce her name is to use the Latin script as Mandarin does not have the same sounds as the Amis language; using the pronunciation of Mandarin to read the Mandarin transliteration of her name does not have an authentic feeling (Wan 2018). Some reactions to her request were quite negative, with some saying they do not have any intention to refer to her by her Amis name and that her job as spokesperson was not to promote Amis language and culture, but rather to speak on behalf of the Executive Yuan (Cheng 2018; Wan 2018). In another interview she said that "after the passage of the ILDA, the scripts used by indigenous peoples to write their languages are now national scripts", thus legitimising her right to use her name in the Latin script (Cheng 2018).

After the amended HBA passed into law in 2018, legislative member Chiang Cji-an also utilised her new language rights. In July 2018 after Kolas Yotaka left to assume her new role as spokesperson for the Executive Yuan, Chiang Cji-an replaced Yotaka as member of the Legislative Yuan. Chiang Cji-an made headlines during her swearing into office because instead of using Mandarin, she used her native language, Hakka, to take the oath swearing her into office (Chen and Chiu 2018). During an interview after her swearing in she said, "since I represent the Hakka ethnic group, along with the fact that last year the Hakka language became one of the national languages after the passage of the amended Hakka Basic Act, it is my right to take the oath into office in my mother tongue [the Hakka language]" (Chen and Chiu 2018). Chiang Cji-an's statement shows how for her, speaking the Hakka language is an integral part of what it means to be Taiwanese. Furthermore, she indicates that speaking Hakka is also not limited in her new identity of being a member of the Legislative Yuan: the speech act of taking an oath in Hakka has the same effects as taking the oath in Mandarin: the result is the same and she assumes office.

## Conclusion

The diverse and multilingual population of Taiwan has been subject to many different top-down language planning strategies which have tried to push the population towards a singular national identity. In the past, this ideal national identity had changed with the different governing entities, such as the Japanese colonial government and the KMT National Chinese military government. The 1980s lifting of language restrictions saw the beginning of a language hierarchy that was more tolerant of local languages, as long as they did not displace the use of Mandarin as the de facto official language. The shift from "Mandarin-only" to "Mandarin-plus" happened with the implementation of "mother-language" classes in school. After a few failed bills in the 2000s, the status quo stayed at "Mandarin-plus" until 2017, when the ILDA passed, marking the first-time indigenous languages were fully recognised as national languages. With the subsequent passage of the HBA and DNLA, the groundwork for "Mandarin-inclusive" was established.

Though these laws have not been passed for very long, there is already a growing momentum in terms of language revitalisation through public broadcasting, immersion programmes, and the extension of required national language courses in schools. The new "Mandarin-inclusive" style of language policy also allows one to identify with more than one aspect of what it means to be Taiwanese, rather than conforming to the "Mandarin-only" norm of the past. "Mandarin-inclusive"

can be seen in the new regulations for naturalisation, where one can prove their "Taiwanese-ness" through a knowledge test given in any of the national languages. The new set of linguistic legislation also addresses the problems of top-down decision-making by allowing local communities to play a significant part in language revitalisation. The creation of the "regional common language" category allows for individualised revitalisation. This is a shift away from top-down language planning of the past where the goal was to assimilate the population to a centralised standard. "Regional Common Language" opens up for working with local language speakers so that regional governments can assess the needs of the population.

The paper is part of a larger project that is investigating language activism, language revitalisation and language and identity in Taiwan. It is the hope of this article that the introduction of the idea of "Mandarin-inclusive" can provide an alternative framework to deal with linguistic diversity and language policies that mitigate the decline of minority languages. It is also hoped that with the background and brief explanation of the current legislation in Taiwan, this paper will be able to inspire and support other research in this area.

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*Bûn-giân* 文言: The phonetic script here represents the Tâi-gí reading of the Hàn-jī (漢字). Unless explicitly stated paper utilises *Pe̍h-ōe-jī* script of Tâi-gí to annotate non-Latin script writings.

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# Roma in Soviet Ukraine: Ways of Life and Forced Sedentarisation Before and After the Second World War

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This article introduces a variety of Romani groups living in Soviet Ukraine and their ways of life—sedentary, semi-nomadic and nomadic—highlighting that semi-nomadism is omitted category in scholarship even though most of the Roma in Soviet Ukraine maintained a semi-nomadic way of life. Through the discussion of the notion of nomadism, the research analyses how the Romani ways of life have changed over time from before and after the Second World War. Examining the Soviet policy towards the Roma in Soviet Ukraine (1930s–1950s), particularly, the creation of the *kolkhoz* system and the issue of the "Khrushchev Decree", the paper argues that the changes in Romani ways of life occurred due to suppressive policies of the Soviet state directed to the forced sedentarisation of Roma.

There is a tendency in academic writing in the field of history to refer to Roma as a homogeneous group. Frequently, historians write about Roma (or in the best case, about Sinti and Roma) as one people without deepening their knowledge regarding different Romani communities. On the contrary, anthropologists and ethnographers focus on solely one community often omitting social connections and historical context. Nevertheless, researching the variety of Romani groups from a historical perspective allows scholars to learn diverse cultural and social backgrounds and experiences of Romani communities. Such knowledge leads to a better understanding of Romani life and relations between Roma and non-Roma, including hierarchical relations between Romani communities and state systems.

In the context of Ukraine, the knowledge regarding the diversity of Romani communities helps to analyse the Romani ways of life—nomadic, semi-nomadic or sedentary—and the notion of each way for different Romani groups. In turn, understanding this notion sheds the light on to what extent the life of different Romani communities has been changed owing to historical events such as the sedentarisation of Roma by the Soviet state in the 1930s and the 1950s. The first phase of the sedentarisation is related to the creation of the *kolkhoz* (Soviet collective farm) system in the very late 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s when the Soviet government started to organise so-called "national *kolkhozes*" and among them, "Gypsy *kolkhozes*". The collective farms as a system were created in the first years of Soviet Ukraine's existence; however, the state policy of collectivisation was introduced by the Soviet government (under Joseph Stalin) and intensified between 1929 and 1933. The aim was to transform individual farms into group (collective) farms that collectively shared responsibilities for increasing "state grain procurement" and reducing "peasants' ability to

withdraw grain from the market" (Fitzpatrick 1994, 4) which would also reduce the economic power of wealthy peasants (Britannica).

The second phase is connected to the so-called "Khrushchev Decree" of 1956, according to which the sedentarisation of Roma was immediate and compulsory, with criminal punishment for those who disobeyed the order. The attempts to settle Roma by the Soviet system left a certain mark on the individual and collective memory of Roma in Ukraine that reflects the Romani experiences during the Soviet time. Thus, the forced sedentarisation of the Roma serves as an example of the Soviet repressive and suppressive system. Various cases of this system have been studied in application to different ethnic groups, minorities or indigenous, however, the study of the suppression of the Roma is far from exhaustive (see, Conquest 1986; Kulchytskyi 2005; Applebaum 2017).

The article focuses on the different groupings of Roma living in Soviet Ukraine and their ways of life, highlighting that most Roma were semi-nomadic rather than nomadic before the Second World War and until 1956. This paper analyses the notion of being nomadic for several Romani groups in Ukraine and the changes in Romani ways of life, particularly transitioning from nomadic and semi-nomadic life to sedentary. I argue that this transition occurred mainly owing to the policies of the Soviet government directed to forced sedentarisation of the Roma. Examining the forced sedentarisation as Soviet suppressive policies towards Roma, may bring us a better understanding of the Roma experiences in Soviet Ukraine, on the one hand, and enlarge the knowledge regarding the mechanism for suppression applied by the Soviet Union regime towards its minorities, on the other hand. It should be noted that the "Gypsy kolkhozes" and the "Khrushchev Decree" of 1956 are large phenomena and I will examine the issues specifically related to my analysis of how these Soviet policies changed the ways of life for Roma.

Although some scholarship on Roma in Ukraine exists it is largely ethnographic and linguistic in focus. Therefore, knowledge about the Roma continues to be fragmented and diffused, particularly when examining the everyday lives of Romani families in Soviet Ukraine. Nevertheless, several scholarly works have provided some analysis of the suppressive Soviet policies towards the Roma (see O'Keeffe 2013; Edele 2014; Demeter, Bessonov and Kutenkov 2000). Yet, there are few academic works that examine the sedentarisation of the Roma and its consequences in Russia (Ural region) and Ukraine based on archival documents (Kilin 2005; Byelikov 2008) and in Belarus based on interviews (Bartash 2015). The topic was also mentioned in several essays published in Ukrainian scholarly journals such as *Etnichna istoriia narodiv Yevropy.* However, those essays are lacking analysis and the usage of sources is problematic from an academic point of view in some of them. For instance, several papers of historian Olesya Rozovyk are based on archival materials and bring interesting official Soviet statistics of registered Roma. At the same time, those essays demonstrate the scholar's incompetence in describing the structure of the Roma society. Referring to the archival sources without applying any critical thinking method to the used archival materials, Rozovyk reproduced negative stereotypes regarding the Roma when mentioned "Gypsy clans" and "Gypsy barons"—both terms are nonsensical for Roma in Ukraine but were spread among non-Roma (Rozovyk 2011, 69). Thus, the scholarship regarding Romani groups, the sense of nomadic life, and sedentarisation of Roma in Soviet Ukraine is limited to some extent.

This article is based on an analysis of several sets of sources. It brings together the research findings on Romani groups from various scholarly works to date in

several languages, including English, Ukrainian, Russian, and French. For analysis of the Soviet policies, the official Soviet documents (orders and decrees) are used in their original form published by the Soviet authorities. The interviews recorded from Roma in Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, and Romanes (in translation) are used to coherently bring to the fore certain aspects of Romani life such as the notion of nomadism, the sense of life in family and the relationships between Roma and non-Roma in Soviet Ukraine. These video interviews were selected from a broad collection of the USC Shoah Foundation Visual Archive and the Yahad in-Unum Visual Archive and accessed in various ways: online subscription through the institutions and via fellowship by working with archives directly at the institutions. The transcripts of interviews in Romanes were accessed through the Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies Archive. Some interviews in Ukrainian and Russian cited in this paper were recorded by the author in the form of audio files and notes during the 2010-2015 ethnographic and oral history fieldwork in Ukraine and Moldova (contact the author for access to the data and information on other archives). While working with the interviews, I remain aware of the limitation of memory and specificity of the recollections made after the event which are also conditioned by the purpose of interviews, the personality and approaches of the interviewers, and the preparation for interviews from both sides – the interviewees and the interviewers (Grele 1992; Denzin 1997; Yow 2005). Thus, the current paper combines approaches to the sources from several disciplines: history, memory studies and ethnography.

It is important to note that the Roma are "a specific ethnic community—an 'intergroup ethnic community'—which has no parallel in the other European nations" that has its hierarchical system and specific structure (Marushiakova and Popov 2001, 33). The Roma dispersed from India and arrived in Byzantine Empire around the eleventh century and gradually formed metagroups, groups, subgroups, and micro-groups (Tcherenkov and Laederich 2004, 3; Marushiakova and Popov 2014, 146). This segmentation, on the one hand, and consolidation, on the other hand, as discussed by Vesselin Popov and Elena Marushiakova, continues to be the specificity of the Roma ethnic community (Marushiakova and Popov 2014, 191). Therefore, researching the Roma is a difficult task in which the scholar has to be aware of Romani groups' division and certain traditions across these varying groups. In this way, a comparative analysis of Romani testimonies from their different points of view needs to be undertaken in consideration of other ethnographic, linguistic and historical materials to bring a better understanding life and history of Roma, particularly in the twentieth century.

Talking about themselves to non-Roma, Ukrainian Roma use the words "Tsyhany" (in Ukrainian) or "Tsygane" (in Russian) in the plural as a self-appellation which was established as exonyms in Ukrainian and Russian writings in literature, history, anthropology, and art performance throughout the centuries. In most cases, these words reflected ethnicity and did not have a derogatory connotation; however, stereotypes (both positive and negative) were formed and tied to these ethnonyms. In this article, I use the words "Tsyhany" or "Tsygane" in inverted commas when Roma use these self-appellation. Referring to Roma, I use the word "Roma" as a noun and Romani as an adjective.

## Romani Language and the Formation of Romani Groups

The Romani peoples speak the Romani language, Romanes. Researching different Romanes dialects in combination with the impact on Romanes of other languages, linguists explained the formation of various Romani groups. Romanes is not a

homogeneous language but rather consists of multiple dialects, which sometimes significantly vary under the impact of other languages. By researching these dialects, one can understand from which language certain words were borrowed by the Roma and how the words were transformed in particular dialects of Romanes. This understanding brings knowledge regarding the migration of Roma: which countries the Romani people passed through, for how long they stayed, and where they resided. However, not all Roma speak Romanes. Therefore, some researchers prefer to use the term "Gypsies" referring to both Roma and those who belong to Roma owing to other characteristics but not Romanes language.

Linguistic research significantly contributes to understanding the Romani groups' kinship, forming certain groups and splitting themselves further into micro-groups. Hence, Romani people are not a homogeneous group, they are divided into metagroups, groups, subgroups, and other micro-groups within a specific geographic area. This division is based primarily on linguistic research. Lev Tscherenkov and Stephane Laederich consider four large Romani metagroups that can be identified based on common or similar language, history, trade and traditions. These groups are the Vlax, the Carpathian, the Nordic and the Balkan (Tcherenkov and Laederich 2004, 302). Linguist Yaron Matras proposed the same division based on only linguistic characteristics (Matras 2005).

According to these scholars, the Vlax metagroup concentrated around the historical Wallachian and Transylvanian regions (within contemporary Romania), and its subgroups migrated throughout Europe and beyond (Matras 2005, 9). The main characteristic of the Vlax dialect is a strong influence of the Romanian language (Tcherenkov and Laederich 2004, 424). Most of the Roma resided in Ukrainian lands in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries belong to the Vlax metagroup. Following the spelling in Romanes, these groups are the Kalderaš (other names are the Kelderari, Căldărari, or Kotliary), the Kišinjovcurja (Kišinjovurja, Kishiniovtsy, Bessarabian Roma), the Lingurari, the Lovari (Lovara), the Rišarja, the Rusynski (Hutsulski) Roma, the Servi (Servurja, Ukrainska Roma) and the Vlaxi (Vlaxija, Vlaxurja, Katunarja; Tcherenkov and Laederich 2004, 424).

The Carpathian metagroup, or according to Y. Matras, central group with its two subdivisions into Northern Central and Southern Central, spreads to parts of Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Austria, Hungary and Transcarpathian Ukraine. This metagroup has linguistically experienced strong southern Slavic and Hungarian influences (Matras 2005, 10; Tcherenkov and Laederich 2004, 241). The latter is related to the Northern Central subdivision. The Plaščuni and the Ungrika Roma are two Roma groups belonging to the Carpathian metagroup and live in western Ukraine.

The Nordic metagroup with the dialects of western and northern Europe also includes the Iberian Peninsula and southern Italy. This group linguistically also may be divided into North-Eastern (Baltic) and North-Western (German-Scandinavian) groups (Matras 2005, 10). The German language impacted the Nordic group. The Romani groups that belonged to this metagroup and resided in Ukraine before and after the Second World War are the Gimpeni, Polska Roma, Sinti and Xaladytka Roma (Ruska Roma).

The Balkan group included the Black Sea coastal dialects (Matras 2005, 10) and was strongly influenced by Turkish and Greek languages. It may be considered the oldest metagroup in Europe compared to others (Tcherenkov and Laederich 2004, 303). Several Romani groups from this metagroup can (or could) be found in Ukraine: the Krımurja (the Kırımlıdes, Kırımlıtika Roma, Tatarika Roma, Krımı, or Crımı), the

Tajfa (Dajfa) and the Ursari (Ursarja). Over time, each group developed its tradition of living, occupation, and way of life. Understanding these issues is important for further analysis of the impact of Soviet policies on various Romani groups.

## The Ways of Life: Sedentary or Nomadic?

Various Romani groups maintained different ways of life which relatively can be categorised as nomadic, semi-nomadic (or semi-settled) and settled/sedentary. These categories reflect the history of the Romani everyday life on Ukrainian lands, though the "semi-nomadic" category is vague and requires further clarification. In most publications of which I am aware, the scholars use only two categories—nomadic and sedentary—to discuss the Romani ways of life. However, a significant part of the Roma in Soviet Ukraine maintained neither of these ways of life, particularly in the period between the First and Second World Wars. In private academic discussions, the category of "semi-nomadic" Roma is present but is not reflected in academic writings.

Despite the stereotypical image of Roma as nomadic people in the Russian Empire, it should be noted that several Romani groups, for instance, a significant part of Servi and Tajfa/Dajfa, settled already in the eighteenth century, if not earlier (Tcherenkov and Laederich 2004, 422; Marushiakova and Popov 2016, 34). Once settled, those Roma remained sedentary and lived in their own huts and houses through the centuries. When urbanisation started in the late Russian Empire and the early Soviet Union, Roma started to own flats in the towns and cities. Several Servi and the Kišinjovcurja groups became sedentary in the late 1920s through to the 1930s in connection with the creation of the *kolkhoz* (the Soviet collective farm) system; other groups were prevented from nomadising during the Second World War owing to the occupation of Soviet Ukraine by Nazi Germany and its allies. Then, after the war, they remained settled (Damaskin). The rest of the Roma became sedentary after 1956 when the Soviet first secretary Nikita Khrushchev issued the Decree "On Reconciling Vagrant Gypsies to Labour", according to which all Roma had become settled under pain of criminal punishment (*Vedomosti* 1956, 547). Thus, despite the wide sedentarisation of the Roma on Ukrainian lands at the beginning of the twentieth century, if not earlier, the Roma still appeared as travellers or nomads in the imagination of the majority of non-Roma that can be observed through literature and cinematography.

Yet, the ancestors of almost all Romani groups living in contemporary Ukraine, except the aforementioned Tajfa/Dajfa and a part of the Servi groups, were previously nomadic. By using the term "previously" mainly the period before the twentieth century is being referred to, and only in a few cases, before the Second World War. After the Second World War, there were no nomadic Roma in Ukraine in the full sense of being travellers, as I explain below.

What is meant by being nomadic Roma is travelling around the year, including wintertime, from one place to another with short stays (from one day to two-three weeks) in the same place. Traditionally they travelled by *tabor/tabir,* as the Roma call it in Russian/Ukrainian. The word "taboro" came from the Kalderaš/Vlax dialect and may be translated to Romani camp or community. The *tabor/tabir* was a micro-group of Roma from the same group or subgroup connected by close kinship. Considering that Roma typically had four or more children (up to as many as twelve), the number of people in one *tabor/tabir* could vary between twenty and one hundred. For example, one *tabor/tabir* in the Odesa region (southern Ukraine) consisted of more

than seventy people before the Second World War (Tsynia). In Servi nomadic groups, *tabor/tabir* usually consisted of several families: between three to five as minimum and fifteen to twenty as maximum (Makhotina and Panchenko 2019, 24). The Roma travelled in covered chariots/wagons, and their size, outlook and decorations depended on the traditions of the Romani subgroup and its material situation. When Roma discuss their nomadic life, they rarely count people as "families" but rather by chariots. One chariot meant one Romani family of the closest kinship (a married couple and their children; sometimes also under-age brothers and sisters of the married couple and their elderly grandparents). For instance, a *tabor/tabir* of the Kelderaš group, which nomadised in western Ukraine (in the former Polish territories before 1939), consisted typically of ten to twelve chariots (Kwiatkowska) of which one family of the closest kinship occupied one or two chariots. Other Romani families (apparently Kišinjovcurja), who nomadised in Bessarabia and then in Romania before the Second World War, had fifteen to twenty chariots (Radukan). The Roma explained that such a difference in the number of chariots depended on the possessions of the Roma, for example: clothes, linen, pillows, kitchen stuff, instruments and equipment for work (Kotliarova). When one *tabor/tabir* met another on the road, even from the same Romani group, often the Roma of both *tabor/tabir* did not join together to continue their travels. In addition, they did not stay together or alongside in the same locality. For example, a Romani man Dmitrii Sheulitsa, whose parents nomadised before the Second World War, explained the issue of kinship:

> The kinship was – that one brother, then one nephew [counts other people] – all of them as 'ours', same understanding [of each other]. It was considered that all of them were our people. When [we] met with other *tabors,* they were considered strangers. We arrived [to stay at a certain place], and they stayed there [at the same place], then we stayed separately from them [and did not join] (Sheulitsa).

However, such attitudes to each other did not preclude Roma belonging to different groups or subgroups from communicating among themselves. There were cases of common nomadising by Tavrian Servi and Kuban Vlaxi, whose traditions and customs were similar (Makhotina and Panchenko 2019, 24). Sometimes Romani youngsters got married despite belonging to different *tabors/tabirs* and even different Romani groups. For instance, such marriages existed between the groups of Vlaxi and Servi or Kelderaš and Lovari.

Some Roma talked about their nomadic life before the Second World War in interviews that I analysed. For instance, Nadzieja Kwiek was born in 1935 to a mixed family of the Kalderaš (father) and the Lovari (mother); Maria Kwiatkowska was born in 1925 to a family of the Kalderaš group. Both talked about their nomadic lives in the late 1930s in western Ukrainian lands, which belonged to Poland in the inter-war period (Kwiatkowska and Kwiek). Both Kwiek and Kwiatkowska had the same maiden name Goman which emphasised their connection to the same Kalderaš family in their younger years, which means they all nomadised together with their parents. Yet, those nomadic families were exceptional cases even before the Second World War that my fieldwork and analysis of the interviews recorded by the USC Shoah Foundation have confirmed.

## Semi-Nomadism and Its Notion for the Roma

There is a general tendency among historians to assume that the majority of the Roma in the Soviet Union, with some minor exceptions, maintained a nomadic

style of life (Kotljarchuk 2014, 12; *Materialy* 2009, 57). Based on my source materials, I can state that the overwhelming majority of Roma in Ukrainian lands stopped their nomadic lives before the Second World War, and accepted semi-nomadic or settled ways of life. When the Roma talked about their nomadic lives in recorded interviews (both those that I analysed and those I have conducted myself), they explained how they eventually rented huts/houses for the winter. The Russian ethnographer Mikhail Plokhinskii wrote in his articles already in 1905 that "In the summertime, Tsygane usually nomadised from one place to another… In the wintertime, they usually rented a dwelling for themselves and their horses, paying for themselves and their horses a certain fee…" (Plokhinskii 1905, 201).

Roma people that have been interviewed about their life in Soviet Ukraine have explained the meaning of the semi-nomadic way of life before the Second World War and up to 1956: travelling during the warm season and staying in one place—a house or rather a hut—during the cold season. Although the interviewees did not call this way of life "semi-nomadic" but rather used the term "nomadic", I think it is important to single out that this way of life is distinguished from nomadic or sedentary ways of life. During my fieldwork, I noticed that some of the Roma were very proud of their ancestors' nomadic lives and emphasised that they were real "Tsyhany". Other researchers also confirm that belonging to (semi)nomadic families evoked pride from the Roma descendants in the Servi group, which was divided into nomadic and sedentary in the past (Makhotina and Panchenko 2019, 23).

Thus, Roma who rented lodgings for the cold season and travelled during the warm season can be viewed as semi-nomadic whereas those who had their own accommodation and stayed there for the cold season but continued to travel during the warm season can be considered semi-settled. My research confirms Elena Marushiakova's point of view that in Ukraine in the first half of the twentieth century, Roma always spent the wintertime in their own or rented dwellings (personal communication with Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov). Although I could find no information in the source materials to confirm that the Roma owned their own accommodation, I can assume that some Roma really received their accommodation from the Soviet state.

The regions for semi-nomadisation varied from group to group. Some of the Romani groups trespassed quite a significant territory over the summer. For instance, the radius of nomadisation for Kišinjovcurja was from Moldovan Bessarabia to the Ukrainian south and through the Crimean Peninsula to the Russian Kuban, where they stayed for the winter seasons and the following year returned to Bessarabia. Thus, in this case, the Roma covered more than 2,000 km during the warm season (Lebedev). Overlapping areas also had Kuban Vlaxi and Tavrian Servy groups present (Makhotina and Panchenko 2019, 24). Other Roma travelled to neighbouring regions. Some of the Servi nomadised only in the southern part of Ukraine: Kherson, Mykolaiv and Odesa regions (Shul'ga). They could cover around 400-600 km. Some Roma had even smaller areas for travelling: Kherson, Mykolaiv, and up to Kryvyi Rih regions (Sheulitsa), and they covered around 300-400 km per season. The Krımurja nomadised in the "Tavria region", as they called it. The Roma conveyed that they deemed the Kherson region and the Crimean Peninsula areas to be "not far" even though the Roma could cover as much as 200-300 km over the warm season (Ninitsa).

Semi-nomadisation depended on three factors: Roma's will to move, Romani families' economic situation and weather conditions. The Roma in Ukraine began

to travel by mid- or the end of March and continued until the end of October. A Romani man Leonid Shul'ga, who was born in 1938 and whose family was semi-nomadic before his birth and then again after the Second World War from 1945 until 1956, recalled:

> Well, see, at that time, all Tsyhany nomadised. It started from their ancestors: their parents and then them [means the kids when they grow up]. Generally, the Tsyhan(ska) [life] was such [that] they could not stay in one place. Well, [they] overwintered, the spring arrived, became warmer [they] harness the horse and (shows by hands the road). [In summertime] we stayed in afforestation areas, tents [originally, *shatra*], and villages. That was the Tsyhan(ska) life. (Shul'ga)

Some of the Roma spent only three to four months rather than half a year nomadising, which suggests that the process of sedentarisation was slowly progressing. Every year, the Roma rented houses or huts in villages, where they preferred to stay in the cold season between the end of October and mid to late March. The Roma rented huts or houses from local peasants, in most cases in the same village every year and for many years. This way, local non-Roma, mainly Ukrainians, knew the Roma who rented the huts and trusted them. Dmitrii Sheulitsa talked about renting the hut for the winter in detail:

> We travelled in familiar villages, and [the non-Roma people] knew [us]. They said: "Ah, our Tsyhany arrive our *tabor*". Well, we did not have our own houses. We rented flats… We arrive, and people [non-Roma] already knew [us]. If one hut was not vacant, then [we] went to another. [People said] "These Tsyhany are ours; they are good!" You rent a flat and overwinter there. (Sheulitsa)

Those Roma who had larger areas for nomadising could rent houses or huts each year in different villages. For example, Leonid Shul'ga said, "Where we found ourselves when the winter came, there we rented huts", and listed the names of the villages where they stayed (Shul'ga). Semi-nomadic in her childhood, Romani woman Vera Kotliarova (born 1925) recalled that "It does not matter where we travelled, but we always returned to our village Tomakivka and spent the winter there. [We] rented flats because we did not have our own hut ["flats" means huts or even rooms because there were no flats in the village in an urban sense]" (Kotliarova). To receive a place to live for the cold seasons, some of the Roma made an official contract to work with *kolkhoz* [Soviet collective farms] where they stayed and worked during the winter time. A Romani woman Sofiia Bakro (born in 1922), recalled her semi-nomadic family life in her childhood before the Second World War:

> When the winter is coming, he [father] applied to *kolkhoz* for a contract… You know, in winter, one will not nomadise, [it is] cold, and he, my father, applied to stay and work in *kolkhoz* for three-four months. (Bakro)

Each subgroup travelled in their chosen region throughout the year and each time stayed nearby or in a particular village for a certain period of time, usually between several days and a couple of weeks. One Romani semi-nomadic man recalled his life "…When nomadised…well, there were such places where people [non-Roma] lived closely, and we always stayed there [upon arrival]" (1261UK). In this way, the Roma knew that the locals would treat them well, and local non-Roma knew "their Tsyhany" and waited for the Roma to offer some work or get some entertainment

(Lebedev). Such attitude of non-Roma to Roma helped the latter earn money or rather some food during their short stays.

When staying, the Roma usually set up the tents (*shatra*) where they lived and slept overnight. The Romani endonyms *Katunarja* and in Russian S*hatiorniki* can be translated from Romanes as "those who stayed in tents (*shatra* or *katuna*)". The Katunarja is the second endonym of the Vlaxi group (the first is the Vlaxurja; Makhotina and Panchenko 2019, 23; Tcherenkov and Laederich 2004, 421). The *tabor's* horses and chariots were nearby.

While staying in tents, Roma performed some work for local non-Roma, during the daytime which only Roma could do. Each Romani (sub)group had different occupations/specialisations, such as, inter alia, horse traders, smiths, cauldron-makers, tinsmiths, shoe-horse makers and felt-boots makers. Some Ukrainians recalled in their interviews that the Roma were very qualified specialists:

> Tsyhany were specialists! They are such people - specialists! [They] made rings for fingers and made earrings for girls. [They] forged sieves. [They] repaired shoes... For example, if I needed something: to repair shoes or winter shoes - I went to Tsyhany. These people are specialists. They are masters. (1264UK)

The same Ukrainian man recalled how the Roma could forge the metal and make kitchenware, tin the kitchen *utensils* and frying pans, and how Ukrainians paid the Romani specialists not with money but with food such as milk, eggs and chicken (1264UK). Roma from the Vlaxi or Servi groups recalled staying in one place for two to three weeks when working as smiths for local villagers (Lebedev). For the most part, it was the men who had a specialised trade and the Romani women would either stay in tents and look after their children, cooked and do laundry, or go to the village to undertake fortune-telling, palm-reading or simply beg. Some Roma recalled that they "arrived in the village, stayed [on the village outskirts], went to the village, acquired something [food], cooked, ate and travelled further" (Ninitsa). "Acquired" in this context exactly meant palm-reading, fortune-telling or/and begging as the latter was a common occupation for women of Romani groups such as Servi, Vlaxi, Kišinjovcurja and Krımurja. There were few exceptions among the Romani *tabors/tabir*s where the women (if they did not know how to tell the fortune and were unsuccessful in begging) could steal some products such as eggs, fruits, vegetables and even chickens. A Roma Dmitrii Sheulitsa recalled that upon arrival to certain villages, the head of the *tabor* warned all the Roma:

> Look, our *tabor* is from here [meaning they regularly stay in this area during the nomadic period]. People, go to the village and do not do any harm [to the villagers]! There were such Roma who stole chickens… There were such too… So, all the people [non-Roma] knew us [in places] where we travelled: 'they are our Tsyhany, they do not do any harm' [people] said. (Sheulitsa)

Usually, Roma recalled such negative details about other *tabors* rather than their own (Zolotarev and Kotliarova). Because of such incidents, the image of the Roma as hard-working people could be spoiled and all Roma were not welcome in villages where the incident occurred. The existence of such *tabors* contributed to the creation of negative stereotypes among the non-Roma population regarding the Roma. However, it is beyond the scope of this article to provide a deeper examination regarding occupation and gender division of labour in different Romani groups.

In the evenings, the Roma usually lightened a bonfire, played instruments, danced, and sang. These merriments attracted the villagers who watched or sometimes even danced and sang along with the Roma and often gave some food to the Roma to "thank" them for the entertainment (Lebedev). There are numerous examples within the interviews with Roma in which they recalled these moments of everyday life before and sometimes after the Second World War. Such positive moments contributed to the establishment of positive stereotypes regarding the Roma that are reflected in Ukrainian and Russian literature as the image of the Romani people being good dancers and musicians.

## The Kolkhoz and the Sedentarisation of the Roma by the Soviet State

Stereotypes have played a crucial role in attitudes towards the Roma by non-Roma in everyday life. Negative stereotypes regarding the Roma flourished across Europe throughout centuries and included being illiterate, "uncivilised," bringing disease, being beggars and thieves and seemingly travelled to the Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union (see, Trumpener 1992). The positive stereotypes regarding the Roma existed alongside negative ones among the Ukrainian population of Soviet Ukraine. Both types of stereotypical views reflected the attitude to Roma based on the views formed during their co-habitation in the same geographical, social, political, and often cultural *milieux*. Some Ukrainians talked about the Roma as talented and skilful, especially about Romani women who could dance and sing. Regarding the Roma men, the sources convey that Ukrainians saw them positively and even during the German occupation, they asked the Roma to repair the kitchen stuff and admitted that the Roma were "real specialists", describing them as skilful and helpful (1264UK and 1263UK).

Based on negative stereotypes, the Russian Imperial state saw the Roma as a threat and the Tsarist regime tried to settle nomadic Roma in two villages in Bessarabia, supplying them with some money for agricultural activity and constructing huts for the Roma families. However, the Roma returned to their nomadic lifestyle after several years (Barannikov 1931a, 27; Sirbu 2016, 53). According to the ethnographer M. Plokhinskii, "The Russian [tsarist] government seldom differed the Gypsies from the common mass of the population, but always tried to merge them with other ordinary people and make out of them [Gypsies] farmers" (Plokhinskii 1905, 202-203).

From 1920 until 1931, the Ethnographic Commission at the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (today, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) continued research on Roma culture, conducting ethnographic fieldwork and work with archival documents on Roma (Pavlenko 2015, 118-120). During this time, linguist and ethnographer Aleksei (Oleksii) Barannikov published significant works on Roma ethnography in Ukraine. He stated that "depending on personal sympathy of different authors, we see either sharp condemnation of Gypsies or soppy sentimentalism" (Barannikov 1931a, 30). Barannikov noted that many authors wrote that Roma occupied themselves only with begging, smuggling, stealing, fate-telling, and wild dancing. Some of the authors whom A. Barannikov cited called Roma a "cursed tribe", "without any kind qualities falling in all sins" (Barannikov 1931a, 30). Although, he also noted that other authors mentioned positive characteristics including their alleged fondness for freedom, dancing, singing and playing music, and he praised the beauty of Roma girls (Barannikov 1931a, 31).

The Soviet state used and spread further negative stereotypes in its policy toward the "Gypsies": Roma were "popularly defined as unruly nomads, parasites, and mar-

ginals" and considered to be the "'most backward' minority people" (O'Keeffe 2013, 5). After its establishment, the Soviet state created the requirements for the Soviet population, including Roma, to match the Soviet ideals of the new Soviet society. According to Terry Martin, the Bolsheviks believed there was only one path for achieving the society's highest development. Different nationalities had to follow this path, despite being located at different points on their way to this development. That meant the nationalities had to be helped by the Soviet state to progress on this path (Martin 2001, 126). Soviet ideology conveyed that all aspects of society had to be useful, rational, disciplined, and so on – all characteristics that were not deemed to be part of the Roma nomadic or semi-nomadic ways of life. Brigid O'Keeffe argues that "as the personification of backwardness and inscrutability… Gypsies threatened the Bolsheviks' ideal vision of New Soviet Men and Women. The accursed 'Gypsy question' was thus an inescapable Bolshevik problem" (O'Keeffe 2013, 5).

In contrast, Marushiakova and Popov argue that in the Soviet Union context, the expression "backward" or "culturally backward" did not have any pejorative connotations. Instead, it positively meant "special care" from the Soviet state for developing culture and lifting the Roma "to the status of equal Soviet citizens". (Marushiakova and Popov 2021, 696). I disagree with this statement: if one nation decides to "elevate" another without consent, this means the imposition of power, at the very least, or worse, suppression. To be identified as "culturally backward" did however bring some advantages for the Roma, particularly for newly formed Romani organisations, because such a viewpoint also meant financial support for education and cultural events. Therefore, some Roma actively exploited their "backwardness," praised the Soviet government, and even asked for more financial aid. However, on the one hand, the main goal of the Soviet state was to depoliticise national identities "through an ostentatious show of respect for the national identities of the non-Russians" and dissolve the ethnic identities and cultures in one "all-Union socialist culture" (Martin 2001, 13). On the other hand, the support of non-Russian "backward" cultures also allowed the Soviet state to recruit non-Russian peasants and workers to promote the political agenda. Thus, I believe that one has to consider the intention rather than its practical implementation through which the Roma arguably benefited.

Trying to "civilise" the Roma, on the one hand, and following the Soviet strategy of controlling peasantry, on the other, the Soviets decided to create so-called "Gypsy *kolkhozes*" in the late 1920s up until the beginning of the 1930s. The creation of the *kolkhoz* system in the Soviet Union was one of the critical historical events that changed the lives of nomadic and semi-nomadic Romani groups. Writing about the creation of the collective farms for Roma, Soviet linguist and ethnographer A. Barannikov seemed very positive. He claimed that placing nomadic "Gypsies" with sedentary in *kolkhozes* was a very successful Soviet approach to dealing with "The Gypsy Problem". Moreover, he claimed that the experiences of being in the *kolkhozes* influenced positive changes in the "psychology of the Russian Gypsies" (Barannikov 1932, 188, 192). Apparently, he meant that nomadic Roma will learn agriculture from sedentary and the successful example of how to be sedentary had to encourage nomadic and semi-nomadic Roma to settle. At the same time, as Tatiana Gabrielson noted, Barannikov stated that many times he heard from the "Gypsies" that grain production was not the "Gypsy" trade because they could neither plough nor sow and that their profession was to trade, however, the Soviet state wanted Roma to become labours (Gabrielson 2006, 17; Barannikov 1931b, 53).

Most of the interviewees did not remember their experiences of the *kolkhozes* because they were too young nor could they relay the experiences of their parents. They recalled only that their families worked in *kolkhozes* during the cold season. Some of the Roma repaired *kolkhoz* inventory—such as ploughs and harrows or collected hays into haystacks—in exchange for food and accommodation (Bakro, Barieva and Kotliarova). In some *kolhozes* before the Second World War, the Soviet authorities gave skilled Roma free huts for two purposes: to provide specialists in metalworking to *kolkhozes* and to settle nomadic Roma in certain places (Kantemirov). However, I could not find first-hand accounts of those whose relatives had been placed into specific "Gypsy *kolkhozes*", though many Roma recalled that they were placed in regular kolkhozes in Soviet Ukraine, meaning along with Ukrainians. Some Roma tried to escape from *kolkhozes* and return to their nomadic or semi-nomadic ways of life, most notably during the man-made Great Famine in Ukraine in 1932–33 under the Stalinist Soviet regime known in historiography as the Holodomor.

On 27 December 1932, passportisation was introduced in the Soviet Union to prevent migration from countryside to the cities. In this way, the government reacted to the flight of rural populations to cities who tried to escape the consequences of Stalin's famine-inducing policies (*Postanovlenie*). Passports were not issued to villagers and *kolkhozniks* (*kolkhoz* workers); legal leaving a *kolkhoz* was only possible with permission from that *kolkhoz* (Fitzpatrick 1993, 763). Most Roma were ineligible for passports owing firstly to the fact that only a small number lived in towns and cities and the majority of the Roma lived in the villages. Secondly, Roma were deemed ineligible for passports or any residency permits as "unreliable elements". The Soviet government's distrust of Roma even led to a special operation conducted in 1933 to round up the Roma who were based around Moscow and deport them to Siberia (Werth and Moullec 1994, 43–44).

Considering the circumstances of famine, a part of the Romani peoples, probably, escaped *kolkhozes* illegally, without any documents and permits, and returned to their previous semi-nomadic or nomadic life. Yet, another part of the Roma stayed in *kolkhozes*, for instance, a big family of Servi group the Krykunov, which was nomadic or semi-nomadic before the 1930s. Igor (Ihor) Krykunov born in 1953, recalled his family history during the interview with T. Gabrielson:

> Our family had travelled along the route from Kharkov [Kharkiv] to the Don and Kuban' for many generations, since the seventeenth century for sure. This history has been kept in the memory of my family, and I learned it from my grandmothers, it comes from *their* memory. The men in our lineage were blacksmiths, and since their trade was in great demand in the region, the trade route had been worked out and remained stable. They migrated along that route, from village to village. When the work was finished in one village, they collected their equipment and moved to the next. In 1927–28, when collectivization reached Kuban', my relatives settled and started a Gypsy *kolkhoz* exactly on the spot where they happened to be staying at the time. (Gabrielson 2006, 18)

Definitely, the *kolkhoz* system forcibly changes, to a certain extent, the life of nomadic and semi-nomadic Romani groups turning them to sedentarisation. The second shift in changing the Romani ways of life occurred during the Second World War, particularly the German and Romanian occupation of Soviet Ukraine. The occupiers immediately shot Romani *tabors/tabirs* if met them on their way (1261UK). Generally, any wondering or moving people, particularly in groups, were considered as partisans or

spies by the occupiers and had to be immediately shot on the spot. Despite the fact the German occupiers exterminated Roma in Ukraine regardless of their way of life being sedentary or nomadic, a part of the Roma tried to mix up with Ukrainians and stay in one place without moving anywhere. Sometimes such a strategy was successful and Roma managed to survive.

It should be highlighted that familiarity with both the *kolkhoz* system and with those Ukrainians working and heading the *kolkhozes* saved the lives of several Romani families during the German and Romanian occupation of Soviet Ukraine. Attempting to escape from the occupiers, Roma arrived at *kolkhozes*, to where they were accepted and, in some cases, protected by the *kolkhoz* heads who provided them with jobs, rather than denouncing them to the authorities. Some heads of the *kolkhozes* even issued or falsified official papers for the Roma, and their nationality was stated as "Ukrainian" or "Moldovan" in those papers, rather than "Roma" (Kirichenko and Flora). Frequently, the occupiers could not identify the Roma in Ukraine without denunciation or checking the official records such as, for instance, the certificate of birth where the nationality could be stated. Declaring papers issued by official authorities such as heads of *kolkhozes,* Roma could survive, especially if the heads of kolkhozes personally protected Roma by confirming to the German or Romanian officials that Roma are in fact Ukrainians or Moldovans. Some nomadic and semi-nomadic Roma remained in kolkhozes after the war ended and hence changed their way of life and become settled.

## Forced Sedentarisation of the Roma: The "Khrushchev Decree" of 1956

There is no evidence that nomadic Romani groups existed and continued to maintain their nomadic way of life after the Second World War. Most likely, all such Romani groups either turned to a semi-nomadic (or even sedentary) way of life or have been exterminated by the German and Romanian occupiers with, probably, exceptional cases. Nevertheless, those semi-nomadic Romani groups, who survived the Nazi occupation, returned to their way of life after the war, probably with some exceptions of those who decided to settle thanks to their survival in *kolkhozes* (Flora and Damaskin).

Apparently, the post-war famine of 1946—47, post-war reconstruction in the late 1940s—beginning of the 1950s, and the death of Stalin distracted the attention of the Soviet authorities from the Roma. However, the new First Secretary of the Soviet Union Nikita Khrushchev decided to resolve the "Gypsy question" once and for all. The last and the most successful attempt to sedentarise Roma occurred in 1956. The Decree, known among Roma as the "Khrushchev Decree" and referred to in the scholarly literature as the Decree "On Vagrant Gypsies", was approved by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR members on 2 October 1956. The official title of the Decree was "On Reconciling Vagrant Gypsies to Labour" and it was officially published in Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR, dated 5 October 1956 (Vedomosti 1956, 547). The Decree prohibited all Roma from nomadising and obliged them to maintain social duties such as permanent residency and "socially useful labour" (Vedomosti 1956, 547). Those who did not follow the order were to "be punished in accordance with the verdict of the people's court by deportation for a period of up to five years in conjunction with corrective labour…" It further stated that an investigation was to be carried out "in accordance with the current criminal procedure" (Vedomosti 1956, 547).

On the same day, 5 October 1956, ordinance #1373 of the Council of Ministers of the USSR was published. The ordinance obliged the Councils of Ministers of the

Soviet Republics to settle (find the place) "vagrant Gypsies" in their permanent residences, employ them, and organise cultural and everyday life services for new settlers. All mentioned actions had to be done within a three-month term. The Council of Ministers of the Soviet Republics also had to provide accommodation for the Roma (rooms, flats, huts, or private houses) or, if this provision was not possible, they were to provide the Roma with a monetary loan for the construction of their own homes. The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR was obliged to issue passports for officially employed Roma and issue *propiska,* a temporary or permanent record of registration in the USSR according to their permanent place of residence. As with the Decree, the ordinance emphasised that those Roma who left their permanent residence or evaded "socially useful labour" had to be found and sentenced according to the Republic's criminal codes (*Biulleten 1956,* 58-59).

The Decree had a significant impact on the Roma; fearing punishment, they started to settle or were forced to do so by the authorities. Even though there were isolated cases of semi-nomadism up until the 1970s in western Ukraine, particularly in Zakarpattia (Transcarpathia; Kuz'menko), most Roma had become sedentary soon after the Decree was issued. Many Roma received flats or small huts (one room) provided to them by the Soviet state; the huts were made of clay or wood (Sandulenko and Kozachenko). The vast majority of the Roma were ordered to settle in rural areas. Therefore, they were employed in local *kolkhozes* where they had to give away their horses, chariots and work inventory/equipment. Although many of the Roma men had specific trades or occupations (they were blacksmiths or tinsmiths but also felt-boots makers and musicians), the majority of them had to work in roles assigned to them by the authorities, as masons, carriers of fodder, coal, or wood (by horses), and on harvest collection (Ninitsa, Chebotar and Kozachenko). Roma women also worked in *kolkhozes* undertaking harvest collection or other general work in the fields, and as milkmaids (Ninitsa and Bulat).

Many interviews with the Roma contain information regarding the "Khrushchev Decree" and its aftermath. Moreover, one gets the sense from the interviews that Roma started to talk about this issue without any specific questions or leads from the interviewer. It is evident from these first-hand accounts that there is a common tendency to discuss the Decree as a traumatic event but to also recognise that sedentary life has benefits in comparison to leading semi-nomadic lives, including a more stable education for the children and comfort for the elderly people (Fedorenko and Bulat). In the conversations and interviews, the vast majority of the Roma who maintained a semi-nomadic way of life before 1956 recalled it as harsh but nice, with some romanticism. They also revealed their suffering when they had to stop nomadising but at the same time, the Roma stated that the settled life was better and easier than the nomadic. For instance, Galina Ninitsa reflects on her life after 1956: "In the beginning, we did not want to go to work in *kolkhoz* (…) And now to spend the night outdoor? – Never. I am already afraid of darkness" (Ninitsa).

The comparison of the impact of the Decree "On Vagrant Gypsies" with the suffering during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine reveals a traumatic experience of the former nomadic and semi-nomadic Roma. This pattern can be observed in several interviews with the Roma, particularly of an older generation born in the 1920s or early 1930s. Although, the after-war generation who nomadised only in their very childhood romanticised the nomadic life and recalled how Roma suffered when the law was issued. For example, semi-nomadic (before 1956) Roma Yevgeniia Bulat, born in 1930, recalled her trauma several years after she was forced into a sedentary

life. She said that she and others from her *tabor/tabir* lived with memories of their nomadic life and only later got used to being settled (Bulat). Previously semi-nomadic Roma Mariia Vursova, who was born after the end of the Second World War, recalled that when the Roma learnt about the Decree they terribly cried:

> It seemed to them as horror, as the end of the world! They were afraid when the Germans arrived but this [the Decree] seemed even more terrible to them. They imagined that they would be shot and killed. They thought that was the end for them and they could not understand how to live further. … They thought it was worse than the war (means the Second World War). … They cried when horses were taken from them. (Vursova)

Yet, some researchers analysing the situation in Soviet Belarus and the Soviet Union more broadly have concluded that the transition from nomadic to semi-nomadic and from semi-nomadic to settled was determined first of all by socio-economic conditions rather than the Soviet state political decisions. They argue that growing urbanisation, the opening of factories, and the general transfer towards new methods of work, as well as to new technical means would have meant increased sedentarisation among Roma either way (Bartash 2015, 49-50). I agree that the evolution and reforms created a different environment for the Roma and challenged their semi-nomadic way of life; however, the required changes would take decades to be gradually accepted by the Roma without the restrictive Soviet policies that were implemented. After the implementation of the 1956 Decree, rare cases of Romani semi-nomadic life were recorded and there are no official regional statistics. Nonetheless, it means that the majority of Roma were forced to settle with immediate effect and had little time to prepare for their new sedentary way of life.

## Conclusion

The variety of the Romani groups and subgroups in Ukraine demonstrates the complexity and diversity of Romani social, cultural, and everyday life. The knowledge regarding these groups opens the door for learning more about Romani experiences, including ways of life, the geography of settlement or nomadising, occupation, etc. In spite of several Romani groups, which lived in Ukrainian lands, settled as early as the eighteenth century, and seemingly were integrated into Ukrainian society to a large extent, several Romani groups still maintained nomadic way of life before the Second World War. At the same time, the vast number of Romani groups maintained a semi-nomadic way of life in the 1920s and the 1930s and seemingly many Roma returned to the same way of life after the Second World War. In my view, it is important to include the sub-categories in academic discussions on Romani life in Soviet Ukraine. Unfortunately, academic works in history tend to divide the Romani people in the Soviet Union into the oversimplified categories of nomadic and sedentary, and scholars do not address the issue of these sub-categories: semi-sedentism and semi-nomadism. Therefore, the use of a semi-nomadic category for the Romani way of life challenges the academic tradition.

The notion of nomadism among the Roma and their inter-family and inter-group relations allows us to better understand the life of Roma inside Romani communities in Soviet Ukraine before and after the Second World War as well as Roma and non-Roma relations. Discussion on Romani nomadism in Soviet Ukraine demonstrates a shift in changing Romani ways of life from nomadic and semi-nomadic to sedentary due to the social-economic situation in the Soviet society created by certain political decisions. The first such decision was the creation of *kolkhozes* in

the late 1920s until the early 1930s which was imposed on the Ukrainian Roma among other people in the Soviet Union. The creation of the Soviet *kolkhoz* system and the forcing Roma to live in these *kolkhozes* exemplify the suppressive policies of the Soviet Stalinist regime.

After the first experiences of being forced into the *kolkhozes* by the state power, some of Roma apparently remained settled of their own volition. The second shift occurred during the Second World War when, being under the German and Romanian occupation, all Roma without exception were subject to extermination. Paradoxically, some of the Roma found their way to rescue in *kolkhozes* created by the Soviet state and remained operated during the German occupation of Soviet Ukraine. Some of the Roma stopped their semi-nomadic or nomadic life during the war and did not return to it after the war ended.

The third and final shift in changing Romani ways of life occurred after the Second World War when still many Romani groups, who survived the German and Romanian occupation, resumed their semi-nomadic way of life in Soviet Ukraine. The Soviet suppressive policy towards the Roma culminated in October 1956 after the issue of the Khrushchev Decree which prohibited the Roma to nomadise under the threat of criminal punishment. Then, the semi-nomadic way of life of Roma drastically stopped. Although a few isolated Romani groups attempted to maintain the semi-nomadic way of life until the beginning of the 1970s, the criminal punishment for nomadism, along with the transformation of socio-economic relations in Soviet Ukraine, forced the Roma to sedentarise. Nowadays, neither nomadic nor semi-nomadic Romani groups or *tabors/tabirs* exist in Ukraine. All Roma maintain only a sedentary way of life due to political suppression throughout the history of the Second World War and the Soviet Union. Further analysis of the life of Romani groups and subgroups and their responses to the Soviet policies may display a new way of researching sedentarisation within each particular group.

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