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"THE SYSTEM HAS FAILED THE MA-JORITY TOO"—DECONSTRUCTING THE UNAWARENESS REGARDING THE SÁMI WITH THE DIHTOSIS PROJECT

A collaborative study about the Dihtosis project and the agency context of teachers for decolonisation and everyday peace

ABSTRACT

Anne Heinola: **"The system has failed the majority too"**—Deconstructing the unawareness regarding the Sámi with the Dihtosis project: A collaborative study about the Dihtosis project and the agency context of teachers for decolonisation and everyday peace

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Though there has been improvement in recent years, knowledge of the Sámi in the Finnish society in general and in the educational system is low. Among the Sámi this has been recognised as an issue decades ago, but only recently have the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance and government reports also made similar conclusions. General knowledge of the Sámi, of their histories and especially their rights are simply not known. When their perspectives go misreported and misunderstood, stereotypes have fertile ground and the Sámi face hate speech, discrimination and racism. Abuse of power is also possible and Sámi rights continue to be infringed upon. Various Sámi actors have however done much to improve the situation. One of these is the Dihtosis project, which holds workshops in school and produces materials to educate the majority about the Sámi. This thesis is a collaborative study with the Dihtosis project, which employs indigenous research and collaborative ethnography to better ensure ethical production of knowledge. By interviewing teachers and having discussions with the project, I examined the societal meaning of Dihtosis.

More specifically, this thesis examined the teachers' experiences of Dihtosis and the educational system regarding teaching about the Sámi. According to teachers the system provides little support for teachers despite some improvement, and leaves them responsible in bringing up the topic. Moreover, the responsibility structure is unclear and teachers are already overwhelmed by the flood of topics and shortage of time, which hinders teachers looking into the topic themselves to know more about it and also to figure out how to talk about such a topic as a member of the majority. Simultaneously, Sámi perspectives have not been taken into consideration in the making of the curriculum. Some teachers were also concerned whether they can do so considering the attitude climate. In other words, the situation is epistemically violent towards the Sámi but also to some degree towards those who are sympathetic—also the proactive agency of teachers is hindered. The teachers themselves explained the lack of knowledge through the cycle of structural unawareness and power and politics. The majority Finnish regimes of truth are held onto as on the societal level the Sámi are left out of master narratives and memories and are institutionally forgotten. In this way the current power structures, colonialism, different forms of violence and racism in its many forms are maintained.

Through Sámi proactive agency, for instance in the form of Dihtosis, the hierarchy of knowledge can be broken and the teachers can be provided with aids to act proactively. Dihtosis highlights self-determination of knowledge by providing the knowledge that the Sámi want to be presented and in the form they would like it presented. Moreover, they draw from Sámi education, having a strong foundation on involvement, indirect learning and Sámi values, while it also employs principles of peace education and anti-prejudice methods. Most importantly Dihtosis has answered a need and it was found practical in the school context. However, it is still limited by scope, state structures and resources, also in which wider action is called for while considering self-determination and the context of teachers. In essence, through these notions and bringing out dangerous memories, Dihtosis can be seen as efforts of everyday peace building and decolonisation.

Keywords: Indigenous research, collaborative ethnography, epistemic violence, knowledge, power, agency, decolonisation, Dihtosis, Sámi education, peace education, anti-prejudice, structural racism

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin OriginalityCheck service.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Vaikka viime vuosina on tullut parannusta, suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa tietotaso saamelaisista ylipäänsä sekä koulutusjärjestelmässä on alhainen. Saamelaisten keskuudessa tämä on tunnistettu ongelmaksi vuosikymmeniä sitten, mutta hiljattain Euroopan rasismin ja suvaitsemattomuuden vastainen komissio sekä valtion raportit ovat päätyneet samanlaisiin päätelmiin. Saamelaisiin liittyvää yleistietoa, heidän historioitansa ja erityisesti saamelaisten oikeuksia ei yksinkertaisesti tunneta. Kun saamelaisten näkökulmat vääristetään tai ne ymmärretään väärin, luodaan kukoistava ympäristö stereotypioille vihapuheelle, syrjinnälle ja rasismille. Tällöin myös vallan väärinkäyttö on mahdollista ja saamelaisten oikeuksia rikotaan jatkuvasti. Monet saamelaiset toimijat ovat tehneet paljon tilanteen parantamiseksi. Yksi näistä on Dihtosis hanke, joka pitää työpajoja kouluissa ja tuottaa materiaaleja kouluttaakseen valtaväestöä saamelaisista. Tämä tutkielma on kollaboratiivinen eli yhteistyötutkimus Dihtosis-projektin kanssa ja käyttää apunaan alkuperäiskansatutkimusta ja kollaboratiivista etnografiaa paremmin taatakseen tiedon tuottamisen eettisin keinoin. Tarkastelin Dihtosiksen yhteiskunnallista merkitystä haastattelemalla opettajia ja pitämällä keskusteluja projektin järjestäneiden kanssa.

Tarkemmin sanottuna tämä tutkielma tarkasteli opettajien kokemuksia Dihtosiksesta ja koulutusjärjestelmästä saamelaisista opettamiseen liittyen. Opettajien mukaan järjestelmä tarjoama tuki on hataraa viimeaikaisesta kehityksestä huolimatta ja vastuu aiheen esilletuomisesta jätetään yksittäisille opettajille. Lisäksi vastuunjako on epäselvä ja opettajat ovat valmiiksi hukkua asiatulvaan ja ajan puutteeseen, mikä vaikeuttaa opettajien tutustmista aiheeseen tietääkseen itse enemmän sekä sen selvittämistä, kuinka aiheesta tulisi valtaväestön edustajana puhua. Saamelaisten näkemyksiä ei puolestaan ole suuremmin otettu huomioon opetussuunnitelmaa tehtäessä. Osa opettajista oli myös huolissaan voivatko he ylipäänsä aiheesta puhua ottaen huomioon nykyisen asenneilmaston ja valtion hiljaisuuden. Toisin sanoen tilanne on episteemisesti väkivaltainen saamelaisia kohtaan, mutta jossain määrin myös saamelaisia tukeville—myös opettajien proaktiivista toimijuutta siis rajoitetaan. Opettajat itse selittivät tiedon puutetta rakenteellisen tiedon puutteen kehänä sekä vallan ja politiikan kautta. Suomalaisen valtaväestön totuudenhallinnosta (regime of truth) pidetään kiinni, kun yhteiskunnallisella tasolla saamelaiset jätetään valtakertomusten (master narrative) ja muistojen ulkopuolelle ja heidät rakenteellisesti unohdetaan. Tällä tavalla ylläpidetään vallitsevia valtarakenteita, kolonialismia, monia väkivallan muotoja ja rasismia sen monissa muodoissa.

Saamelaisten proaktiivisen toimijuuden kautta, esimerkiksi Dihtosiksen muodossa, tiedon hierarkiaa voidaan rikkoa ja opettajille voidaan tarjota apuja proaktiivisesti toimimiseen. Dihtosis korostaa itsemääräämisoikeutta tiedosta tarjoamalla tietoa, jota saamelaiset haluavat esitettävän ja siinä muodossa, kun se halutaan esittää. Lisäksi Dihtosis pohjautuu saamelaiseen kasvatukseen perustuen vahvasti osallistamiseen, epäsuoraan oppimiseen ja saamelaisiin arvoihin. Dihtosis käyttää myös rauhankasvatuksen ja ennakkoluuloja torjuvia periaatteita. Ennen kaikkea Dihtosis on vastannut tarpeeseen ja sitä pidettiin käytännöllisenä koulujen kontekstissa. Dihtosis on kuitenkin kattavuudeltaan sekä valtion rakenteiden ja resurssien kautta rajoitettu, joten laajempia toimia tarvitaan, joissa otetaan huomioon itsemääräämisoikeus ja opettajien tilanne. Näiden käsitysten ja vaarallisten muistojen esiintuomisen kautta Dihtosiksen työn voi nähdä osana päivittäistä rauhanrakentamista (everyday peace-building) ja dekolonisaation prosessia.

Avainsanat: Alkuperäiskansatutkimus, kollaboratiivinen etnografia, episteeminen väkivalta, tieto, valta, toimijuus, dekolonisaatio, Dihtosis, saamelainen kasvatus, rauhankasvatus, rakenteellinen rasismi

For the Sámi whom the system has treated horribly and who have in one way or another suffered from it and had to stand among other things the unawareness in all its forms and needed to educate the majority—whether they have done so or not.

For the non-Sámi whom the system has also failed and who want to do better.

SPÄ'SSEB—TAKKÂ—GIITU—KIITOS—THANK YOU

read or proofread my work already prior to handing it in or were otherwise very present during the process.

Tampere, 16 February 2022

Anne Heinola

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ECRI	European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
HRC	Human Rights Committee
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ILO	International Labour Organisation
MINEDU	Ministry for Education and Culture
UN	United Nations

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1. INTRODUCTION

If the school would raise the value of Sámi culture in the eyes of the students, the self-worth of the Sámi would be raised and also outsiders would appreciate what is Sámi. –Pekka Lukkari in the first Sámi conference 1953 (in Lehtola, 2015a, p. 102)

Discussing the role of the educational system in raising awareness and the notion of importance regarding the Sámi is not a new phenomenon, it has been highlighted in the Sámi community for decades (H. West, 2021; Lukkari in 1953 in Lehtola 2015a, p.102; Dihtosis crew; Kuokkanen, 2007). Yet, only recently has this been heard and it has become a topic of discussion in some majority arenas as well: for instance, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) has repeatedly noted the low level of knowledge in the Finnish majority regarding the Sámi in its reports as well as highlighted the role of schools in perpetuating this problem while stressing that an improvement in teaching and awareness could diminish the hate speech experienced by the Sámi (Tammela, 2019). Also government reports have problematised the content of schoolbooks, which is in multiple ways deficient, incorrect and/or ethically questionable and is presented from the majority perspective (Miettunen, 2020). Similar issues with majority population awareness and deficiencies in school teaching have been raised also in Sweden and Norway (Oxenholt, 2017; Pettersen, 2014; Samer.se, n.d.). The educational system itself is powerful in that with it, according to several authors, the development and direction of the society can be consciously steered (Giddens, 1984, p. 286; Rahko-Ravantti, 2016, p. 15); at least in Finland, most go through it. With Dihtosis, we see the issue above all as a structural one.

The Sámi themselves or in collaboration with various actors have produced a wealth of material for use by the general public or as educational materials to increase awareness. Materials produced by the Sámi include novels, documentaries, social media content, official guidelines and projects such as Dihtosis. Dihtosis is a joint project between the Youth Academy (Nuorten Akatemia) and the Sámi Parliament's Youth Council (*Nuõrisuåvtõs, Nuorâirääđi, Nuoraidráđđi, Nuorisoneuvosto)* which aims to improve the knowledge of the majority regarding the Sámi and through that to decrease bullying,

racism and hate speech. Dihtosis organises workshops in schools and provides materials, such as online games for teachers to use in class (Dihtosis discussion).

This thesis is a collaborative project with Dihtosis, in which we made the decisions regarding the direction and content of the thesis together. In other words, we started from what would be needed and useful and built from there. For this thesis, ten teachers who had had a Dihtosis workshop in their class were interviewed regarding their experiences of Dihtosis and of the educational system related to teaching about the Sámi. Moreover, we had group discussions planning and proceeding with the research project along with individual conversations on the topic and one game discussion. In terms of methodology, I combined indigenous research and collaborative ethnography to respect self-determination of knowledge and to consider issues of research fatigue as well as power structures and ethical issues in knowledge systems and research brought up by several authors (Chilisa, 2012; Lassiter, 2005; Smith, 2012; H. West, 2018).

In this thesis in collaboration with Dihtosis, I examine the meaning of Dihtosis by contextualising the situation in schools through the experiences of teachers and in order to answer the following research questions, formed along the way:

1. How do teachers experience the educational system regarding the Sámi?

2. What narratives do the teachers use to explain the lack of information?

3. How does Dihtosis teach about the Sámi?

The two first questions deal with the agency context of teachers, experiences of their own abilities and the conditions of the social atmosphere for action in teaching. Conceptually speaking I will discuss the notions and connections of knowledge, power and agency including epistemic violence, institutional forgetting and dangerous memories. Firstly, knowledge and power are seen in the vein of Foucault's (1980) thought as deeply integrated, you need power to create knowledge and with knowledge power relations are recreated. This is connected to regimes of truth, whereby knowledge does not only assume authority of the 'truth' but also has the power to make itself true (see Hall, 1997). Especially when discussing past events (though their implications reach the present), this includes selective processes of memory. As the knowledge level in Finland is low, I will mostly discuss forgetting, especially institutional forgetting (see e.g. Kansteiner, 2002; Linde, 2009), structurally leaving out the Sámi, or integral aspects related to them and the state. This and the majority regime of truth can be seen to materialise in epistemic violence, the meaning of which I shorten here to certain voices being unheard or dismissed (see e.g. Dotson, 2011; Spivak, 1994).

Though the discussion focuses on structural issues, individuals also take part within limitations: agency will be discussed mostly in terms of aims for change, proactive agency where change is actively and purposefully pursued and restricted agency where it is desired but felt as impossible (Pietilä-Litendahl, 2014; Rahko-Ravantti, 2016). This I connect to employing and embracing dangerous memories, which are seen as challenging the status quo with its dominant narratives and for instance identity depictions (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012; Ostovich, 2005).

This thesis continues in the following manner. After the more elaborate introduction of Dihtosis, the methodology and procedure are outlined in more detail including notions of ethics, positionality and use of indigenous knowledge. This is followed by detailing the past and present situation of the Sámi mainly in Finland through the lenses of settler colonialism and resilience. The section is finished with a subsection on the knowledge and awareness in the Finnish society and structures—here also different forms of violence and racism[1] are raised. This leads to the theoretical discussion on knowledge, power and agency. After this we will dive deeper into the educational system through teacher experiences and narratives, followed by a thorough review of Dihtosis through the lenses of self-determination and Sámi education; peace education and anti-prejudice methods; practical and necessary nature as well as its limits. These are connected also to the processes of everyday peace and decolonisation. Finally, this is followed by a discussion section.

Along with Dihtosis and the educational system, especially in the early sections, the societal position and its roots are brought forth more thoroughly. The intention is not to create a simplified impression of the Sámi as victims or an image of an ailing culture (which in itself is wrong), but contrarily bring forth their resilience and agency. Moreover, in the thesis I refer to the state several times in a comprehensive manner—the state itself includes a multitude of actors with different interests, which I do not bring forth extensively here due to issues of space. These comprehensive referrals are thus more about what state action as a whole or of a certain organ appears like. Also, the majority population and the Sámi are referred to on a general level, not going deeper into intersectionality[2]. Even though a deep comparison between different indigenous peoples is also not

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[1] Shortly defined racism here is seen as an organised power structure formed through the concept of race and processes of racialisation. It is a multidimensional phenomenon, which can be illustrated by for instance dividing it into structural racism, everyday racism and cultural racism (Keskinen et al., 2021).

[2] A concept and method developed originally by Kimberlé Crenshaw referring to overlapping and intertwined power structures such as those of gender, social class, race, age and sexual orientation. For instance racism is often gendered (Keskinen et al., 2021).

made, and there are differences, the thesis can bring insights and ideas also for other groups (and states with these groups), for whom colonialism, structural racism, unawareness and/or ignorance are constant issues. Despite differences in contexts and degrees of these issues, they are common themes for indigenous peoples (see e.g. Mudde, 2018; Plater et al., 2020; Reid et al., 2019).

1.1 Introducing Dihtosis

Dihtosis is a joint project between the Youth Council and the Youth Academy. The Youth Council is a board working under the Sámi Parliament (*Sää'mte'ǧǧ, Sämitigge, Sámediggi)*. Its task is to promote the linguistic and cultural rights of Sámi youth and to strengthen their identity as well as prepare motions and statements that concern youth to the Sámi Parliament. All of its members are Sámi youth. The Youth Academy is an organisation that promotes youth participation and focuses on innovative, creative and multisectoral projects often in collaboration with partner(s), for instance civil society organisations or companies. Its members include youth and sports organisations.

Dihtosis aims to educate the majority population about the Sámi as well as strengthen the identity of Sámi individuals. Dihtosis started the 7th January 2018 and has since then been extended yearly to continue, currently until 30th June, 2022 with funding from the Ministry of Education and Culture. Among the project's activities are school workshops/visits conducted by Sámi youth. The workshops or school visits have a basic structure of first having a more lecture like introduction followed by more interactive exercises, in total taking 45-90 minutes. Since COVID-19, a remote workshop format was adopted and exercises that could not be done keeping safe distances were discarded from in-person workshops.

Additionally, Dihtosis provides material with which teachers can do Sámi themed lessons themselves: the method deck and online games for different age groups--Sukellus saamelaiskulttuuriin in Finnish and North Sámi for secondary level and Pieni peli saamelaisuudesta for 4th-6th graders. Compared with the workshops, the games are wider in terms of topic (28 exercises) as there is no time limitation. They are also not meant to be finished in one lesson, but one can focus on certain topics or level and come back. It is designed to be played in groups to facilitate discussion and students are encouraged to also look for information themselves. Especially the school workshops and games have been very popular, highlighting the need for such projects and information. In fact, in the first year of the project, there were more requests for visits than it was possible to organise, and the project's goals for game orders have continuously been exceeded. The Finnish method deck has also been ordered out.

Involving Sámi youth has been at the core of the project and crucial for both the Youth Academy and the Youth Council. Creating the materials thus included several workshops to inquire what Sámi youth would like the majority to know and how it should be dealt with in the school context. Also, the school visitors who hold the workshops are Sámi youth. Overall, Dihtosis has been a fruitful collaboration between the Youth Academy and the Youth Council combining Youth Academy's connections with schools and pedagogical expertise and the Youth Council's knowledge of Sámi cultures and connections with Sámi youth and the Sámi Parliament. Moreover, the organisations share similar views on Sámi youth involvement and youth involvement in general, providing information that gives a more diversified and present-day image of the Sámi, not to mention finding the topic crucial itself.

Overall, the project has progressed smoothly and since there has been dire need for materials, they came out relatively easily, "not forcefully made". The goal of the project is to increase awareness of the Sámi and reduce stereotypes and bullying, which especially Sámi youth who leave to study in the south face. Moreover, it hopes to reduce the need for Sami youth to work as "knowledge banks" thereby reducing the mental and emotional toll this takes on young people. "The more people know about the Sámi then hopefully in the future it will have a positive effect on the decision making and improving the position of the Sámi" (Dihtosis, Sámi).

Thus, Dihtosis is both for the majority and the Sámi:

> *Such a large portion of Sámi children and youth live outside of the Sámi area, there are so many kids who don't necessarily have connections to being Sámi and they may think about 'are we Sámi, when we live in the city and we never visit the North', for them it's very important, we strengthen their identity. There are a lot of people who have lost the language, so uncertainty of it (Sámi identity), when you're in a way detached from Sámi culture—you don't necessarily have such a strong identity or you're not ready with it when you're young and thus asking about everything might not feel nice.-- Dihtosis, Sámi*

Furthermore, education is done through youth involvement in order to increase mutual understanding:

> *Youth involvement means that the youngster has the feeling that they can express their opinion, when they want to express it. It's safe enough in the class to say it and the youngster feels like a part of that community—that's involvement. And we feel if that does not happen the world easily polarises and two sides emerge. Social exclusion and confrontation happens and that's why dialogue and empathy skills,*

that you can put yourself in someone else's shoes and listen and discuss, do the dialogue, are important. [...] We aim for practicing 'how could I express my opinion on e.g. the Sámi dress and even if I didn't agree with the other person, then how can we discuss with each other' in a safe environment.—Dihtosis non-Sámi

Prior to Dihtosis, the Youth Council had smaller projects more locally. Joining forces with Youth Academy not only combined expertise but also increased resources, which have been scarce. Dihtosis is modelled after *Ofelaš* also known as *Sámi Ofelaččat* (Sámi pathfinders, Sámi veivisere) initiative in Norway. The goal is similar: to teach majority youth about Sámi culture. *Sámi Ofelaččat* however has permanent funding and chooses four people annually for this task who then do visits full-time to primarily secondary schools and actively engage also through social media. This is linked to *Sámi allaskuvla* (Sámi University of Applied Sciences), and the students who do it also get study credits. Dihtosis, in contrast, has many school visitors who remain more anonymous to the wider public, and they often do visits alongside their studies as a part time activity. There is also a similar project in Sweden, *Nuoras Nurrii* (SámediggiS, 2019, p. 12).

Figure 1 depicts the development of Dihtosis from a project primarily focusing on the lower secondary to one which also covers the needs of primary and upper secondary schools. Additionally, the operations have expanded from workshops and the method deck to the online games.
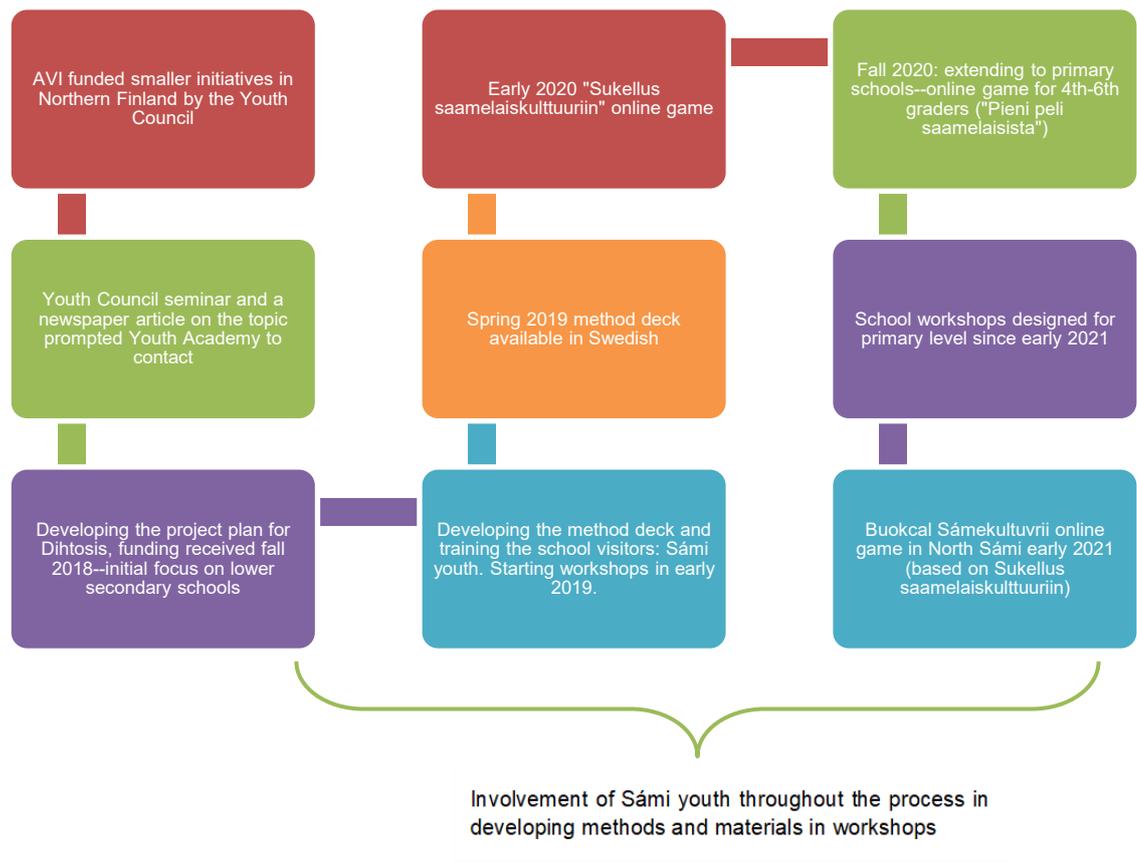
Figure 1. *Dihtosis timeline*

2. METHODOLOGY: INDIGENOUS RESEARCH & COLLABORATIVE ETHNOGRAPHY

As I collaborated with the Dihtosis group, most of whom are Sámi, the use of indigenous research was clear to both myself and my collaborators. Though indigenous research has general principles, such as involvement, needs of the community as a starting point and using indigenous knowledge, it should not be interpreted as all indigenous research being the same or that there is one indigenous research methodology (McGregor et al., 2018, p. 1). Conversely, many indigenous communities have their own ethical guidelines based on their own underlying assumptions and specific approaches are negotiated in interaction with the participating group (Chilisa, 2012, p. 18). There is also a working group which aims to create ethical principles for research concerning the Sámi that I comprised primarily of Sámi people (Lapin yliopisto, n.d.). To elaborate what indigenous research is in this context and to explain choices made in the research I employ both the general principles and the guidelines of various indigenous peoples and organisations provided on the working group's site as the guidelines were not yet available. The working group's site was also pointed to me by the Dihtosis team.

Indigenous research builds on post-colonial thought highlighting the colonising effects of knowledge, whereby indigenous and other knowledge systems and methodologies are seen as less valid (Chilisa, 2012, pp. 1–49; Kuokkanen, 2008, pp. 1–22; Smith, 2012). Post-colonial theory has been criticised however, for its origins and potential use to research other groups, while maintaining its own values, perspectives and methodologies and ignoring those of the other (Chilisa, 2012, pp. 49–50). Conversely in indigenous research, indigenous knowledge is also seen as a viable source. This does not entail completely rejecting existing theory and knowledge but taking the concerns and perspectives of the community as a starting point (Chilisa, 2012, p. 13; Smith, 2012, p. 41) and thereby using indigenous knowledge or combining knowledge systems.

More specifically, indigenous research is founded on relational ontologies[3], relational epistemologies[4] and relational axiology[5]. To put it simply, relational ontology according to Chilisa (2012, p. 20), entails social reality understood through connections that human beings have with the living and non-living. In relational epistemologies then, though there

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[3] Notions of what is considered being, existence
[4] Notions of what knowledge is
[5] Notions of values

is no universal definition, knowledge can be regarded as "something people develop as they have experiences with each other and the world around them" (Thayer-Bacon, 2003, p. 9) and is situated, developing in the interactions based in more holistic views of the world (Louis, 2007, p. 133). Moreover, relational epistemologies emphasise personal and collective experience (Kuokkanen, 2008, pp. xvii–xviii). Also in this thesis, experiences work as a starting point, and teachers are seen as experts of the educational system through their experience and the Sámi as experts of facing unawareness through their experience. To highlight this, I also attempt to, within limits of readability, give space to voices other than mine.

Relational axiology here entails the researcher's accountability to all relations and acknowledging the connectedness of all parts of the research; respectfully representing the research, the people and oneself including the provision of opportunities for the indigenous to voice their views and to truly listen to them; seeing all research as appropriation and providing benefits for both the indigenous community and the researcher; and finally abiding by indigenous protocols and providing the indigenous ownership of the process and knowledge produced (Louis in Chilisa, 2012, p. 20). According to several authors, this also encompasses writing in understandable language and effort to use indigenous languages (when it is appropriate) (Chilisa, 2012, pp. 19, 57–58; Louis, 2007, p. 133). Hence, I have attempted to make it readable for audiences outside academia in terms of the vocabulary used, providing explanations and proper context. The latter is especially important as knowledge in the majority is low, so general indications to rights infringements or long continuation of colonialism and Sámi agency do not necessarily connect to anything concrete as one may know nothing of them. Moreover, several authors argue that power, agency and social reproduction, which are among the central phenomena in this thesis, should be discussed in context (Eteläpelto et al., 2011, p. 25; Giddens, 1984, p. 282). Also, I translated the thesis into Finnish and applied for grants to get a summary report translated into the three Sámi languages spoken in Finland.

Furthermore, a high level of involvement throughout the process is crucial according to ethical guidelines of multiple bodies concerning Sámi or indigenous research (Sámi allaskuvlla, n.d.; Sámiid Riikkasearvi, 2019; The Pūtaoira writing group et al., 2010, pp. 9–10). The Sámi are one of the most researched people and there is a lot of research fatigue—often research done does not benefit the community, nor are the (potential) participants properly informed about the topic, goals or results of the research (H. West, 2018). This further highlights the need for more rigorous ethics and collaboration, which respect self-determination. According to Chilisa (2012, p. 20), ethics is the driving force in indigenous research in general, and, throughout the process, I have attempted to

abide by the logic that "every research activity is an exercise of research ethics" (Clegg & Slife, 2009, p. 24).

Considering the previous points, collaboration was also a natural choice to me. Some indigenous researchers also see it as a requirement (Louis, 2007, p. 133). This view was shared with the Dihtosis group, who would not have participated, had it not been collaborative. Thus, this thesis draws both from indigenous research and collaborative ethnography, which has developed through criticisms regarding the colonial elements of, among others, anthropological research and acknowledging the discrepancies of interpretation and hierarchies between academia and research sites (Lassiter, 2005, pp. 5–7). This entails deliberate and explicit emphasis on collaboration at every point in the process (Lassiter, 2005, p. 16).

More specifically, together with the Dihtosis group, we had meetings and discussions throughout the thesis project to determine the direction, content and tone of the research. In practice, the collaboration resulted in, firstly, interviewing teachers who had had a Dihtosis workshop in their classroom. We originally discussed different approaches to engage with the students that had participated in Dihtosis workshops. However, due to practical and ethical considerations in acquiring permission and consent, we decided to approach teachers instead. Teachers could also provide more detailed insights into the school system, environment and their own experience of both the project and the inclusion of Sámi issues in teaching: we found it a useful avenue to explore. Also, despite previous research and reports indicating unawareness among Finns regarding Sámi issues in general and a lack of school materials dealing with these issues, there has been no exploration regarding the experience of teachers in raising the topic, nor has Dihtosis itself been researched. We also considered having discussions with the Sámi youth who had conducted the visits, but to ease the burden of Sámi people already experiencing research fatigue and to keep the thesis at a manageable scope, we decided to focus on teachers from mainly the majority population.

Concretely, I conducted 9 interviews with teachers, one of which involved both a teacher and a teacher intern involved in the particular workshop. Teacher backgrounds were diverse in location, topic area and school level: the overview of teacher backgrounds is presented in Figure 2 below.
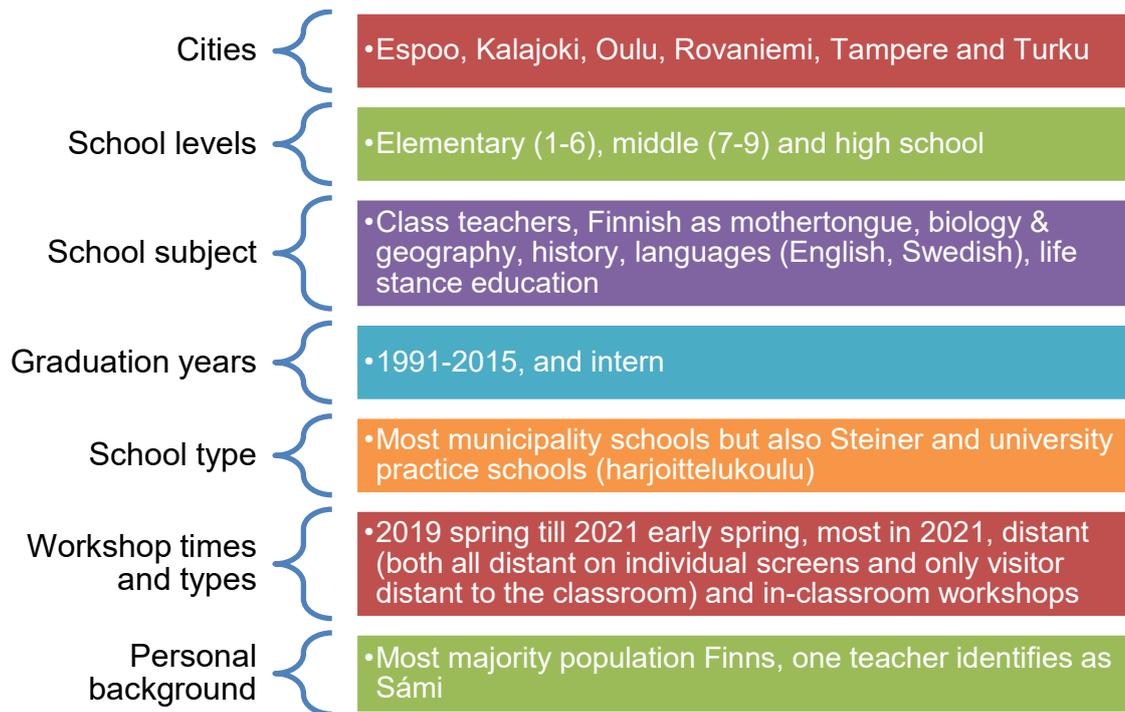
Figure 2. *Overview of teacher backgrounds*

We also constructed the interview questions together and agreed on a semi-structured procedure to provide flexibility according to the situation and the teacher in question. Semi-structured interviews provide not only space for the teachers to bring out their perspectives and additional important topics, but are also suitable for dealing with lived experience, complex and sometimes sensitive issues (Barriball & While, 1994, p. 330; Galletta, 2016, p. 24). Due to COVID-19, interviews, collaboration meetings and discussions were done online using Microsoft Teams or Zoom—the interviews and individual discussions were held in early spring 2021. Where applicable, I used materials that have been recommended to me by the team. These included, for instance, the language barometer, reports of the Ministry for Education and Culture and resources for ethical principles in research regarding the Sámi. I have also aimed to include Sámi authors in and outside of academia, incorporating different presentations of knowledge, whether depicted in a blog, art, video, interview or social media posts.

Teachers were contacted through the Youth Academy. The invitation email was sent to teachers who had ordered the workshop, which gave them the information to sign up. The process was therefore self-selective and thus the diversity in teacher backgrounds itself indicates widespread need for and appreciation towards the Dihtosis project. At the same time, it should be considered that the teachers interviewed are likely to have more interest towards and perhaps more awareness of Sámi perspectives and do not

represent all teachers. Yet, they have knowledge and perspective on both the educational system and the project. Interviews were conducted in Finnish.

Secondly, we had discussions with the Dihtosis team, which comprised of people who had been involved in planning and implementing the Dihtosis project, from coordinators to workshop holders. We had one session with two Dihtosis members, where they presented the project and the game (Sukellus saamelaiskulttuuriin) to me and it was used as a starting point for what is important to know, how it is talked about and how the project has developed. Additionally, I explored some of the materials, for instance the method deck and especially the Sukellus saamelaiskulttuuriin game. I also had four private discussions on Dihtosis members' experiences with the project—these were very free and the entire thesis is based on a data-driven, more inductive approach (see Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, p. 83; Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 108–109). Thus, what is brought up in interviews and conversations is seen as inherently important, and the use of theory and concepts were derived from the interview and ethnographic data. These were also discussed with my collaborators. Furthermore, the aim has been to move away from primarily "damage centered" practise, where oppression becomes a defining factor of a community and pathologises it, towards a desire based, more empowering approach, where "desire, yes, accounts for the loss and despair, but also the hope, the visions, the wisdom of lived lives and communities" (Tuck, 2009, pp. 413, 417).

Concerning both the teachers and my collaborators, the ethical guidelines for research involving humans including informed consent were observed (TENK, 2019). Free, prior and informed consent has also been regarded as central to ethics of indigenous research (see Kuokkanen in Rahko-Ravantti, 2016, p. 123), and, as the topic discussed is in many ways sensitive, it is all the more important. That in mind, I collaborated with the Dihtosis group throughout the process and attempted to build an atmosphere where, we could truly make decisions together and myself also deliver on those decisions. For the teachers we tried, already in the invitation email, to elaborate clearly what the research was about and to reiterate it at the beginning of each interview. For the same reason of topic sensitivity including its political nature and issues of hate speech, considerations of anonymity are important; concerning teachers, the presentation of specific stories and details that had the possibility of making the teachers recognisable were asked about prior to including them and also in terms of how to include them. Thus, only the city of each teacher (or another marker if Sámi or an intern) is provided in quotes, leaving out other clear markers. With quotes that involve content that can be considered more political, the cities were left out. With Dihtosis, people from both organisations could decide how they wanted to be referred to; the distinction between Sámi and non-Sámi was

considered important and is thus utilised. I also got consent from the Sámi teacher. More-over, for interviewing teachers, I sought and received permits also from the respective cities or schools according to the guidelines of each city.

Also, analysing the data, organising it into themes and finalising research questions fol-lowed a data-driven approach: these elements were not predetermined, but the examin-ing of the influence of Dihtosis followed teachers' and Dihtosis group's experiences. Ob-viously, as has been criticised, it is rather impossible to be purely inductive or objective, but initial assumptions, prior concepts used and the research frame can affect (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 108–109). This I attempted to mitigate through outlining initial as-sumptions and being aware of them throughout the process. The idea of practising re-flexivity and acknowledging one's position is also part of research ethics, as it can be regarded as the first step towards understanding the effects of one's background and how to take it into consideration during the research process (Chilisa, 2012, pp. 173–174; Parson, 2019, p. 17; Sámi allaskuvlla, n.d.; Seurujärvi-Kari, 2011, p. 35). I also kept a diary of the phases and my own thought process to foster self-reflexivity. Positionality is detailed in one of the subchapters.

Moreover, the Dihtosis group could check their quotes and read the thesis (sections of their choosing), and we discussed these issues, which is part of ensuring respectful rep-resentation and, in their parts the truthfulness of interpretation. In terms of the teachers, who were not involved in parts after the interviews, having multiple voices in conversation though not their own, mitigates forming a completely one-sided interpretation. I have also attempted to describe the process thoroughly. After finalisation, I will also attend the Youth Council's meeting to present the findings to return knowledge into the community.

Finally, I cannot highlight enough that this research would never have been what it was, had I not had (at least from my perspective) such wonderful collaboration with the Dihto-sis group. Not only did they motivate me through the process, they gave crucial insights on the project, on related material and themes, on indigenous knowledge and Sámi ed-ucation, which I may have not realised to look into, without our discussions. Furthermore, we planned interview questions together and to my memory it was not even my idea to interview teachers in the first place. I could rely on them, and I only hope I am able to do justice to their active role and input in the process as well as creating it.

2.1   Use of indigenous knowledge

Indigenous knowledge itself has many definitions, for instance: "indigenous knowledge is constituted in response to past circumstances and is shared with other members of

the community through language, oral traditions, and ceremonies" (Kuokkanen, 2008, p. xvii). Grenier (1998, pp. 1–2) describes indigenous knowledge through a series of characteristics, outlined in Figure 3 below.

Cumulative: generations of experience, observations and trial-and-error experiments	Dynamic: knowledge continuously added, innovate from within as well as use external knowledge to suit the local situation	All members of the community have indigenous knowledge though the quantity and quality between individuals varies due to factors such as age, outside influences, daily experiences, social and economic status
Stored in people's memories and activities and expressed in stories, songs, dances, local language, cultural values, beliefs, community laws, forms of communication and organisation	Shared and communicated orally, by specific example and through culture	

Figure 3. *Characteristics of indigenous knowledge adapted from Grenier (1998, pp. 1–2)*

The Chair of the Youth Council similarly noted it as present in organisational forms, practices and values. While deeply rooted in tradition and working together for the community, indigenous knowledge can also entail adapting to the current situation. This can mean, for instance, utilising digital technologies. Moreover, they noted that indigenous knowledge is constantly changing as are indigenous identities, and that nowadays indigenous knowledge draws also from post-colonial and human rights discourses next to, for instance, deep knowledge of the surrounding nature through lived experience that has passed through generations (The Chair of the Youth Council). In this research, indigenous knowledge is present throughout the research process itself in involving various actors also outside of the 'primary collaborator group' (for instance, talking about interview questions also with the Sámi Parliament's division responsible for learning materials), having regular meetings with the Dihtosis team, towards the end of the process also having a meeting with the Youth Council and forming a more holistic understanding in the research in general. Furthermore, in findings regarding the Dihtosis project, Sámi educational tradition is discussed, which is an example of indigenous knowledge practice.

Regarding the use of indigenous knowledge, Kuokkanen (2008, p. 107) notes that some indigenous researchers find teaching their knowledge to outsiders both impossible and

inappropriate as it "will inevitably be either rejected, misinterpreted, appropriated, or mis-used." This is especially the issue with abstract general conceptions. As there are varying perspectives on the issue and the use of indigenous knowledge comes with ethical concerns, I only included knowledge that my collaborators felt comfortable sharing and the group read through parts of the thesis to better ensure respectful representation and that there were no misunderstandings (see Sámiid Riikkasearvi, 2019). We also have the sincere wish that these issues are dealt with respect bearing in mind that research or other projects involving Sámi cultural heritage or indigenous knowledge require permission from the Sámi Parliament (Sámediggi, n.d.-c). For this project the Sámi Parliament was consulted and according to their instruction such permission was not required as the Youth Council was involved in the process from the beginning and was integral in determining the research direction and process. The Sámi Parliament's decision was conditional for the continuation of such a process.

2.2 Positionality

I am a white, highly educated, hetero, cis-woman from a relatively wealthy family and a member of the Finnish majority population. Thus, much has been available and possible for me—I hardly have first-hand experience of restrictions or pressures of position, for instance discrimination or racism. Mostly, I have only witnessed it. I also mostly take people in their word of experience, so while I never thought these phenomena unthinkable, gradually, and especially in the last few years, I have become more critical of these issues also in Finland.

Moreover, I had no previous ties of any kind to the Sámi population. My parents are from the countryside near Lappeenranta, my dad's parents are evacuees from Karelia, but I have grown up in Espoo, southern Finland, where in my personal experience, Sámi issues in general have not been very visible. Prior to my desire to do my thesis on a Sámi related topic, I had practically no knowledge of the Sámi or their perspectives. I do not recall coming across the topic in my school time, nor had I done particular research myself or seen or at least noted much discussion in the media, and most of the people I know also seemed not to know. This, on the one hand, gives me the personal experience of going through education without learning anything about the Sámi and helps me to relate to the teachers as well as the majority population—this is also why I did not expect the teachers to know much or necessarily be very engaged with the topic. On the other hand, it distances me and gives me little initial foundation to understand Sámi cultures and their starting points. I have not found anything particularly hard to understand (also

I have felt that sometimes I do not even need to understand, I have taken my collabora-tors' word for it), but throughout the process I would say it has deepened.

I have studied, lived and been an intern abroad, more specifically in China, Kyrgyzstan and the Netherlands, and I have friends and family from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, gender and sexual minorities and/or races, and many who are in some way societally critical[6]. Of course, this does not make me fully understand the po-sitions of others or somehow immune to structural hurtful assumptions and racism or undo the fact that majority systems of thought have shaped my thoughts, but it has opened my eyes to the variety of intersectional positions and power structures and made me increasingly aware of my own. This has, in my view, assisted me in the process.

Thus, once I started thinking about taking a Sámi related topic, I found it important to familiarise myself with basic information and perspectives from the Sámi community, and read *Vastatuuleen*, a book written with the idea of what Sámi think Finns should know about the Sámi. I also started following news, related webinars and events more carefully and following Sámi people, organisations and activists on social media. Furthermore, I started studying North Sámi (*Davvissámegiella)*, North Sámi, and through my teacher's weekly overviews of *áigeguovdilis áššit* (topical issues) and my own interest, I also started to participate in cultural events and follow topical issues like the *Skábmagovat* film festival, Sámi news and a screening of the *Eatnameamet* documentary. I also lis-tened to Halla Helle, Niillas Holmberg's novel. This is not to say that this would make me an expert or insider in Sámi cultures in any way, but to illustrate my effort to gain further understanding especially on societal perspectives. I would also like to highlight that this has come more from my inner desire than the fact that with it I could somehow brag or use it as validation for my 'goodness'—I don't want to over-highlight my role/myself or paint an image of a white saviour of myself, not in any case, as I'm not needed in that way, but the truth is I have not done all of this myself. I also contacted Sámi organisations and activists quite early on to inquire about topics that they would find important. Every-one responded kindly with ideas and whom to contact, but some also with concern about research fatigue, understandably so. Through these discussions, I also found Dihtosis.

Throughout the whole process, I have given a lot of thought into ethical practice, creating a safe environment and trust so that my collaborators (also the teachers) would say what

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[6] I do not want to make this into a parade of the 'diversity' of those close to me or objectify them in some way—this is why mentioning this feels a bit bad to do, but I wanted to mention it, because I do believe it has had an effect on me through conversations and all sorts of situations. I also do not want to reduce people to their positions or opinions—the people I am talking about are a lot more to me, primarily and above all people I care about.

they really think—so that there would be true collaboration and means to affect. I'm not saying that I have fully succeeded, that I would have done everything perfectly. I have definitely asked questions or made comments that have contained underlying assumptions, some that I have noticed and later openly acknowledged and probably some that I have yet to notice. Also, though the bulk of this study is the interviews with teachers, considering the Dihtosis' role as co-creator and my talks with them I am also not sure that I have managed to avoid burdening, so I hope this has been worth the crew's time.

Especially in writing, I have also tried to be very aware of the kind of image I am portraying of the people, of the situation—not giving a too narrow one-sided image, staying true to character and situation but dealing with sensitive issues with respect, not feasting with them. I have also tried to keep the agency of people, so that their words can be understood also as they are and not merely through analysis. I have thought about reactions and consequences as well: trying to balance between keeping things real but maintaining hope and at least hinting at ways to action, so that people (majority) would not become numb with despair and do nothing (when there are also things that one could do if they have capacity, even though it is a structural issue). Also, presenting things in a way that they would be received with understanding or an attempt at understanding rather than seen as an attack, but at the same time not letting this keep us from bringing out issues (obviously things that the team wanted left out were left out). At the same time, it should be an understandable whole. I am not saying that I have succeeded in this either. However, I sincerely hope that we, as in truly we, have been able to produce something useful and something that is thought provoking but relatable, where one can see oneself as opposed to something alien.

3. THE SÁMI IN THE CONTEXT OF STATE POWER: THE PREMISES OF DIHTOSIS

In this section, the context of colonialism and resistance expanding to current structures and unawareness is provided as the background for the research. This section is rather long due to the low level of knowledge in the majority, in order to provide enough context to understand a fuller picture of the situation in which Dihtosis is embedded. The primary focus is on Finland, as it is also the context of the Dihtosis project. However, the Sámi are a people that cross state boundaries, and therefore, it is essential to reflect this by including at least some elements and examples throughout *Sápmi*[7]. This section thus attempts to balance between these two notions. To start, the Sámi are the only official indigenous people in the EU region; they inhabit mainly Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia. It is estimated that there are 75 000-100 000 Sámi, with 10 500 being in Finland in 2015, and the majority of 50 000-70 000 in Norway (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, 19). The Sámi are not a homogenous group, but there are varieties in language (10 or 9 languages depending on inclusion of Akkala Sámi), cultures, customs, and religions. Three Sámi languages are spoken in Finland: North Sámi (*Davvisámegiella)*, Inari Sámi (*Anarâškielâ)* and Skolt Sámi (*Nuõrttsäämas)*, of which North Sámi is the largest. Traditional Sámi livelihoods are reindeer herding, fishing, hunting and Sámi handicrafts, *duodji*. Nowadays, many have "modern" professions and only a fifth own reindeer (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 19–20).

3.1 Early phases of colonialism; land rights and defining settler colonialism

Discussing colonialism is essential as it is a central element in Sámi relations to the state, and it explains the current structures and position of the Sámi, which Dihtosis also aims to improve. Colonialism has multiple disputed definitions, but broadly it can be understood as creating power structures and institutions that enable the colonisers' domination of the colonised (Keskinen et al., 2021, p. 65; Mick, 2014, p. 126). This includes the elements of economic exploitation or its attempt, direct or indirect rule of a distant centre by a different ethnic group than that of those inhabiting the "periphery", which may entail settlement of the ruling ethnicity, and crucially the existence of a colonial discourse: "a

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[7] Sámi inhabited lands stretching over the states of Finland, Sweden, Russia and Norway

complex of racial or cultural stereotypes, to legitimate metropolitan subordination" (Hechter in Mick, 2014, p. 126). Colonialism towards the Sámi in Sweden-Finland is often seen to have started from the discontinuation of the Lapp border and incentivising settlement.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the borders of the states in *Sápmi* remained unclear, and the *siidas*--the traditional organisational system of the Sámi for reindeer herding-- were taxed by two or three different states after bringing them under the taxation sphere in the 16th century. Recently, this has been seen as a sign of wealth of the *siidas* as well as the Lapp border limiting new settlement in the area since the 15th century. The border was reaffirmed multiple times in the 17th century as the Sámi actively defended their privileges against growing settlement pressure. In the late 17th century, however, the awarding of settler placards began: settlers were awarded tax exemptions and exemption from the army. The Swedish crown was motivated by the discovery of silver and ensuring a workforce for mining (Nyyssönen, 2007, pp. 47–48; Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 42–48).

The Sámi lands now became subject to an expansive slash-and-burn economy, and as the settler movement continued northwards, Sámi rights and resources were gradually eroded. Due to the advantages of settlement and later to affirm rights to land and resources, many Sámi also decided to settle, at least officially. This led to the slow Finnicization of place names as names of settler estates were listed in Finnish; in some instances, these also became the family names of estate holders (Lehtola, 2015b, p. 25; Nyyssönen, 2007, pp. 47–50).

Moreover, local *siida* elder-led tent courts were replaced by state-led market courts. Of course, there were differences between areas as to the extent of rights erosion and assimilation, but the changes of practices accompanied by the settlement movement largely eroded Sámi rights. When Finland moved under Russian rule in 1809, Sámi rights and *siida* privileges were forgotten as the annual district court sessions were discontinued in areas of the North seen as "unsettled", and where irregular sessions were held, local practices were unknown and thus disregarded. Additionally, the borders of states became clearer and divided some of the *siidas*. Finally, the seasonal migration system was in practice demolished with the closure of state borders in the late 19th century (1852 Finland and Norway; 1889 Sweden and Finland) along with the incentives and pressure for the Sámi to settle and give up their traditional lifestyles to adopt mixed economies (Lehtola, 2015b, p. 25; Nyyssönen, 2007, pp. 48–50).

Today, the Sámi have no collective land rights in the Finnish legislation: 90% of the Sámi home area is 'state land'. Despite multiple working groups and assessments, there is no

clarity about how the process of land acquisition from the Sámi to the Swedish, Russian and, finally, to the Finnish state occurred. The government often mentions the 1886 Forest Act where 'unowned' lands were moved to state ownership. The Sámi not only inhabited these areas, but there are documents that clearly state Sámi ownership and include tax records of these lands (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, p. 44). In Sweden, the situation is similar in that the state has acquired 'unowned' land. However, the legal frameworks and principles determining, for instance the rights for hunting, fishing and reindeer herding differ (based on sameby membership) (SámediggiS, 2021; Torp, 2010). In Norway, the Sámi have achieved the ratification of ILO 169 (see further) and the Finnmark Act, which gave roughly 95% of Finnmark lands under the control of a new organ, *Finnmarkseiendommen.* Half of the representatives are chosen by Norway's Sámi Parliament (Lehtola, 2015a, pp. 217–219; Ravna, 2010, p. 222). Despite the victory, there are still issues in application, of which an illustration is Norway's permission for mining and dumping waste into Repparfjord, protested both by members of the Sámi community and environmental organisations (Fisher, 2019; Ravna, 2010, p. 222; *REDD Repparfjorden*, n.d.).

Colonialism in *Sápmi* also included the destruction and replacement of the social and cultural structures of the Sámi, such as the *siida* system. In the 1600s, the Sámi belief system was labelled pagan, and they were forced to turn to Christianity as often evidenced by the confiscation and/or demanded destruction of holy spots (*seitas*), symbols or items, such as drums, to be conducted by the Sámi themselves. Furthermore, physical anthropology and racial studies were conducted from the 1800s until the 1970s, the procedure and premises of which were highly demeaning. Sámi 'volunteers' could also participate in tours of Europe where they would be showcased in zoos, circuses and amusement parks as primitive peoples (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 93, 127–142; Valkonen, 2009). The racist thinking of the time is thus plain in sight and widely present.

There were also differences concerning state policies: Norway adopted a conscious, written Norwegianisation policy in the 1840s, which restricted obtaining land to only Norwegian speakers and, depending on the period, restricted or forbade using Sámi language in schools, among other things. The policy was in force for nearly a century, though altering in strictness, but even after easing official policy, attitudes lingered. In Sweden, the approach was different, culminating in the *lapp skall vara lapp* thinking, whereby the Sámi were thought to be exclusively reindeer herders who ought to be protected from outside influences to maintain their "authenticity". Thus, reindeer herding Sámi needed to attend a different school system, nomad schools, and they were not allowed to settle. This also caused divisions among the Sámi as the ones who were not

reindeer herders attended Swedish schools. In contrast, the Kola Sámi in Russia needed to deal with the heavy industrialisation and militarisation of the area, forced removals as well as the nationalisation of land and water after the communist revolution followed by Stalin's persecution of 'national enemies'. Different groups also faced varied difficulties. For instance, the Skolt Sámi needed to permanently evacuate from Petsamo and faced hate due to being associated with the Russians. They were discriminated against also within Sámi communities. The world war in general technically placed the Sámi against each other due to the division of state borders and was the first time the Sámi were obligated to participate in war (Lehtola, 2015a, pp. 70–86, 108–113, 2015b, p. 27).

The Finns have often regarded their relationship towards the Sámi as less strict compared to that of the Scandinavian states: the Finnish state had no written subjugation policies and treated the Sámi as equal citizens (Lehtola, 2015b, pp. 27–29; Nyyssönen, 2007, p. 108). However, equality was defined from the Finnish perspective and, thus, did not consider Sámi starting points, needs and culture, providing no protection for Sámi culture (Nyyssönen, 2007, p. 108, 2013, p. 105). In other words, the same set of rights for all has resulted in insufficient rights for the Sámi. Nyyssönen (2007, pp. 66, 118) calls this a "ruthlessly equalitarian policy" following a notion of negative equality rather than positive equality, which would entail cultural and group rights. On the contrary, as the Finnish language and systems were foreign to the Sámi, the 'equal' systems were and are assimilative. Furthermore, since the Finns were competing for the same resources, they were wary of providing the Sámi with a special status, whereas in Scandinavia, the Sámi were regarded as a distinct group much earlier and, for instance, had special rights to reindeer husbandry. In Finland, it was a livelihood for both groups, the legislation of which was developed according to the Finnish style (Lehtola, 2015b, pp. 27–28).

In the 1900s, building a homogenous nation state formed a strong basis for informal assimilation: Sámi culture and languages were seen as inferior to those of the Finns. Moreover, in many schools, speaking Sámi as well as wearing Sámi symbols were formally forbidden or informally punished by violence and bullying. In cases where there was no forceful alienation, children could often sense their social inferiority through the teaching about the Sámi or the lack thereof (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 28-29).

Consequently, the Sámi were made to be ashamed of their own language and heritage, as a result of which many parents did not pass on the Sámi languages to their children. Thus, the number of speakers of the Sámi languages decreased dramatically and some of the languages disappeared. Furthermore, extending the schooling system and the welfare society to the Sámi, although it has had positive impacts as well, has also alienated Sámi generations as residential schools were far away and children had to leave

their homes for the week or months, which for many resulted in traumas due to bullying and violence as well as not learning traditional skills from their parents. Ultimately, the Sámi were made economically and culturally dependant on the majority population (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 25, 148–154, 243–248). The treatment of the Sámi may not be viewed as poor as that of some other indigenous peoples, and it has had different dynamics: Lehtola (2015) regards their treatment having been based on silencing and a paternalistic take on knowing what was/is best for the Sámi without consulting or listening to them--which echoes a White man's burden mentality.

Although evidence of colonialism is overwhelming, some scholars have denied colonisation and/or colonialism (Enbuske, 2008, 2012; Lähteenmäki, 2006). Their arguments however fail to erase the fact that the Sámi were imposed on by foreign languages, systems, values, and settlement (Lehtola, 2015b, p. 25; Valkonen, 2009, pp. 24–25). It is also notable that scholars who deny colonialism are non-Sámi scholars who are often locals of the North, such as Lähteenmäki and Enbuske, whereas those who talk of colonialism include both Sámi and non-Sámi scholars (See Lehtola, 2015b, pp. 24–25).

One also needs to note that there were different actors both Finnish and Sámi with various strategies also including friendly encounters and Sámi who viewed Finnish influences positive (Lehtola, 2015b, pp. 29–30). That being said, the colonisation narrative has a foundation and in the words of Nyyssönen (2013, p. 114): "The full denial of a colonization narrative would also entail a denial of certain life experiences, which is a questionable undertaking." The Saami Council (*Sámiráđđi*) has spoken of colonialism at least since 1959 (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, p. 24), and it is not a personal story but a collective pain of the Sámi people (S. West, 2021b).

More specifically, settler colonialism, a concept developed in indigenous research, is descriptive as this entails notions of settler movement to "new, empty lands" displacing the indigenous and following a "logic of elimination" (Kuokkanen, 2020, p. 298; Veracini, 2010). The indigenous peoples are seen to naturally vanish and thus are not thought to be displaced by the settlers (Veracini, 2010, p. 14). Settler colonialism also entails the installation of settler structures in place of indigenous systems. In comparison to settler colonialism, classical colonialism does not necessarily entail permanent settlement. Moreover, "settler colonialism is also characterized by its persistent drive to naturalize its ongoing existence" (Kuokkanen, 2020, p. 298) and place colonial dominance in the past (Strakosch, 2015, p. 55)--settler colonialism is a continuous structure, not an event (Chair of the Youth Council; Holmberg, 2021; Wolfe, 2006).

3.2 Sámi resilience: focus on Sámi movement, organisation and activism

Colonialism is thus an important part of the Northern states' and the Sámi people's past and present, yet overemphasising and simplifying colonialism and the resulted intergenerational trauma can create a one-sided image of the Sámi as passive victims and leave out other histories (Lehtola, 2015b, pp. 23–24, 29–30; Nyyssönen, 2013, pp. 114–115; Valkonen, 2009). Therefore, the Sámi movement and activism are shortly presented below to provide a broader picture, and in that I rely mostly on Lehtola's (2015a) writings on the topic. This is not to say that the Sámi do not have prior history or other histories as well or to insinuate that the presentation here is comprehensive, it is merely selecting focus in limited space. These developments are brought forth for a number of reasons: to avoid the pathologising image mentioned by Tuck (2009), to make the work and achievements of the Sámi more visible so that it would not be easy to think, considering the low level of knowledge (see section 3.4), that the development of rights would have been state led and natural or that the Sámi would talk about their rights only now.

The history of organisational Sámi resistance started in the early 1900s when many organisations were founded locally in Sweden and Norway: the first Sámi organisation in Sweden, *Fatmomakke* (later Wilhelmina-Ásele), was founded in 1904 by Elsa Laula, later Elsa Laula Renberg, an influential Sámi activist, and in Norway, five Sámi organisations were founded between 1906 and 1908. These were concentrated in the southern areas of the Sámi where they had most contact with Swedes and Norwegians and, therefore, more disputes and issues. Additionally, Sámi writers such as Johan Turi, Pedar Jalvi, Isak Saba and Anders Larsen gave voice to Sámi perspectives, and Sámi newspapers were established as an avenue of influence, for instance, *Nuorttanaste, Sagai Muittaleagje, Waren Sardne* and *Samefolkets Egen Tidning.* In Finnmarken multiple organisations were founded in the 1910s (Lehtola, 2015a, pp. 75–80; NRK, 2017; Oktavuohta, n.d.).

Already in 1917, Ella Laula, as the founder and head of *Brurskanken samisk kvindeforening* (a Sámi women's organisation), convened the first Nordic Sámi meeting, where Sámi from Norway and Sweden gathered in Trondheim to discuss land use, reindeer husbandry and schooling (NRK, 2017; Oktavuohta, n.d.).

The meeting demanded an end to discrimination and changes in laws to protect reindeer husbandry from agriculture and mining, as well as better teaching in Sámi languages, much of which are still relevant today (Lehtola, 2015a, pp. 75–80; NRK, 2017; Oktavuohta, n.d.). During that time, which was among the darkest of assimilation, the states

largely discredited and disregarded the stated demands. However, the meeting is highly important as it highlights Sámi cooperation across state borders, the Sámi's identification as one people and early instances of organised political activism in defence of rights. Elsa Laula said in her opening speech of the meeting: "We have never understood to work together as one people. Today we attempt for the first time to tie […] the Sámi to each other." (Oktavuohta, n.d.). It was not yet the start of regular cross-border cooperation but built a strong foundation. As a result, another meeting was held in Östersund Sweden the following year (1918) and another one in Norway Deatnu the year after that (1919). In fact, the date of the first Nordic meeting in 1917, the 6th of February, is celebrated as the Sámi national day since 1992 (Lehtola, 2015a, pp. 75–80; NRK, 2017; Oktavuohta, n.d.).

In Finland organisational activity began in 1945 after the war, when Samii Litto was founded during evacuation in Alavieska—the different Sámi groups, previously relatively separated from each other in Finland, had found each other during evacuation. Prior to Samii Litto, Finnish *Lapin ystävät* (Lapland Friends) had founded *Sámi Cuvgehussearvi* (Lapin Sivistysseura, Lapland Civil Society). They started publishing a Sámi-written newspaper *Sabmelaš* and together with Samii Litto, they influenced the organisation of a Sámi delegation to Helsinki in 1947 from which the establishment of the first Sámi committee (Saamelaisasiain komitea) in 1949 followed. The Sámi committee gave progressive suggestions for state action to improve the situation of the Sámi including the establishment of a Sámi area and Sámi law. Already the Sámi delegation had suggested a permanent Sámi organ to oversee Sámi issues. Samii Litto also pushed to open a Sámi Christian Institute (*Sámii kristtalaš nuoraidskuvla,* Saamelaisten kristillisen kansanopiston) in 1952 (-1993) and to open a Sámi museum (*Sámi musea*, today known as *Siida*) in Inari 1962. Important activists in the post-war period included Johan Nuorgam, Erkki Jomppanen, Nilla Outakoski, Pekka Lukkari and Jaakko Sverloff (Lehtola, 2015a, pp. 95–104; Oktavuohta, n.d.).

Multiple new organisations also rose in Swedish and Norwegian *Sápmi* (Norway lifted prohibition of school teaching in Sámi*),* and the first Sámi conference was held in 1953. This led to the establishment of the (Nordic) Saami Council, *Sámiráđđi*, which holds conferences every four years. Nevertheless, the post-war period was contradictory. The general atmosphere was more favourable towards minorities and the rights of individuals and groups. Further, improved road and other connections fostered contact between Sámi groups and thus their achievements of the time. However, it was also the time of the residential schools, in which many Sámi were alienated from their language and culture, not to mention had traumatising experiences that led to shame. The school

system also worked as a tool of colonialism as Finnish values, systems and customs were taught. Finnish influence had also been dominant during evacuation, and after the Lapland War, Sámi areas were reconstructed as Finnish areas, the improved infrastructure of which was favourable to further settlement (Lehtola, 2015a, pp. 86–104).

In the late 1960s, the Sámi movement, sometimes called the Sámi renaissance, began, led by the youth of the first residential school generation. It was part of the worldwide awakening of minorities and indigenous peoples, but primarily engaged in resistance towards assimilation. Art, literature and music were an important part of the movement: for instance, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää revived *luohti,* yoik (Inari Sámi have *livđe* and Skolt Sámi *leu'dd* traditions) as a national symbol, wrote pamphlets and literature. Other artists of the time include Kirsti Paltto, Veijo Länsman and the *Daed`nugadde nuorat* band. It was both the time of reviving traditions as well as combining tradition and modernity, in for example music. Also, Sámi handicrafts, *duodji* were revived leading to the founding of organisations like *Sabmelaš Duoddjarat* in 1975. Later the Sámi Duodji trademark was established to protect authentic Sámi handicrafts (Lehtola, 2015a, pp. 114–117; Valko-nen, 2009, pp. 74–87).

Sámi artists have thus had and still have an important role in activism: in reviving, fos-tering and renewing traditions and languages, and giving voice, in whatever form, to Sámi experiences, emotions and issues—many directly take a stance. Often artists have been/are involved through other arenas as well, for instance, through politics, activist movements or organising local services and are not merely artists as is more typical in the majority (Lehtola, 2015a, pp. 151–153). Everyone has been needed to work for the improvement of rights, in which even seemingly small or mundane acts, such as practic-ing traditional skills or livelihoods or putting one's children in Sámi day care are highly meaningful. This can however also materialise in ethnostress, pressure to act in a certain way due to one's ethnic group: individuals can feel stress, sadness and inadequacy about not knowing traditional skills or the language, or never doing enough for one's own culture (Dihtosis materials; Kuokkanen and Lehtola in Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 297–298).

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, multiple organisations were founded across *Sápmi* along with the Central Organisation of the Sámi in Norway in 1968, *Norgga samiid riik-kasearvi,* which, along with other Sámi organisations, pushed for rights to land and water and was important in the Alta demonstrations (see further). In Finland, the Sámi Com-mittee's report paved the way to establishing the elected Sámi Parliament in 1973 in Finland, which was to represent the official view of the Sámi in Finland. It was the first time the Finnish state officially recognised the Sámi, and it worked as the model for

similar organs later in Norway (1989) and Sweden (1993). In Norway, this sort of organ was still uncalled for, but the Nordic Sámi Institute was established in Norway the same year (in the 2000s merged with *Sámi allaskuvla,* Sámi University of Applied Sciences) (Lehtola, 2015a, pp. 114–117). In the early 1970s the Sámi slogan, ČSV was also created, which stands among other things for *Čájehehkot Sámi Vuoinna*, "show Sámi spirit", which spread throughout *Sápmi.* It highlights pride, agency and taking back everything that has been taken away from the Sámi. The 1970s and 1980s are thus sometimes called the ČSV era and the slogan is still used (Valkonen, 2009, pp. 74–77).

Since the war, resource extraction has increased, and there have been several projects that have been detrimental to Sámi livelihoods, culture and nature, such as the Lokka-Porttipahta artificial lakes, Angel mines and logging in Finland, Vattenfall dams in Sweden, Kuola peninsula's environmental disasters, and by the 1970s, Norway's utilisation of 60 water areas for energy production as well as the case of Alta-Koutokeino. The Alta power plant initiative was protested by the Sámi for 10 years. Next to rights to water and land, official status for Sámi language and culture and a political organ were demanded. Though the plant was built, the officials' use of force to break up the protests awakened many Sámi youngsters and artists to their identity and strengthened it. Norway's policy towards the Sámi also changed due to its reputational loss in the incident: many of the demands were implemented in the next 10 years. Additionally, the Sámi flag dates back to Alta. Along with the national anthem, *Sámi Soga Lávlla,* the current flag was accepted in the 1986 Sámi Conference and it has only small differences to the one used in Alta. In addition to the protest movement, there have been several cases where the Sámi went to court or international organs for land-water ownership (Lehtola, 2015a, pp. 118–125, 151–153; Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 182–190; Valkonen, 2009, pp. 80–84).

The Sámi also made systemic efforts to safeguard the Sámi language by establishing the *Sámi giellalávdegoddi* (Sámi language board), which created the official written form of North Sámi and other Sámi languages. Sámi languages were also afforded a better position in schools, and the language nests for Inari and Skolt Sámi in the 1990s have helped in reviving these languages, though the number of speakers is still low (Lehtola, 2015a, pp. 105–110, 139–142; Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 243–267; Seurujärvi-Kari, 2011, pp. 42–44). There have been/are also efforts to revive several smaller Sámi languages, such as Kildin Sámi in Russia (most common of Kola Sámi languages) and Pite Sámi in Norway and Sweden (Lehtola, 2015a, p. 113; Rauhala, 2016).

In the 1980s and 1990s, the span of local and inter-state-boundary organisations widened to different professions, artists, women and youth as well as organisations outside the Sámi area such as City-Sámit. Additionally, the Kola Sámi established their own

central organisation and joined the Saami Council due to the easing atmosphere of Perestroika (nowadays Kola Sámi are represented by two organisations). They also have their own representational organ, but its position is not recognised by Russian legislation or administration. In Finland the Skolt Sámi also have their own cooperation organ, *Saa'mi siidsååbba*, Skolt Sámi Siida Council. Saami Council and the Sámi Parliamentary Council (*Sámi Parlamentáralaš ráđđi)* continue to work as the main Sámi national organs (Lehtola, 2015a, pp. 126–136; Sámediggi, n.d.-d).

Internationally, the Sámi have been among the pioneers in the indigenous movement since they have worked as inspiration for other indigenous groups to organise. The Saami Council joined the World Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1976. The Sámi are also active in regional bodies such as the Arctic Council (though limited to consultative status as Permanent Participant) and the Barents Euro-Arctic Council. In the UN system, the Indigenous have pushed from the consultative status in the Economic and Social Council first to the founding of the Working Group of Indigenous Peoples and finally to the establishment of the Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues (Seurujärvi-Kari, 2011, pp. 37–42).

Throughout these developments, ideas and depictions of Sámi identities went through several phases (Nyyssönen, 2007). Moreover, though the Sámi organised as a people, there were also differences between states concerning how the movement progressed due to the different systems and pressing issues of the time. Describing them all here is beyond the scope and focus of this study. Nevertheless, as a whole, the Sámi can be seen to have utilised the indigenous peoples and nation discourses to become political subjects (Valkonen, 2009). This strategy based in strategic essentialism has had strong emancipatory effects in the fight against state oppression, but it has also produced internal divisions, hierarchies and issues of identity belonging as according to Valkonen. not all Sámi identify with the ideal indigenous Sámi image created to unify the people and perhaps more importantly to be more easily recognised as a unity by outsiders. Some also identify as both Finnish and Sámi for instance. Thus, these individuals could be internally determined as 'less Sámi' than someone who is closer to this image. In general, however, this has empowered the Sámi, and many are proud of their Sámi identity (Valkonen, 2009, pp. 276–280). Lehtola (2015a, pp. 213–214) also points out that recently the Sámi community along with activists and artists is becoming more multi-vocal bringing out also differences instead of solely highlighting unity.

3.3   Introduction to the current state of Sámi rights: legal frameworks and cases

As mentioned in section 3.1, settler colonialism is not only an event, but a structure as well. Thus, it is important to understand how it manifests in structures and/or the implementation of them. Moreover, according to the teachers interviewed, Sámi rights were an area that they felt they knew least about, and as pointed to by several reports and authors, lawyers and officials are often unfamiliar with them as well (see e.g. Erholtz et al., 2021; Holmberg, 2021; Ranta & Kanninen, 2019). Therefore, it can be difficult for the population to hold the state accountable for its actions when even professionals fail to understand when rights have been breached. According to some of the teachers, current issues and rights were also more difficult to discuss in class due to political considerations. Furthermore, though these issues are more recent, due to issues of knowledge in the majority (see section 3.4), it is not unexpected that these cases remain relatively unknown. Below, there is first a general introduction to the legislative position followed by a few central elements of the international framework after which the Finnish one is introduced including some of the recent breaches.

The indigenous status of the Sámi was ratified in the Finnish constitution in 1995. According to the constitution, the Sámi have linguistic and cultural autonomy in the Sámi home area. These tasks are conducted and overseen by the elected Sámi Parliament (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 20–21). The Sámi home area includes the municipalities of Enontekiö, Utsjoki, Inari and the northern parts of Sodankylä (the areas of the reindeer owners' association) (Laki Saamelaiskäräjistä, 1995 §4). Here the Sámi have wider rights, such as the right to basic education in Sámi, whereas outside the home area, the municipality can decide whether to provide Sámi courses let alone teaching in Sámi.

Nowadays, approximately 60% of the Sámi in Finland live outside of the home area, which comprises only a fraction of what the historical living area was and has been pushed further north than the home areas of the Sámi in Sweden and Norway (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 20–21). Though many safeguards exist, colonial attitudes or ignorance are still evident in structures and, through them, projected to everyday lives. Besides international treaties and declarations, the main focus here is on Finnish structures. It is however notable that the Sámi navigate between two EU states, one NATO state and Russia with different legal frameworks and other structures. For instance, both Norway and Finland have legislation specifically regarding the Sámi language, whereas Sweden does not, despite attempts (Elo, 2012; SámediggiS, 2019, p. 6). In Russia, there is a lot of potential in legislation but also many contradictions and lack of implementation

(Rantala, 2010, pp. 255, 260). This is also a common feature: even though there are laws, they may simply not be applied (Hirvasvuopio in Vihreät nuoret, 2021). The meaning of borders has become more central also due to COVID-19.

Below, some of the most prominent legal acts and treaties concerning the Sámi are outlined along with notions and cases on how they are implemented in practice. These include only a few selected legal elements. [8]

International frameworks

- United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Adopted in 2007, the Declaration is the most comprehensive international instrument on indigenous rights with wide support from UN member states and indigenous communities. It is based on several legally binding human rights agreements between states and provides minimal standards for the well-being and dignity of indigenous peoples as well as cements the applicability of human rights to indigenous peoples. Finland has signed the Declaration (Sámediggi, n.d.-a; UN, n.d.).

The central articles concern the self-determination of indigenous peoples, right to their own language and culture, state responsibility for safeguarding indigenous cultures, right to natural resources and it forbids any attempt at assimilation. The Declaration has been adopted into legislation by some states, but most have considered it only morally obliging. Human rights bodies responsible for the interpretation and application of human rights agreements often highlight the obligations of in-discrimination, cultural immunity and right to self-determination in their deliberations (Sámediggi, n.d.-a; United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007).

- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

The ICCPR is more legally binding towards states. Article 1 declares the right of all peoples to self-determination and thus they have the right to freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. The Human Rights Committee has confirmed that this includes indigenous peoples. Other central articles include Articles 25 (political rights including fair elections representing the free will of the electors), 26 (non-discrimination before the law) and 27, whereby minorities shall not be denied the right to enjoy their culture. The Human Rights Committee has interpreted the denial of the right to enjoy culture to include land and resource use, which

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[8] More comprehensive overviews can be found https://www.samediggi.fi/kansainvaliset-sopimukset/ for international treaties and https://www.samediggi.fi/lautakunnat/elinkeino-ja-oikeus/lainsaadanto/ for Finnish legislation.

infringe on indigenous livelihoods in the area. Furthermore, they have stated that the Article requires positive measures to protect minority cultures. Finland has ratified the Covenant in 1976, so it is part of the Finnish justice system in legislation. It is overseen by the Human Rights Committee to whom also private persons can file a complaint (Sámediggi, n.d.-a; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966).

- ILO 169

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 169 was accepted in 1989. Of the Nordic countries, only Norway and Denmark have ratified the Convention. Finland has occasionally made it its goal to ratify the Convention and has reviewed the possibility of ratification by statements from ministries and the Sámi Parliament. Despite the encouragement of the Sámi Parliament, the ratification has not proceeded. Articles 14 and 15 of the Convention concern indigenous peoples' rights to land, water and resources (Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, (No. 169), 1989; Sámediggi, n.d.-a).

Finnish legal framework

- Constitutional position and the Act on the Sámi Parliament: Sámi definition, Obligation to Negotiate and green colonialism

According to the Finnish constitution §17 the Sámi as an indigenous people have the right to maintain and develop their language and culture (Suomen Perustuslaki, 1999). Furthermore, the Sámi have linguistic and cultural autonomy in the Sámi home region as outlined in the constitution §121 and further elaborated in the Act of Sámi Parliament (Laki Saamelaiskäräjistä, 1995; Suomen Perustuslaki, 1999). The act also defines a Sámi person eligible to vote in the Sámi Parliament elections as someone who identifies as Sámi and:

(1) That they or at least one of their parents or grandparents has learnt Sámi as their first language; or (2) That they are a descendent of a person who has been entered in a land, taxation or population register as a mountain, forest or fishing Lapp; or (3) That at least one of their parents has or could have been registered as an elector for an election to the Sámi Delegation or the Sámi Parliament (Laki Saamelaiskäräjistä, 1995).

The second part of the definition is especially problematic: while, for instance, the Sámi language clause only goes back a few generations, the Lapp clause dates back with no temporal limit and does not mean that a person would be Sámi (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 277–293). Most importantly, this is not accepted by the Sámi as it is seen as an attempt by Finns to gain power and access to Sámi rights –it is illustrative that once the

clause was introduced, there was a flood of applications primarily from people who had previously opposed Sámi rights. Not to mention, using the word Lapp to refer to the Sámi is insulting. The Sámi instead highlight having a living connection to Sámi culture and their right to self-determination. There have been multiple cases where the Supreme Administrative Court in Finland has decided in favour of the Lapp clause in disputes of Sámi representation and thereby forcibly let people not accepted by the Sámi community into the Sámi Parliament (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 277–293). This has also generated question as to the legitimacy of the Sámi Parliament among the Sámi community in Finland (Juuso in Vihreät nuoret, 2021; West, 2021). Here, the Finnish legislation itself and state action are thus in contradiction with international treaties and obligations, like UN Declaration Articles 3 and 4 of the right to self-determination in general as well as the right to develop their own political systems in Articles 5 and 20, expressed also in the more legally binding ICCPR. International justice also views that self-identification includes group acceptance, and thus, the Sámi should be able to determine themselves who is eligible (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, p. 287).

Additionally, the yearbook decisions of the Supreme Administrative Court produce a contradictory notion of identity, where it is, on the one hand, something permanent and unchanging through generations, but at the individual level it can be strategically selected (Tervaniemi, 2019). There is a similar issue with ethnicity, where on the basis of one Sámi ancestor, one 'should' be declared Sámi, whereas a Sámi person's Sámi identity can be questioned based on one Finnish ancestor. These kinds of identity declarations of outsiders and cases have very real consequences concerning discourses and politics, namely racialisation and making experiences of true racialisation and discrimination invisible (Valkonen et al., 2018). The Supreme Administrative Court thus neglects that Sámi-ness is also a political community, next to ethnic identity (Tervaniemi, 2019).

In the latest case regarding the Sámi definition, the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland enlisted 93 people, whom the Sámi Parliament had previously declined, to the electoral register in 2015. The Sámi Parliament and a group of Sámi people filed complaints with the Human Rights Committee, which deemed in 2019 that the Finnish state acted in violation of the ICCPR (Articles 25 and 27) in regards to self-determination and was obliged to review Section 3 of the Sámi Parliament Act (definition of Sámi eligible to vote) to ensure that the self-determination of the Sámi is respected. The decisions also called for other necessary steps to prevent such violations in the future (2018a, 2018b; Tynkkynen, 2019). Despite this, the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland denied the Sámi Parliament's application for reversal, and the government did not allow cancellation or rescheduling of the Sámi elections in 2019, which the Sámi Parliament favoured to

avoid further violations before the legislation is amended: actions of the state that the Human Rights Committee found contrary to its previous recommendations (Oikeusministeriö, 2019; Sámediggi, 2019; UN Human Rights Committee, 2021).

In 2021, the Committee called for speeding up of the revision process of the Sámi Parliament Act, particularly sections 3 (Sámi definition) and 9 (Obligation to Negotiate) to ensure the principle to obtain free, prior and informed consent is followed. The Committee also recommended reviewing other legislation and the ratification of ILO 169 as well as ensuring the appropriate education of officials to respect indigenous rights. The implementation of the recommendations on the rights of the Sámi will be monitored in an expedited procedure (Sámediggi, 2021; UN Human Rights Committee, 2021). As a result, the Sámi definition has been reopened for reading but so far it has not been finalised.

The other part of the Sámi Parliament Act to be amended is Article 9 (Obligation to negotiate) whereby the state needs to negotiate with the Sámi Parliament on issues that concern the Sámi by providing opportunity to be heard and to negotiate. Finland has broken or misapplied the obligation on multiple occasions concerning, for example, the Arctic Railway and *Deatnu* (Tana River, in Finnish Teno) Treaty. There have been experiences of hearings for show, in which the decisions have already been made prior to the hearing; hearings conducted in late stages of the process; and/or Sámi voices being ignored. For example, the Sámi Parliament heard on the news in 2017 about the Ministry for Transport's reopening of the Arctic Railway initiative (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 229–239). Cutting through the Sámi area the railway would have had disastrous consequences to reindeer herding and the entire Sámi culture. It was discontinued only once it was determined to be financially unviable, but it had been brought back time and again before, and in 2019, the Sámi community and the Sámi Parliament had another surprise on the news about reinitiating the railway—this time from businessman Peter Vesterbacka. The initiative was also green washed to support sustainable transport to the North while the primary plan was to get access to resources, namely fossil fuels, which would emerge from under the melting polar ice. After years of Sámi protest and resistance, the railway was taken out of the regional plan of North Lapland in 2021 (Yle, 2021a).

The Deatnu Treaty of 2017 is another dire example: local Sámi representatives were formally involved but were made to wait in the hallway, while Finnish and Norwegian state officials made the decisions behind closed doors (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 175–180; Vilpponen, 2019, pp. 51–60). The Sámi Parliament was involved in 'negotiations' only after states had already agreed. Moreover, the result was that the fishing rights of the indigenous Sámi were cut the most (80%), while tourists' the least (40%) despite

Sámi protest. Both the Deputy Chancellor of Justice and the Constitutional Law Committee in Finland stated that the Ministry for Forestry had broken the Obligation to Negotiate (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 175–180). While the Finnish law here currently does not require taking Sámi views into consideration (merely hearing them), international treaties do, as is also apparent from the UN HRC decision that calls for Finland to amend the Obligation to Negotiate.

While the Sámi also gained victories in courts regarding the Deatnu treaty (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 181–182), the current ban on fishing on Deatnu provides yet another example. Though the idea seems to have good intentions, giving the salmon stock a chance to recover, it is another example of a decision that was made without consultation or consent of the Sámi, whom it affects as Sámi traditional knowledge and skills require using them (Ellos Deatnu, 2021). Moreover, if fishing is banned this knowledge cannot be transmitted to the next generation. Not to mention, the Sámi have fished responsibly for generations and the idea that people need to be separated from nature in order to protect it, is a majority Finnish perspective. The activist movement Ellos Deatnu, vocal already in protesting the Deatnu Treaty, continues to advocate for Sámi rights on Deatnu waters. The Deatnu cases also show what kind of outcomes the majority perspective and the Finnish 'equality' ideal, in the sense that everyone has the same rights despite indigeneity and different starting points, can produce.

Both Deatnu cases relate to a wider manifestation of colonialism, specifically green/eco colonialism, in which indigenous lands or resources are used (often by states) 'renewably' to fulfil the needs of the majority, not the indigenous (Laiti, 2021b; Nordic Sámi youth conference, 2021). As stated by Laiti, because the power relations are unequal and the Sámi are not permitted a place in decision making, it is easy for the states to be ignorant of or disregard Sámi views and make decisions that are 'good' and justified from their cultural perspective but are in fact made at the expense of indigenous cultures regardless of whether the initial intention was good. Thus, it continues the same legacy of colonialism, even though the arguments are different: the state still acts as if it knows better than the Sámi themselves what is good for the Sámi, or alternatively, works towards its own interests at the expense of the Sámi with the underlying assumption that indigenous lands and resources do not belong to the indigenous but the 'discoverer' (Laiti, 2021; Laiti in Vihreät nuoret, 2021). Laiti continues that when the climate crisis is sought to be solved in this manner, the 'common future' means no future for the Sámi.

In addition to the Deatnu case, examples of green colonialism include wind park initiatives in *Sápmi*, which have disregarded Sámi opposition and proceeded despite detrimental impacts for traditional livelihoods and Sámi cultures as a whole (Laiti, 2021b).

Another example is mining companies exploring *Sápmi* to produce 'green' electric cars as a justification (Hirvasvuopio in Vihreät nuoret, 2021). Initiatives and movements resisting mining in *Sápmi* include Kaivostoiminnalle rajat (Boundaries for mining) citizen's initiative and Ei kaivoksia Suomen käsivarteen (No mines in North West Finland) collective. The Sámi are also in a particularly vulnerable position due to the climate crisis as the culture (systems, knowledge, language, everything) is founded on the connection to land. Thus, as noted by many, losing this connection through changing circumstances in nature poses a threat to the culture by threatening traditional livelihoods and rendering indigenous knowledge useless, including expressions and words in Sámi languages (Laiti, 2021b; Nordic Sámi youth conference, 2021).

The Sámi also have deep knowledge of the environment and have seen signs of climate change since the 1960s (Laiti, 2021b). In fact, 80% of the world's biodiversity is in areas inhabited by indigenous peoples, which are roughly 20% of the world's land area, areas wrongfully thought to be 'untouched' or 'uninhabited'. Now, states have become interested in indigenous knowledge, but for seemingly self-serving reasons which render the indigenous voiceless and leave their acquired knowledge in an unequal position (Laiti, 2021b; Nordic Sámi youth conference, 2021). Connected to this, the Sámi face contradictory pressures from the majority: while the indigenous way of life is made into an exotic ideal, there is also scepticism from outsiders regarding where indigenous livelihoods are "indigenous enough" if they employ modern technologies (Laiti, 2021b).

- Linguistic rights and their fulfilment

The linguistic rights are further elaborated in the Sámi Language Act (Saamen Kielilaki, 2003). In the legislation Sámi language refers to North Sámi (*Davvisámegiella),* Inari Sámi *(Anarâškielâ)* and Skolt Sámi *(Nuõrttsää'mm)* §3. The authorities subject to the act include authorities in the Sámi home area and authorities whose area of activities include the Sámi home area.

In practice, in the home area, the Sámi always have the right to use Sámi language when visiting authorities (Oikeusministeriö, n.d.; Sámediggi, n.d.-b). It is the authorities' responsibility to ensure that they can provide services in Sámi. Moreover, they are obliged to provide interpretation and translation services if they do not have personnel competent in the Sámi language in question. Getting services in your own language should not require effort from the service recipient, so one should not need to ask for or demand such services. Outside of the home area, the Sámi also have the right to use Sámi with authorities, but this is restricted to personal matters. The authorities subjected to the Act

also need to use Sámi language in their general notices (Oikeusministeriö, n.d.; Sámediggi, n.d.-b).

Concerning right to education in Sámi, the Sámi have a right to early childhood education in Sámi language in all of Finland (Varhaiskasvatuslaki, 2018) (§8). In practice, only Helsinki, Oulu and Rovaniemi organise early childhood education in Sámi outside of the home area (Arola, 2021, p. 21). According to the Basic Education Act, teaching for those who know Sámi should be organised mainly in Sámi in the Sámi home area (Perusopetuslaki, 1998). Outside, they are entitled to two hours/week first language teaching provided that the municipality organises it. Regarding social and health services, the Sámi have the right to use Sámi in offices within the home area and, by extension, within the Hospital District of Lapland. Outside the home area, other legislation states that the language of the patient, their individual demands and culture should be taken into consideration in their treatment. These are backed by the Non-Discrimination Act (Oikeusministeriö, n.d.; Sámediggi, n.d.-b).

In summary, the language rights are much wider within the Sámi home area, whereas outside they are limited to early childhood education in Sámi and engagement with certain authorities in Sámi as outlined by in the Language Act as well as general language provisions (Oikeusministeriö, n.d.). Municipalities outside the Sámi home area are also not eligible to get government support to organise early childhood or basic education nor social and health services in Sámi (Arola, 2021, pp. 13–15).

According to Arola's (2021) Sámi language barometer report published by the Ministry of Justice, the Sámi assessed their opportunity to receive services in Sámi language as inadequate: only 7% in the Sámi home area, where the rights are widest, thought access to be good. Nearly half thought the situation to be weak. Outside the home area, only a fourth consider the situation even satisfactory. Many do not attempt to get services in Sámi, which could be explained by the poor situation, negative attitudes towards such attempts and bad experiences. In open responses on experiences, there were none that were unequivocally positive. However, there were some differences between groups and areas: Inari and Skolt Sámi language rights have the weakest position along with North Sámi speakers in Sodankylä, whereas the rights are best fulfilled for the North Sámi speakers in Utsjoki, the only municipality in Finland with a Sámi majority. Yet, even in Utsjoki there are shortcomings (Arola, 2021).

According to the report, the fulfilment of Sámi language rights is weak both in and outside the home area due primarily to the lack of Sámi speaking personnel along with officials' inadequate knowledge of the Sámi Language Act, little information on the provision of

services in Sámi language and shortcomings in the practicality of services (Arola, 2021). Contributing to the unfulfillment of language rights are deficiencies in learning materials in Sámi languages (much of it is outdated) and insufficient educational models for social and health professionals in Sámi as well as those of early childhood education personnel and teachers (Arola, 2020; Korpela, 2020; Miettunen, 2021; OKM, 2021b). Of course, this links to the funding or rather the lack of it, which is returned to later.

Additionally, two-thirds of the Sámi barometer respondents felt that they have no influence over decisions concerning linguistic rights at the state level (Arola, 2021, p. 68). In fact, it seems not much has changed as the results are consistent with previous reports published throughout the decades regardless of different approaches (whether asking the Sámi, service recipients, or municipality personnel, service providers) or organisations conducting the assessments (different Ministries, Sámediggi etc.) (Arola, 2021, pp. 15–18).

> *It's absurd that something like this is published. This kind of assessment and then we don't get funding for a Sámi language information and guidance website in which we invest with our own money [...] There were some recommendations, surprise surprise, the same as last year* --Chair of the Youth Council

It is thus no wonder that also Arola's first recommendation in line with calls from the Sámi community is to move from assessments to action. The respondents and the report also gave concrete recommendations on improving the situation, for instance, educating personnel who know Sámi languages, improving the visibility of services in Sámi language and organising Sámi language teaching/primary education (the last one outside the Sámi home area). Working on attitudes and tightening the law by making it more obligatory were also mentioned (Arola, 2020, pp. 57, 71–74).

3.3.1   Reflecting on the current situation

Besides the Finnish legislation itself breaching the rights of the Sámi, this is also a matter of structural racism[9]—the Sámi do not need to be listened to at the moment and at the official level the power of the Sámi is very limited putting them into an unequal and inferior position. Colonialism and racism tend to go hand in hand (Keskinen et al., 2021). In addition to the lack of political will and competing interests, a significant factor in the

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[9] Racism, racial superiority that is ingrained in institutional practices and structures of the society. Causes inequalities by inhibiting access to for instance power and resources. Also health disparieties between different racialised groups often included into this (Agénor et al., 2021; Keskinen et al., 2021). Much overlap with structural violence (ks. Galtung, 1969) (structural racism is also structural violence), in the thesis I use structural racism more.

continuation of the situation is widespread unawareness and lack of knowledge in society, which reaches high level officials and the government (Ranta in Vihreät nuoret, 2021). One teacher who had been involved in politics mentioned open discrimination within the system:

> *Unfortunately, there is open discrimination of the Sámi in decision making, not in public meetings but behind closed doors, exactly like I described that 'oh these Sámi, do we need to hear them too, but they just fight among themselves'. Among politicians there is a lot of unawareness and we were planning something, it did not happen, but when I was in politics we tried to initiate this sort of Dihtosis for Members of Parliament with Sámi Parliament, that we would have held a big seminar day for example [...] among politicians and Members of Parliament there are both, there are standpoints and attitudes that defend minority rights in all respects and then there is the attitude that 'do we have to consider the Sámi again'*

Many Sámi also have this experience of the state including attempts at silencing and questioning of one's work based on being Sámi (S. West, 2021a). Next to use of power, this is also racism. The Finnish state has also not given a formal apology for the treatment of the Sámi as has been done in Norway and Sweden (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, 29, 234). Nevertheless, there have been positive developments as well, such as taking the Arctic Railway out of the regional plan, reviving Sámi languages, the flourishing of Sámi activism and pride towards Sámi identities and the National Museum repatriating the Sámi collection to *Siida* in *Sápmi* (Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 7, 30–32; Suomen kansallismuseo, 2021; Yle, 2021a). Truth and reconciliation processes have also been started in Norway, Sweden, and Finland, but the processes and commission structures have considerable differences (Juuso in Historians without Borders, 2021). Though these processes could be seen as a positive development in terms of the state possibly taking responsibility for the past and present injustices, they more represent final attempts to improve the situation:

> *Instituting the truth and reconciliation commission is not a pleasure nor a victory. This extreme operation is undertaken, because previous measures to defend Sámi areas and cultures have not been sufficient in changing attempts to assimilate the Sámi into the majority culture. Starting the commission is a moment of collective grief aware of the fact that many did not receive justice in their own lifetime.* –The previous Chair of the Sámi Parliament, Tiina Sanila-Aikio (in Juuso, 2021)

There is also scepticism towards the truth and reconciliation process as other state actions have been contradictory to their spirit—concrete actions are necessary, all of which

need not wait till the end of the process (Kuokkanen in Historians without Borders, 2021; Kuokkanen, 2020; West, 2021a). Unawareness in the society regarding the Sámi is discussed further in the next section, which leads us into discussing the connection between knowledge and power.

3.4 Lack of knowledge and awareness in the majority and its implications

A critical issue is the system's failure to provide accurate knowledge of the Sámi and their perspectives: knowledge in the majority is low, sometimes non-existent, something the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance has stated several times in its reports for Finland (Tammela, 2019). The lack of knowledge was also something the teachers mentioned as a hindrance to teaching about the topic, and many said that in order to improve the position of the Sámi and to avoid stereotypes and hate speech, it is important to increase it in the majority. Thus, the lack of knowledge can be seen to hinder proper discussion and confrontation of these issues. The previous sections are, thus, crucial knowledge to have in order to understand and hear Sámi voices so as to avoid epistemic violence, since the "Sámi issues" are linked to this whole web of previous experiences. Additionally, in this section experiences are brought forth, in which everyday racism, structural racism and psychological violence[10] are evident. Everyday racism can include for example hostile calling out, exotising or patronising behavior—it does not concern incidental occurences, but recurrence of the power structure in everyday situations.

As several authors argue, in Finland, the Sámi are continuously left out of the national narrative where Finland has been characterized as the victim of injustice in relation to Sweden and Russia/the Soviet Union (e.g. Ranta & Kanninen, 2019, pp. 23-27). Moreover, building a strong state involved the idea of a united nation: one people, one mind, one language. Tuominen (2011) argues that the Sámi did not fit into these narratives, so they were left out and neither the colonial aspects nor the histories of the North in general are known by most majority population Finns. The hegemonic political and cultural discourses of Finland as an equal and fair Nordic welfare state for their part discredit the perceived legitimacy of any alternative narratives of the state according to Nyyssönen (2013, pp. 104, 114–115), including the colonial experiences and rights infringements.

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[10] Violence that works on the mind, for instance lies, threatening, pressuring, indoctrination etc, which serve to decrease mental potentialities (Galtung, 1969). I raise it here on its own, but it is good to remember that both colonialism and racism can be seen (among other things) as wide-scale psychological violence.

Regarding the level of knowledge, the teachers were also unanimous about the lack of knowledge and awareness in the majority though few also mentioned some improvement. Teachers described the situation in the following manner:

> *It is something unknown, there is no concrete connection. It is known that the Sámi exist, but that's it. --Teacher Kalajoki*

> *There are still people who think that the Sámi only wear the Sámi dress for example --Teacher intern*

> *It easily goes past in every area of life, school, news, free time –Teacher Tampere*

Some also mentioned that the older generation seems to know more though their 'knowledge' is coloured by stereotypes, whereas the younger generations know of the existence of the Sámi, but not much more and do not necessarily have the stereotypes. Where do we get our knowledge? As the educational system is detailed in the following sections, here, I will focus on the media and experiences related to awareness.

In the mainstream media, the coverage of Sámi views and issues is minimal, and thus, Sámi agendas do not reach the wider public in order to catalyse public discussion (Pietikäinen, 2003, p. 603). Additionally, when news stories are made, there are major issues in conduct and reporting: Sámi individuals have expressed late reporting, not being understood due to insufficient knowledge and different worldviews, communicational issues as well as stories leaving out arguments and/or the background of problems, words taken out of context and leaving out voices, all of which highly influence the depiction of issues relating to the Sámi if they are found newsworthy for the majority at all (Paltto, 2017; Vilpponen, 2019, pp. 66–77). Depictions are often stereotypical or essentialist by presenting one Sámi viewpoint as representative of everyone, the Sámi always getting upset, or as the Sámi fighting among themselves, which then calls into question the necessity of giving collective rights. The thought itself is faulty: it is ok for Finnish politicians to disagree and argue in parliament, but when the Sámi disagree, discuss and argue about an issue, they are 'fighting' (Suvi West in Yle, 2021). West continues that certain issues, such as those relating to gender and sexual minorities, are not discussed as there is concern that elements of the discussion could be used by the majority as another justification for maintaining power. Next to other issues there may also not be much space for it. A Sámi also stated based on their experience of coverage of the Deatnu treaty that media reporting on the issues of the majority population do not depict stories that reflect negatively on the majority population (Vilpponen, 2019, pp. 64–65).

Additionally, Sámi people who have been visible in media or worked for Sámi media have experiences of hate speech, harassment, the spreading of disinformation and

threats aimed at silencing them (Näkkäläjärvi, 2021). Näkkäläjärvi identified threats to Sámi freedom of speech in their thesis, which included silencing, subjugation by e.g. stereotypes, delegitimising Sámi individuals and the Sámi Parliament, active spreading of disinformation and epistemological destruction. In their essay, Näkkäläjärvi connected these threats to Berit Ås' five techniques of domination: making invisible, ridicule, withholding information, double bind and blaming and shaming. Thus, this concerns epistemic and psychological violence as well as structural racism.

Teachers also stated that topics are rarely presented in mainstream media and that the depictions are faulty:

> *I think the public discussion still sort of guilt-trips the Sámi for defending their rights. This kind of 'they got upset' statement is used, and it stems from the 'you can't say anything anymore' argument like defending minorities and objecting human rights violations always do. This is still very common in the discussion culture in Finland as well, people just don't see why it's wrong to violate the rights of minorities. – Teacher Oulu*

> *The stories that are given attention are always exceptional case, problems or fights or something like this. —Teacher Tampere*

It is also worth noting that in addition to negative experiences, some Sámi individuals have reported positive experiences and some journalists are well aware of Sámi issues (Leukumaavaara, 2017, pp. 35–37). Moreover, there is a difference between Sámi media and the mainstream media. However, some of the abovementioned issues extend to Sámi media, and it has also received strong critique from Sámi individuals, for instance, on working according to frameworks set out by the national companies under which they work, resulting in various similar issues (Vilpponen, 2019, pp. 77–79).

For instance, the Sámi language *Ođđasat* (news) do however bring information, also to the majority. Several of the teachers mentioned having watched or at least knowing of the news. A Sámi teacher described them as having a positive influence and providing a more official position to the languages.

> *It has a positive effect--the Sámi language and culture are an official thing in this country, since we have the news [...] maybe many don't know that Moomins and other things have been translated into Sámi. It's pretty nice to hear that. You need to listen to it for a while that you get into the rhythm and such. That this is how it sounds like, the language becomes real --Sámi teacher*

A few also expressed positivity in the increased content, visible especially around the Sámi national day 2021, which also included more critical content considering the state

as well as having children's shows in Sámi languages—Moomins and Unna junna. They also mentioned that the increased visibility has probably required a lot of work.

In sum, the mainstream media, though it has recently showed some improvement, is where issues are most drastic and where the power lies. In other words, the mainstream media is one of the places where the Sámi are kept out of majority consciousness, and if there is a glimpse, it is in many ways deficient. Stories that are made, for which one often needs to look, do not make it to lead stories. The media is, in this case central in forming attitudes: Attitudes' primary sources according to Pedersen, Walker at al. (2011, p. 60) are values and indirect and direct experience. Most members of the majority have no direct experience or knowledge of having one with a Sámi, which gives indirect experience, namely media and informal social networks—the attitudes of others we know or are connected to—more power. Values of course differ between people and groups and are more difficult to address collectively here, but I would argue along with for instance Nyyssönen (2013) that the Finnish society is to a degree built on a sense of equality, fair welfare system and, traditionally a narrow, unified and homogenous image of its people (Tervonen, 2014), which does not question for whom and by whom the systems are built, who is left out, equality by which and whose standards. As noted also by critical pedagogue Kristiina Brunila (Puttonen, 2021) in terms of the educational system, this can produce an impression that the state and its systems are 'equal' and 'fair' for all and thus action to support disadvantaged groups as unnecessary or unequal—problems are often seen to be far away. On social media there is a lot of content by Sámi individuals, activists and groups but one must follow the right people to be in the loop.

As the knowledge level in general is low, and there are, as mentioned, issues with depictions, Sámi individuals are faced with stereotypes, hate speech, harassment and exotisation. Their Sámi identity, for instance, can be questioned by members of the majority population when it does not match the idea that the majority have of the Sámi, though defining Sámi identities is not the task of the majority in the first place, but a matter of self-determination of the Sámi (Laiti, 2021a). This sort of exotisation and identity assumptions based on being Sámi are an example of everyday racism. Laiti and some of the teachers also mentioned increasing curiosity towards the Sámi. This is often well-intentioned, and it is good that people would like to increase their knowledge, but many Sámi individuals are also tired of answering everyone's questions about the Sámi as exemplified by the following experiences:

> *No bullying (in their own experience), but it's pretty exhausting. If you'd like to focus on something and then people ask you, it's very tiring. Mostly it's sincere and good-willed but you get tired of it really quickly. It's easy to hide in the mass and not*

necessarily bring up that you're Sámi when you don't have the energy to answer all the funny questions. --Dihtosis, Sámi

Throughout life you've gotten accustomed to educating people about the Sámi. There is this sort of attitude that this is something that I'll probably do till I die…I've noticed that in those workshops it's nice to explain anything and everything about the Sámi, but during my studies I remember that once you said that you were Sámi, I started to get fed up with it a little, as the questions were always the same, not necessarily prejudiced, but always the same questions--that became boring when all the situations where you meet someone went in the way that ok now this person gets to know that I'm Sámi and from Sápmi and now the conversation will only be about that.--Dihtosis, Sámi

The need to educate the majority is not restricted to peer encounters, but also extends to professionals: the Sámi often need to educate lawyers about rights issues or psychologists about history and culture (Erholtz et al., 2021, p. 39; Holmberg, 2021). Regarding mental health, in addition to issues that are typical for the majority, the Sámi can have continuous anxiety and pressure concerning the continuity of their culture, ethnostress, trauma of their own or intergenerational trauma, experiences of silencing and non-listening due to or connected to the many already mentioned social injustices, which affect the need for help, and suicides are on average more common in the Sámi population when compared with the majority. Yet, getting help in Finland in any of the Sámi languages is nearly impossible (Rahko, Sámediggi & Somby-Rahko in Mikkonen, 2017).

Furthermore, as exemplified by the previous quotes, bringing out one's Sámi identity can lead to a hijacking of the conversation to solely evolve around that topic even when it has not been the purpose of conversation (West in Yle, 2021b). A Sámi can also be falsely expected to be an expert in everything related to Sámi, whether it is rights, a political issue or culture: "You should be the expert of every field and topic—You should know everything about everything because you are Sámi" (Dihtosis, Sámi). It is no wonder that many sometimes adopt strategies such as being more selective of what one participates in or not bringing out their Sámi identity (not that one would need to) at least right away:

Then I learned to be very skilful at leaving out the fact about where I'm from and everything when even that got people excited, so you had to keep a low profile and say that I'm not from here and then really start asking the other person something. And then if they later found out this very exciting fact that I'm from Sápmi, then it

> *was not so exciting anymore as they had already noticed that this is a pretty normal person --Dihtosis, Sámi*

On the other hand, unawareness can create pressure and a sense of responsibility to make people more aware, to improve the situation:

> *Of course, there is a lot of research fatigue and also interview fatigue—research fatigue is the one that is talked about but the interview fatigue is left a little, it's not talked about that much, but you just have to, you have to keep going and it's shit. --Chair of the Youth Council*

Sometimes false beliefs about the Sámi have even been considered funny in a way, as they have been so far from the reality:

> *They have felt pretty unreal, like really you think like that (laughing). So amusingly far away from the truth that it makes you laugh a little, but at the same time you have to explain to that person how it really is. They sincerely think it's how they say. --Dihtosis, Sámi*

Additionally, the unawareness brings out emotions on both counterparts, not limited to frustration and tiredness but also, for instance, feeling ashamed of not knowing as a member of the majority.

> *It's pretty common and usually at the beginning of each interview or these sorts of things it's the first thing that 'yeah, I know very little of the Sámi'. It's not a bad thing that you say it, but it makes you feel a little awkward because I don't want that people have a bad conscience about the fact that they don't know because it's not their fault.-- Chair of the Youth Council*

Of course, and very importantly, it is not the individual's fault that they do not know:

> *We know that individuals are not responsible for this…the system had failed them too. --Chair of the Youth Council*

> *You shouldn't have a bad conscience because of it because we have not had it in our education. We would have learned for sure if it had been brought up more and discussed the issues but that's not the case. --Dihtosis non-Sámi*

That being said feeling ashamed, though one needs not, or feeling sad about the situation is natural, but when expressed towards a Sámi (the primarily disadvantaged in the situation), it can result in feelings of awkwardness and/or need to show compassion--a situation where a Sámi needs to also receive the emotional load from the majority, not only that of their own, or sometimes even comfort a member of the majority for hearing the Sámi side of the situation (Nuorgam, 2021). In the latter, as noted by Nuorgam, the

majority steals the focus, whether intentionally or not, and recentres it to themselves. The intention is not to say that one should not have feelings or could not express them, but merely to question, whether in this situation, a Sámi person is the best outlet (Nuorgam, 2021). This kind of hegemony of emotions is also visible in the public discourse on cultural appropriation, where despite the Sámi or other groups saying that it is disrespectful and hurtful, some majority members insist that this behaviour should be seen as flattery or useful (see e.g. Hapuli, 2021). In essence, the majority tells how others are supposed to feel about their actions rather than respecting the feelings and views of others and changing behaviour accordingly. This can be seen to indicate the colonisation of minds of the majority, through which it has become 'natural' for some that we would have the right to know and ask about everything, to touch anything (for instance the Sámi dress of a stranger (see e.g. Laiti, 2021c)) and to ultimately define truths, emotions and identities of not only ours but those of others. And so far, it seems that even when we are provided with perspectives different from the majority, the majority ones are the ones that largely prevail.

This is not to say that all cases of cultural appropriation would always be straightforward as cultures are not fixed, and, in some cases, there may be differences within a group as to which practices are acceptable and which are culturally appropriative as well as questions of who gets to determine this. However, instead of diffusing accusations of cultural appropriation with inspiration, uncritical fluidity (flow of things without questioning the origins of and blockages created by seemingly fluid conditions; can also be the result of oppressive systems), and historization (claiming multiple/different origins), attention should be paid to the socio-political context—often the ultimate issue—in which these claims are made (Kyriakides, 2017). Thus, especially considering the context of the Sámi presented in previous sections, issues and cases of cultural appropriation should be taken seriously.

However, many Dihtosis members noted that there is less hate speech than some years ago, and also the majority knows a bit more, as stated below:

> *They were very oblivious, I mean very oblivious, and nowadays it feels like people have some basic information about the Sámi and they might even know that the Sámi live in the current time among people. That's good. --Dihtosis, Sámi*

Especially recently, Sámi individuals and organisations have also produced many publications, documentaries, books and projects from which the majority can gain more knowledge, understanding and concrete instructions—the improvements can thus be seen as an ode to these people. Examples of these include Halla Helle, Eatnameamet,

Katkeamaton, Vehádat vehádaga siste and blogs, columns and social media content. Also, the ethical guidelines for Sámi tourism to combat multiple persistent issues in tourism, such as cultural appropriation, provide an example (Sámediggi, 2018). The issues in the tourism industry also reflect unawareness. Though there is more material available, the improvement has been partial, and this has led to backlashes and polarisation:

> *When you don't know anything, then a lot of things can seem a bit strange [...] it's unfortunate that this kind of apology (of offensive skits) can lead to it turning upside down that all of a sudden there are more people who are wondering why there are these 'overly sensitive people', somehow it feels like we have these two sides and they cannot meet in any way and I recognise that I'm also, if I see such a piece of writing, like 'what on earth does this mean' then I right away think 'what kind of a crazy person is that'. It's unfortunate that we don't meet but it's just polarised. -- Teacher*

This indicates the need for more systemic approaches as the responsibility lies within larger systems.

4. THEORY: KNOWLEDGE, POWER AND AGENCY

In this section, the relationship between knowledge, power and agency is discussed, including related concepts such as of regimes of truth, institutional forgetting, epistemic violence and dangerous memories along with how these connect to both what has already been presented and the following sections. Needless to say, also other theories or concepts could be used and the discussions of concepts here are not complete. These selections have been made on the basis of both data and literature and have been agreed upon together with my collaborators. More specifically, I found these elements evident in both what the teachers and the Dihtosis group brought up. Additionally, the connection between knowledge and power is discussed in post-colonial texts and indigenous research (see e.g. Childs & Williams, 2006; Chilisa, 2012), which considering the presented context seems suitable. Especially in indigenous research agency is also an important element.

In Foucault's studies on power relations, power is defined not as a possession but regarded as a strategy that acts in a certain way and, importantly, evokes resistance. Thus, power is not owned, but power relations exist in all human interactions and relational structures and these relations must be continuously renewed (Balan, 2010). Foucault also views power and knowledge as deeply integrated into one another: power is founded on knowledge but also produces knowledge. Therefore, knowledge works as a form of power and disseminates its effects. Hence, relations of power pass via knowledge (Foucault, 1980, pp. 51–69).

Perhaps more concretely, the idea of knowledge and power is developed in Said's Orientalism, where the study of the East is regarded as part of the self-formation of a European identity that was used to justify the expansion of influence: due to the power, knowledge production about the Orient among other forms of power were possible, which justified colonialism, the success of which validated the knowledge produced and developed further avenues for its production in the future (Childs & Williams, 2006, pp. 99–100; Choudhury, 2016, pp. 82–83). In other words, knowledge was produced from a certain power position justifying that position (producing a regime of truth) and thus renewing these positions. Therefore, "knowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to make itself true" (Foucault in Hall, 1997, p. 49) creating 'regimes of truth':

Truth isn't outside power…Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (Foucault, 1980, p. 131)

Though every society has their regimes of truth, some regimes, often those of the majority have more power and can define societal organisation and thus also overflow or even aim to define those of others. The regimes of truth also work as a foundation for forming collective and institutional memories as well as what is forgotten. Collective memory refers to memories shared by a social group, where "one may say that the individual remembers by placing himself in the perspective of the group, but one may also affirm that the memory of the group realizes and manifests itself in individual memories" (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 40). The notion of collective memory, although 'slippery' and criticised due to its ambiguous nature, can be regarded as both people's shared recollections of past events and their embodiment in technologies, including, for instance, films, memoirs, songs and documentaries (Conway, 2003, p. 309; Kansteiner, 2002, p. 180). Further, collective memory is an intertwined outcome of

1. the intellectual and cultural traditions that frame all our representations of the past

2. the memory makers who selectively adopt and manipulate these traditions,

3. and the memory consumers who use, ignore, or transform such artifacts according to their own interests (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 180).

Moreover, collective memory involves both the individual process of remembering and an embeddedness in society in the form of social practices and institutions (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012, p. 56). This entails its nature being interactive, negotiated and selective, and thus, it can be manipulated, for instance in schools. Collective memory thus also has an element of present and future as the past is reconstructed on the basis of the present and therefore goes about popular consciousness (Halbwachs, 1992; Kansteiner, 2002, p. 180; Ostovich, 2005, p. 42). Thus, what and how things are remembered both past and present issues, are often in line with and reconstruct the dominant regime of truth. Furthermore, collective memory provides a foundation for collective (group) and/or national identities by producing a sense of self in and through the communities in which individuals belong and relate to others (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012, p. 55; Conway,

2003, pp. 310–313; Ostovich, 2005, p. 42). Memories can be constructed and communicated through storytelling, in the form of narratives (Linde, 2015).

Collective memory also resides in institutions--its practices, written records, procedures and the way they are used or regarded in interactions (Linde, 2009, pp. 7–13)--what is taught in the educational system for instance, the curriculum and materials can then be regarded as forms of institutional memory. In the same sense, what is not taught and left out can be regarded as institutional forgetting, although remembering and forgetting are not opposing terms but can co-exist in different forms. Institutional forgetting is also a term that has been used to describe how minority or indigenous cultures have to a large extent been made to forget their own cultural practices through hegemonic systems (JanMohamed & Lloyd, 1991, p. 6; Lehtola, 2015b, p. 26). Next to this, the majority forgets other perspectives and often issues that are seen as detrimental to the current world order—if not forgotten altogether, their representation is framed in a manner that what and how things are remembered (and what kind of aspects are forgotten) are in line with the regime of truth, for instance not portraying the Sámi as a people, but a minority. Hence, the rights implications are not the same. In essence, much of what we consider knowledge, and neutral knowledge at that is based on power structure and memory, which by nature is selective and has purpose.

Spivak more explicitly widens the scope of post-colonial discourse of power and knowledge to include neo-colonial structures, racism, classism, sexism and the international division of labour (Childs & Williams, 2006, 157). Moreover, they speak of how situated knowledge and history have become accepted as normative ones, supressing other forms of knowledge and alternative histories as inferior and inadequate (Spivak, 1994, 76-78). Furthermore, Spivak talks of epistemic violence, which attempts to eliminate knowledge possessed by marginal groups by for instance damaging a group's ability to speak and to be heard (Dotson, 2011). Thus, institutional forgetting itself as well as presenting collective memories as neutral knowledge can be viewed as forms of epistemic violence as it inhibits understanding and true listening of in this case Sámi voices.

Furthermore, epistemic violence can include both failure to identify a person (often through affiliation to a certain group) as a knower and coerced self-silencing, where the immediate audience is or is perceived as situatedly ignorant, "unwilling or unable to gain the appropriate uptake" (Dotson, 2011, p. 244), and the content of the issue as risk. Thus, one truncates one's own testimony. For instance, African American women may stay silent about domestic violence towards women within their communities, since bringing up the issue may further stereotypes about their communities in general as well as 'violent' black men (Dotson, 2011).

Next to discourse and representation epistemic violence can also be linked to structures of eurocentrism, capitalism, profit maximisation, nation state and materialism (Brunner, 2021) and according to Shiva it can produce 'violence against the subject of knowledge, the object of knowledge, the beneficiary of knowledge, and against knowledge itself' (Shiva in Brunner, 2021, pp. 201–202). In connecting epistemic violence to capitalism Shiva links it also to the climate crisis through understanding nature as exploitable for resources. Furthermore, epistemic violence is tightly connected to other forms of violence, structural[11] and by default also physical and direct violence (Brunner, 2021; Galtung, 1969). Epistemic violence is embedded in the systems of knowledge at our disposal, upon which creating alternative epistemologies often relies (Dotson, 2014), and therefore, avoiding it completely is difficult.

Based on the discussions in the previous sections, these notions of knowledge regimes and epistemic violence are clearly evident in majority-Sámi relations and work as part of the logic of elimination of settler colonialism: the dominant collective memory narratives of Finland as a victim of injustice themselves on the one hand and an equal and fair state on the other are versions of the majority regimes of truth, through which Sámi histories of the past and present are discounted and institutionally forgotten. This includes widespread epistemic violence towards the Sámi in multiple forms ranging from institutional forgetting to silencing, delegitimization and hate speech (to name a few) all the way to the point where people rather stay silent or certain issues (e.g. rainbow community) are not discussed to avoid providing the state with another opportunity at justification for not providing community rights. Moreover, while the materialistic, capitalist, utilitarian world order can be seen as epistemically violent for everyone through the climate crisis, through the Sámi people's vulnerable position due to traditional livelihoods not to mention green colonialism, it is simply put more violent towards the Sámi and other indigenous peoples. Finally, through the interconnectedness of power and knowledge, the position of the Sámi today can thus be thought of as both the cause and effect of the deficient knowledge in the majority and vice versa, deficient knowledge is both the cause and effect of the position of the Sámi. Also, Kuokkanen has interpreted the situation similarly:

> *When the majority population knows nearly nothing of the Sámi, it is possible to manipulate the decisions that involve the Sámi and public discussion about Sámi*

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[11] Violence embedded in structures, causing the difference between the potential (what could have been) and actual (what is). It may not involve a person who directly harms another but manifests in unequal power and thus unequal life chances. Can be referred to as social injustice (Galtung, 1969, pp. 168–171). Includes assumptions and practises that maintain inequality

rights in the way that the Sámi are seen, presented and understood according to majority interests and the Sámi have little opportunity to influence this. (Kuokkanen, 2007, p. 152).

Kuokkanen (2007, p. 152) adds that the lack of knowledge, ignorance and the fact that the current situation is not considered in the frame of colonialism maintains the in-recognition of Sámi rights as they are not seen as a separate people, and it recreates the uneven power relations.

Fortunately, this is not the whole story. The position of the Sámi would not have improved without Sámi agency, which has also awakened non-Sámi agency on the issue.

Human agency is often used to refer to individual's capacity to make decisions and implement them (Gordon, 2005, p. 115). Agency is thus closely linked to power as agency is not possible if one has no power to affect issues and make decisions—crucially, this includes having the possibility to choose (Giddens, 1984, pp. 283–284; Rahko-Ravantti, 2016, p. 27; Ronkainen, 1999, pp. 53–54). Simultaneously, repeated experiences of inequality, often related to one's position (social category), for instance, nationality, ethnic background, age, gender and social class can limit agency: people have different possibilities to plan, negotiate and build their agency shaped by the conditions of their position as well as abilities, capacities and skills (Giddens, 1984, pp. 281–284; Gordon, 2005, pp. 114–116; Rahko-Ravantti, 2016, p. 27). Therefore, power works as both a resource and limitation to agency (Eteläpelto et al., 2011, pp. 14–16).

Furthermore, agency is thus also relational, "built socially as part of institutions and communities, cultural understandings and norms as well as social relations", appearing as the situational dimension of a person in social categories (Ojala et al., 2009, pp. 21–22). These categories shape the reality and perceptions of what it is possible to do in certain situations. Agency is therefore contextually bound and in different contexts the possibilities and limitations as well as pressure for agency can vary (Pietilä-Litendahl, 2014, p. 25). The social categories also influence the responsibilities brought by social relations to family, friends and work, which can also shape agency (Ojala et al., 2009, pp. 20–23). The feeling of agency involves perceptions of one's possibilities to make decisions, the limitations of making decisions and concern for agency (Gordon, 2005, pp. 114–115).

The relationship between agency and structure is a debated one, ranging from everyone being the fully autonomous creator of their own future to being fully determined by structure in that it also defines forms of resistance (Eteläpelto et al., 2011, p. 20; Gordon, 2005, pp. 117–118). Here Giddens' (1984) approach of structuration theory is utilised, which is somewhere in the middle, seeing the duality of structure where structure shapes

human agency and human agency shapes structure by creating new practices. Similar to agency feminism (toimijuusfeminismi), this includes the web of possibilities and limitations; though the system is a powerful determinant, it is possible to act out of will and/or differently. Agency can be both individual and collective (Gordon, 2005, pp. 117–122). Connecting agency with colonialism, an uncolonized group often "only" has the limitations of their "own" structures, while a colonised one also has (at least originally) foreign ones, which can produce a cross pressure to on the one hand assimilate and adjust while on the other pressure to protect and cherish one's own culture that the imposed structures work to eliminate.

Agency can also be consciously developed, targeting to overthrow the limits of agency: power and empowerment can be the goal of agency, next to being its resource (Eteläpelto et al., 2011, p. 15; Pietilä-Litendahl, 2014, p. 26). Reflecting on agency is considered integral for change—structures are reproduced in everyday, often automated actions, which have produced the agent the feeling of capacity and knowing. Thus, already being aware of and/or questioning these procedures is remarkable (Giddens, 1984, p. 282; Pietilä-Litendahl, 2014, pp. 26–27). It is worth noting here that agency does not always produce visible action or it may be subtle, a certain manner of acting, difficult to detect—knowing the thought process is thus also crucial. Agency can thus also be the refusing to act, and involves both action and thought processes that guide agency. The thought process of questioning is crucial for change (Gordon, 2005, p. 124; Ojala et al., 2009, p. 21; Pietilä-Litendahl, 2014, pp. 25–27). Here I distinguish between proactive or active agency and restricted agency. Proactive agency entails acknowledged and intentional action to reach one's goals and influence on one's own context of action (Pietilä-Litendahl, 2014, pp. 111–112; Rahko-Ravantti, 2016, p. 97). Thus, I will still interpret situations where a person feels like there is no choice but to act in this case to improve the situation of the Sámi, as agency as it still involves purposeful intentional action. Restricted agency refers to expressed desire or aim for agency but which the person feels is impossible in their current context (Pietilä-Litendahl, 2014, pp. 111–112).

Regarding knowledge, in its intertwinement with power, knowledge as well can work as a resource and limitation for agency: knowing about alternative pathways, issues at hand to make decisions on, knowledge of structures and how to navigate them, knowledge of co-presence of other agents acting on the same thing, to what extent a person is recognised as a knower, a person's knowledge of the consequences of acting—one cannot fully predict of course but knowledge of previous cases, consequences of others' actions that one identifies with. Epistemic violence by definition limits agency as another perspective may not be seen as valuable based on the current power-knowledge structures

and people may self-stifle for instance (Brunner, 2021; Dotson, 2011). It is clear that the unawareness of the majority limits the agency of the Sámi on a societal level in multiple issues and occasions (which issues can be discussed and how far issues can advance) and conversely also provides pressure for agency. For teachers specifically, in order to teach one should have some knowledge of the issue.

Agency is also tightly related to identity, agency is built from identity but we also construct identity through agency (Ronkainen, 1999, pp. 53, 73–78). As agency and as noted, knowledge is also built from a position[12], we inherit and learn ways of understanding through our locatedness, which makes us come from a certain perspective. It is central to recognise positions, however, this does not mean that we are our position, which can make one see differences as social identities in competition, and thus, they are perceived as threatening (Ronkainen, 1999, pp. 111–121, 221–224; Skeggs, 1997, p. 9).

This can be described through dangerous memories, which challenge the status quo (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012, p. 196; Ostovich, 2005, p. 43). Thus, they could be understood to challenge the collective memory based on dominant narratives and notions (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012, p. 203; Ostovich, 2005, pp. 48–49). This includes disruptions to state interests and essentialist, dichotomous views of identities and often generate demands for present and future content (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012, p. 196; Ostovich, 2005, p. 43). Individually this could require reflection of one's own actions as well as identity.

Dangerous memories can entail non-dominant narratives, those that have been repressed, disrupting myths of progress (Ostovich, 2005, pp. 48–49). These myths or 'victorious' narratives are especially evident in national memories as the nation aims to present itself positively both to insiders and outsiders and are mostly discussed in connection to history (Christou, 2007, p. 711). However, I maintain the contemporary notion related to memories and acknowledge that these memories expand their influence to other topics as well. Moreover, while dangerous memories provide a challenge and in some respect danger as they can threaten a person's or state's ontological security[13], they, more importantly, provide hope and opportunity for forming new narratives and more diverse understandings of identities that enable solidarity (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012, pp. 197–198). Personally, I would highlight the hopeful aspect of change, but the

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[12] This does not mean that knowledge can be anything, criteria (which are agreed upon and socially shared) are in place to assure one's community (Ronkainen, 1999, p. 107)

[13] Continuity of things as they are and by connection stability of identity and positive sense of self, for the state the sense of self, seeing itself positively— notice also affiliation with collective/national identity (Giddens, 1984, p. 282; Zarakol, 2010)

dangerousness does describe the possible difficulty of acceptance—I would also argue that the degree of dangerousness depends on how true the status quo along with its narratives and identity definitions have been seen and one's affiliation to them in the first place and how experienced and used to one is to questioning them—connecting to power positions, intersectionality and privileges and the ability to recognise them. In the thesis, when dangerous memories are noted, they are noted on a societal level: I do not know whether individuals perceived them as such, they are merely seen as in some way contradicting the state's master (dominant) narratives of equality and fairness in particular.

Agency of the teachers on a basic level relates to being tied to the obligations of the curriculum but still having influence to what is taught. Here the focus is on bringing up Sámi perspectives and related information amidst limitations: providing information of the Sámi altogether (as it is still very possible not to do this at all), embracing dangerous memories (self-reflectiveness), ordering Dihtosis materials/workshop, using those materials or other extra material, the latter two of which, in that they carry Sámi perspectives and more diversified view of identities can be seen as dangerous memories. Dihtosis can be seen both a product and enabler of Sámi-Finnish agency as well as an enabler of teacher agency in bringing up the topic. Agency itself is central also in both everyday peace and decolonisation processes (Rahko-Ravantti, 2016; Richmond, 2009), which will be returned to in the analysis section.

5. SÁMI AND THE FINNISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Before going into teacher experiences of the system, it is integral to examine how it works and how the Sámi are considered within it. To start, the educational system barely mentions the Sámi people in any of its subjects, let alone discusses issues from an indigenous perspective. The role of schools, the lack of quality information in them and its effects on Sámi rights have been criticised by various Sámi individuals, activists and actors for decades (for instance, H. West, 2021; Lukkari in 1953 in Lehtola 2015a, p.102; Dihtosis crew; Kuokkanen, 2007). Also Nyyssönen (2007, p. 53) described the Finnish school system as the "most effective institute for assimilation" though it has naturally had empowering effects as well (Nyyssönen, 2019). Especially more recently, also government reports and the ECRI have criticised the lack of knowledge and awareness highlighting the responsibility of schools, but also other campaigns (Miettunen, 2020; Tammela, 2019). In Sweden and Norway similar issues in terms of the educational system and unawareness in general have been raised by for instance Oxenholt (2017) in their case study of pupils experiences in Swedish schools, the Sámi information centre (Samiskt informationscentrum) in Sweden (Samer.se, n.d.) and the Antiracist centre (Antirasistisk senter) in Norway (Pettersen, 2014).

The educational system is important to consider as it is something almost all of us go through: it crosscuts and influences the society as a whole. It educates the decision makers, lawyers, teachers, health care professionals and so on. According to Giddens (1984, p. 286) it is also the way for modern states to attempt to monitor institutional reproduction. Moreover, the role of the school system is linked to the truth and reconciliation process: one of its goals is to increase knowledge and awareness of the Sámi as an indigenous people (Erholtz et al., 2021, p. 6). Kuokkanen also highlighted the role of education in terms of the truth and reconciliation process (Historians without Borders, 2021). Before elaborating more on the deficiencies and positive developments of the system, see textbox 1 and figure 4 for how the Finnish educational system and curricula work.

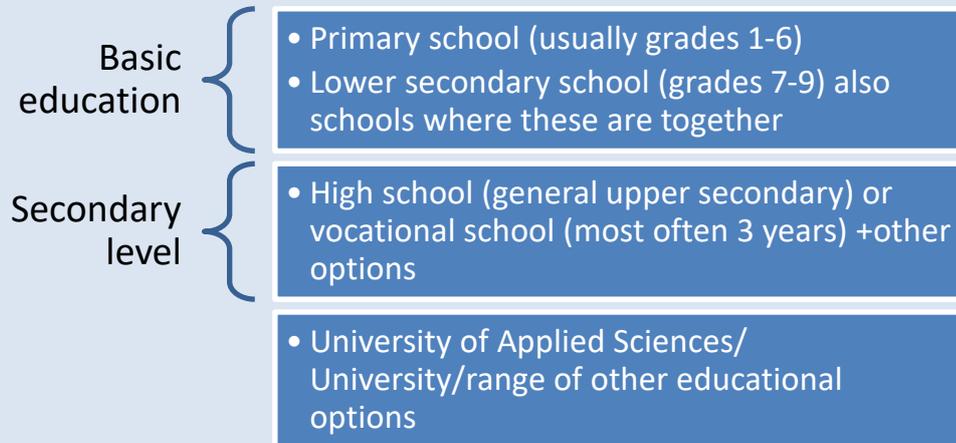Textbox 1: How the Finnish educational system and curricula work

Basic education
- Primary school (usually grades 1-6)
- Lower secondary school (grades 7-9) also schools where these are together

Secondary level
- High school (general upper secondary) or vocational school (most often 3 years) +other options

- University of Applied Sciences/ University/range of other educational options

Figure 4. Simplified depiction of the Finnish educational track starting from compulsory education

Finnish citizens' compulsory education was just extended until 18 years of age or until the student has completed vocational school or high school prior to turning 18 (OKM, 2021a). Compulsory education starts the year the child turns 7. All the levels and institutions have their own curricula. Unless otherwise stated, when I refer to curriculum or core curriculum, I mean the national core curriculum for basic education. The Finnish system is based on teachers who are highly educated and have high autonomy in their work. Therefore, the curriculum provides rather general themes and guidelines on learning as opposed to concrete instructions (Teacher discussion). Reforming the national core curriculum is a long process, involving various stake holders as well as commentary of the public. A new one is published roughly every ten years by the Finnish National Agency for Education (under the Ministry of Education and Culture, part of the state apparatus) (Opetushallitus, 2016a). Based on the national core curriculum, local and school specific curricula are made, which can for instance add local emphases around the core. The core curriculum can roughly be divided into two main sections: the general section and the subject-specific section. The general section applies to the entire learning environment and consists of general objectives, values and working culture guidelines along with principles for guidance, support and assessment. The subject-specific section contains core contents and objectives of each subject as well as some subject specific evaluation criteria.

In Norway and Sweden there are Sámi schools with their own curricula, providing more options (SámediggiN, n.d.; Sameskolstyrelsen, 2020). There also the Sámi educational

tradition is utilised. Some Sámi teachers in Finland also utilise it, though for instance bringing forth traditional skills, knowledge and Sámi history depend on the skills and resources of the teacher as well as constraints of time as they are bound by the Finnish curriculum and its contents which are focused on Finnish histories (Rahko-Ravantti, 2016, pp. 75–88). In Finland the Sámi do not have their own curriculum and though the Sámi are consulted in creating the core curriculum, their comments are rarely considered (Dihtosis discussion).

5.1 Teacher experiences

Before delving deeper into teacher experiences, more context is provided on the teachers and as to how the interviews were conducted. I had the pleasure of interviewing a variety of teachers and was grateful to hear their stories and perspectives. I felt energised after each interview and am sorry that I cannot do justice to all their unique and vivid stories. Though all interviews were done distantly or perhaps because of that, the interviews were also quite interactive: sometimes we would look at books or the curriculum together; when they mentioned a documentary, piece of news or some other material, I looked them up, not to analyse, but as background. Some also sent me an email to elaborate on something after or their collected link list.

The teachers had gotten interested in Sámi cultures and Sámi issues through various ways: for some it was sparked by having lived or travelled in the North, being interested in indigenous peoples in general, through their own contacts, the language, noticing their own unawareness or following the discussion on antidiscrimination on social media. For many it was a combination of several of these factors. Through their initial interest some had deepened their knowledge through visiting *Siida*, reading *Vastatuuleen* or following Sámi activists and journalism. For one of the teachers a Sámi band had performed in their school and they had deepened their knowledge through their educational path by choosing these topics for their assignments. The others had no recollection of discussing the Sámi at school in their time nor in their education to becoming teachers, except one had done a specific module on minorities.

The teachers were also active: Many had not only ordered the workshop, which itself is already notable, but also held a lesson(s) about the Sámi previously or after, recommended the workshop for colleagues or sent out a list of links that provide, or could be used as, materials for lessons. Some also organised or planned to organise sessions with wider coverage such as having a Dihtosis visit or a day assembly for the entire school or a virtual Dihtosis workshop with multiple schools and/or classes. Some also planned further program for their international theme week or out of their own initiative

said that they would have the workshop again next year provided that they are still organised. Some expressed wide interest among colleagues while some none. For the most part the teachers I interviewed seemed the most active in their school communities and showed agency in both looking up information on their own as well as ordering Dihtosis, holding related lessons or organising other activities. Some expressed confidence in their knowledge, while many also said that they do not know much, while still knowing perhaps more than they thought at least in relation to the general level. On certain topics there was less knowledge, many said for instance not knowing about Sámi rights. There were also instances where cultural appropriation was not fully understood beyond the Sámi dress. The goal was not and is not to place blame or moralise the teachers, but to get a perspective of the project and the situation in schools. This was stated at the beginning of the interview and is maintained in the thesis. With Dihtosis we embrace a more positive approach and are grateful for the teachers' input in having Dihtosis workshops and discussion on Sámi topics in the first place as well as their participation in this research.

5.1.1 (Lack of) structural support

Currently the Sámi are mentioned a few times in the general section of the curriculum which is defined by the Finnish National Agency for Education: The UN declaration on indigenous rights is mentioned in regard to safeguarding Sámi rights (Opetushallitus, 2016b, p. 15). The Sámi are also mentioned in issues to consider with language and culture, where it is stated that the goal is to support the Sámi students to grow into their language, culture and community as well as provide them with the opportunity to embrace Sámi cultural heritage (Opetushallitus, 2016b, p. 86). Furthermore, the following part of the curriculum mentions the Sámi in a manner which more explicitly applies to the majority population as well:

> *The community appreciates and utilises the country's cultural heritage and national languages as well as the cultural, linguistic, religious and convictional diversity of its own and the environment. It (the community) brings forth the meaning of Sámi culture and different minorities in Finland. It develops the understanding and respect between individuals and cultures along with responsible activities. It is recognised in the community that the right to one's own language and culture is a fundamental right. Cultural traditions are familiarised with, different ways of thinking and acting/doing are discussed constructively and new ways of working together are created. (Opetushallitus, 2016b, p. 28)*

These parts are supported by general principles such as non-discrimination, equality, mention of human rights in general and seeing cultural diversity as an enriching factor along with the notion that when learning, the student is building their identity (Opetushallitus, 2016b, pp. 14–16, 28). The Sámi are not explicitly mentioned in the subject specific section except in Sámi language as a learning subject. Sámi languages as a topic are generally taken up in Finnish as first language syllabus (7-9 grade) as a part of familiarising with related languages (Opetushallitus, 2016b, p. 292).

With teachers we specifically discussed the indented quote about bringing forth the meaning of Sámi culture and the mention of the UN declaration. Most commented on the length and breath of the general section and it not giving clear obligation to in terms of where it should be dealt with or directly to its inadequacy:

> *In the curriculum you cannot find anything for this –Teacher Oulu*

> *What's good about that is that I can in good conscience use multiple lessons for it if I want to and then I can justify it with these sorts of parts: it's said here. But the general parts in the curriculum always have the problem that in the lower secondary system, for us at least, all the teachers look at their own subject and then it's easy to always think that someone else is probably doing that […] I mean that (the curriculum part) can mean almost anything, it's so vague. –Teacher Espoo*

A few had a more positive outlook on the curriculum. One of them rather saw needs in developing the books while another was from Rovaniemi, with whom we discussed also the difference in geographical area. They mentioned that the municipality had wished that the Sámi would be considered more and in their school this had been started already earlier. This was connected to the fact that in the province (lääni), Sámi languages are also official and many pupils are Sámi.

> *The municipality educational office have wished that it would be considered and I think that's great and we have aimed for acknowledging it already before—maybe a bit class-specifically of course but now [...] the last three years except not last year we have had events all together in the hall.*

Though the teacher did not express knowing much, it was evident that in comparison to some of the teachers in the south, they had quite some knowledge and it seemed to touch their life more concretely. This seemed to make it easier to look for more information:

> *Well, that does not require too much now does it. You can find when you google and you can find a plethora of stuff, just using person search words—I would not highlight it (my own knowledge) at all. Rather, the key is the desire and motivation*

to tell and bring out the distinctive characteristics of the area even if it is just once a year […] they (those who live in the South) would probably need more set packages, which you can just press 'play' to start.—Teacher Rovaniemi

This links to contextuality in agency: the proximity and co-presence of other actors (see Giddens, 1984, p. 282). The teacher obviously still shows agency, but the location can make it seem more possible, easy and necessary as Sámi topics are more visible in general. Though as has been mentioned there are many Sámi who live in southern cities and there are organisations and activities organised as well, these are more likely drowned in everything else that happens in cities and left unnoticed. The teacher also highlighted supporting the development of the identities of Sámi students before we had talked about anything related, and that there were many Sámi students in their school. After the interview I also checked the Rovaniemi curriculum for basic education and there were also references to the Sámi under specific subjects, for instance, life stance education, art, orthodox religion and social studies (Rovaniemen kaupunki, 2016, pp. 506, 546, 819, 849). Under social studies it is stated that on the local level knowing the Sámi is highlighted and under themes the Sámi, Sámi rights and their fulfilment are mentioned (Rovaniemen kaupunki, 2016, p. 849). The Sámi were thus also at the level of the curriculum institutionally remembered better. As the teacher did not teach these topics, we do not know whether and how these materialise in practice, but formally the Sámi are also noted more and the teacher in question was active in linking knowledge of the Sámi and Sámi perspectives to their teaching.

With the national core curriculum for high schools the situation is similar to the general core curriculum for basic education: the Sámi are mentioned in the general section—perhaps more elaborately than in the basic education curriculum, but geared specifically towards educating the Sámi (Opetushallitus, 2019, p. 42)—but until the 2019 curriculum (implementation starting 2021), not in the subject specific section explicitly. With a high school teacher, we discussed that the prior curriculum had general mentions of minorities or arctic cultures under elective history modules. The new high school curriculum for the first time also explicitly mentions the Sámi under a subject other than Sámi language: history. One of the learning goals for module 5 is " to be familiar with the cultural heritage and everyday history of Finnish, Sámi and other minority groups" (Opetushallitus, 2019, p. 288). While a positive and welcome development, one should also note that module 5 in high school history is optional and 56% of accepted applicants (same percentage the past few years) continued with high school from basic education to begin with (Opetushallitus, 2020b, 2021). Thus, the improvement is still left in places, where it does not reach as many people as it could, would it be placed somewhere else—though this

represents improved remembering, the Sámi are still for the most part forgotten at least to places where raising their perspectives properly will likely not reach everyone.

Some teachers mentioned that the situation has improved, as there used to be nothing or information was even more inaccurate:

> *I've also been a teacher for almost 30 years and I think only within the last five, ten max we have started to acknowledge the national day and we have taken up the flag and spoken a bit of the Sámi. 15 years ago there was no mention anywhere. It has only gotten into the new school books or newer school books –Teacher Turku*

> *Now it's the best situation in history, which is very deficient. If you go back decades then there was wrong information or no information at all. On the Sámi area there was Santa Claus and the school visitor had it in the workshop, 'what comes to mind' and for instance Santa was mentioned and if Sámi means to market tourism junk, that's not good. –Teacher Kalajoki*

At the same time and as it becomes apparent from the last quote, the content provided by books was mostly found 'thin', 'fragmented' and 'shallow'. The quotes below do not include language teachers (other than Finnish as first language).

> *There is no, was it that in the fourth grade environmental studies there were ten lines written of the Sámi and that was it. It's more personal interests that determine why they've been discussed more. –Teacher Oulu*

> *Well, if I think about our environment education and life stance education things, it's very thin in a way, thin what it offers, but the fact that I had some information already beforehand and I was able to dig enough from the internet, so I was fine. –Teacher Turku*

> *It's pretty shallow. It does not convey the Sámi in present day and so little is told of the history that it's actually only the livelihoods and maybe comparing a bit to other indigenous cultures or nature religions. The way of speaking is very general, so it does not become a topic of its own.—Teacher Oulu*

> *Both in 9th and 8th grade geography Sámi issues are touched upon but I've felt like it's left as a separate piece. Sometimes I've crudely used a whole lesson for it [...] these are only at the level of one mention, so it depends on the teacher how much you emphasise it. I've taken the approach that if we are going to talk about multiculturalism and minority peoples, then of course you should know something about the indigenous people in your own country [...] it requires special investment*

of the teacher so that the issues are dealt with. Not nearly all the facts that were presented in the workshop are told in school books. –Teacher Kalajoki

For Finnish as first language a teacher mentioned that the amount of information has actually diminished in their experience.

The teacher experiences are consistent with Ministry of Education and Culture's (MINEDU) report of basic education schoolbook contents by Miettunen (2020). Concerning books in basic education (those in Finnish and Swedish) according to the report, there is overall very little information regarding the Sámi, it is fragmented and the quality of information varies. Sometimes the Sámi are merely mentioned in one sentence, sometimes more widely in text. They continue that it is common to have a small separate section, which mentions basic information on Sámi and minorities but does not provide their perspectives of the themes. In general, the emphasis is on the past, images reproduce stereotypes (for instance, pictures with Sámi only wearing the Sámi dress and/or with reindeer providing a simplified and distant representation, and pictures with fake Sámi dress worn by non-Sámi) and Sámi languages and cultures are simplified to one language and culture everywhere except Finnish as first language. Moreover, Miettunen (2020) notes that the Sámi are not linked to Finnish history nor to the present-day society and the reader position is that of a non-Sámi, often a member of the majority population.

Also, many exercises are problematic towards the indigenous in general according to the report (Miettunen, 2020). For instance, coming up with Indian names or creating dream catchers, which are prone to repeating racist stereotypes and are culturally appropriative, conduct which is criticised by the indigenous around the world. Due to the lack of quality and respectful information and exercises, a Sámi student may face an unreasonable task to break the whole class's stereotypes and/or defend being Sámi as their identity may not fit to the narrow depictions provided by schoolbooks. Thus, also exercises asking a member of a minority to tell about their language and culture can be problematic and inconsiderate of intergenerational trauma of losing one's language and culture. In addition to the students' learning materials, the teachers guides provide little to no information about the Sámi let alone tips on where to find reliable information (Miettunen, 2020). In sum there are major shortcomings.

With a high school teacher, we compared two different history book series on the topic (elective modules) and found vast differences between the two.

Because indigenous cultures, here there is information in general and most on the aboriginals. (Flipping pages) Here for instance indigenous peoples and cultures, here there might be, an example might be brought up, like this they raise a picture.

For instance, 'Suohpanterror is a group of Sámi artists, who with their work take a stand on the injustice faced by the Sámi' so this is how they might bring it up and then the ILO convention is mentioned, 'for instance Finland has not signed the treaty and safeguarded the Sámi rights to their land. So yeah, more that in the general background you even point to the Sámi position in Finland a bit but then there is nothing on the Sámi history here.

The first series, Forum, provides examples, while the other makes it more into a topic:

In this, Historia ajassa, it's in the Arctic cultures section; yeah and here the history starts from when you can start talking about Sámi culture and the whole Sápmi and languages are mentioned and then you go to livelihoods and here, here there's a surprising amount. It's over two pages, you go over livelihoods and so on and then how it is in different states—you mention the border closures[14]

We concluded together that this is much more than the average Finnish person would know and were positively surprised. As the Sámi are defined from the majority perspective, often forgotten and/or sidelined and as a result given inferior value, this is also othering (Rahko-Ravantti, 2016, p. 26). However, the level and degree of institutional forgetting varies especially in terms of books but to some extent curricula as well when considering the local curricula and teacher/school differences in implementing them. These provide different starting points for agency, but still at this level the situation can be seen as epistemically violent in the vein of Spivak's (1994) and Dotson's (2011, 2014) thoughts, as the foundation for listening (recognising the Sámi as knowers) and understanding the Sámi provided in school is minimal. The situation itself is also structurally racist in leaving out and undervaluing histories and accomplishments of the Sámi (see Davis, n.d.).

Some of the teachers also brought up the fact that at least the Sámi are not presented in a negative light and saw support from an overall openness towards difference:

It brings it up in a positive way, I think it fosters the fact that at least it's not brought up in a negative light. –Teacher Turku

Yeah like I think if there is another culture, it's valuable, so in the same way for the Sámi, it's only a good thing.--Teacher intern

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[14] book also mentions assimilation policies, the cultural autonomy of the Sámi and shows a newspaper headline where Sápmi is referred to as a colony of Finland

For these teachers the Sámi were included to the multiculturalism narrative—this is hardly explicitly done but left for the interpretation of the teacher (Rahko-Ravantti, 2016, p. 41):

> *In schools there is a lot of talk about multiculturalism, but it mainly focuses on the cultures that come from outside of Finland, the interest in a way, so I think it would also be important that next to that there are also cultures within Finland, the same with the Roma, of course not as a similar one, but as a minority.—Teacher Oulu*

Of course, the multiculturalism discussion also has its issues, it can also racialize groups (Keskinen et al., 2021), which should be considered.

There have also been some positive developments and initiatives. In 2018 the first class to use North Sámi as a teaching language outside of the Sámi home area started in Helsinki. Approximately 750 students received Sámi language teaching or teaching in Sámi, of which about 200 were outside of the Sámi home area. The Ministry of Education and Culture also funds multiple projects such as 'Oktavuohta' promoting Sámi tri-lingual distance learning and informational websites and 'Dihtosis', which promotes knowledge of the Sámi among Finnish youth (Opetushallitus, 2020a). Recently a few others have started: 'Kulttuurien koulu', school of cultures, providing training for teachers regarding the Roma and Sámi; and a collaboration with the Peace education Institute and Eatnameamet, holding workshops for 9th graders and high school students on the documentary. However, these projects, while welcome developments, represent an insufficient and short-sighted solution on their own, as they are so far merely temporary projects.

5.1.2 Pressure and question of responsibility

> *The general part has 300 pages [...] if it is not stated under a subject then people don't necessarily take it up. It's the same for multiple other topics: it's stated that they are important and general but when it is not defined under a subject it's left in the air. --Teacher Tampere*

> *Depends a lot on the teacher whether it's spoken about. --Teacher intern*

As the general section is long and "not easily approachable", some of the teachers were not aware of or did not remember the mention of Sámi culture in the core curriculum as it easily gets lost in the long general section and it is not something one easily gets back to check something. Some teachers also did not know whether understanding of the Sámi culture and issues are deepened in lower secondary or vice versa introduced on the primary level or whether it is taken up by other teachers in the same or different subjects. This is not to imply that the teachers should have this knowledge, but merely

to point out that this feeds into having no clear responsibility and the thinking that "some-one else is probably doing that". At the same time as it is not clearly stated in the curriculum nor taken up properly in materials, the responsibility of taking up the topic is left for individual teachers.

The teachers are also under immense time and topic pressure, which complicates taking up 'extra' issues and responsibility, which one needs to familiarise themselves with and/or find and create materials. This was brought up especially in basic education.

Many others have shown interest towards the Sámi but mainly, I understand that in school the trend is that there is more of everything all the time and we don't get any more time or salary, so I understand it well that it has been talked about for several years that now we try to only focus on the basic task and forget all the extra fluff, when there is always something new, if nothing else then a new curriculum that we wonder at and yeah I understand that people cut down and I respect that they know how to cut down.—Sámi teacher

I'm afraid that if the topic is unfamiliar to the teacher, then it is adressed in the manner that 'well this is also here', but you do not familiarise with it. There is simply no time for it in the curriculum or lesson frame [...] if I have highlighted Sámi issues, then I need to condense something else. Otherwise, the lessons aren't enough. It's a chronic problem in basic education irrespective of subject, issue and topic that the educational content is growing all the time when the world is growing and developing and there is information coming from all directions and when the number of working hours doesn't increase, better yet it decreases as the municipalities are cutting our working hours, since the teachers are paid hourly, on an hourly basis. There is so much stuff to teach and sometimes I feel like basic education should be ten years so that we would have enough time to study through all the contents in the curriculum in good time. –Teacher Kalajoki

As is evident from the quotes, there is immense time and topic pressure, which is linked to both the awareness of the teachers and the inadequate support of learning materials and the curriculum as well as having no clear responsibility, mentioned earlier. Unawareness was mentioned as an explaining factor on its own as well, as one does not feel comfortable bringing up something one does not know about and getting acquainted also takes time. Moreover, the teachers linked it to sensitivities of the topic—worry of saying something wrong or whether one can talk about it as a member of majority in general:

The teacher themselves need to investigate and find out and for me it has always been, I have always been interested in the topic and it would be important to bring

it up more. Pupils and students are also interested in the Sámi, but for me it has taken a long time to finally do the investigation so that I would have more material to offer and I've also struggled with, I've felt like how well can I talk about especially Sámi experiences since I'm Finnish, roots and all, so it's sort of like, feels like I also don't know enough about the topic.—Teacher Oulu

It may also be that people are afraid, I don't know, that 'we don't dare to say anything about this, so that we don't speak out of turn and say something wrong about the Sámi'. Do people feel that they don't dare start to tell about something that they know next to nothing about, is that the thing? [...] That people take it with awe: 'Oh no, I really don't want to do anything offensive'. –Sámi teacher

At the same time as there is no clear responsibility among teachers, teachers are thus the ones left responsible for looking up information and providing it.

Some also raised concern about not losing face as a teacher:

You need to familiarise yourself with it, so that you don't make the situation into an embarrassment, like 'oh, the teacher didn't know, what is this thing, who would know this'—Teacher Rovaniemi

This can be connected to structural perceptions of professionalism raised by Vuorikoski et al. (2003, pp. 40–47).

Thus, the relationship of having knowledge and awareness to agency is far from simple. While knowledge is necessary to do things differently (to acknowledge there is a need for this), knowledge can also leave one stuck in restricted agency as people are more aware of nuances and sensitivities and are afraid of doing it wrong and being disrespectful in some way, which might then hinder proactive agency. Having this awareness and reflection of one's actions and their effect is of course important especially coming from a position of power, but when teachers have no support and limited resources to look into the 'how' next to the 'what' themselves, it is no wonder that the vague mention in the general section of the curriculum may be left unaddressed. Some of the teachers also mentioned concern for hidden learning. Thus, such a topic is not necessarily best handled by anybody, but rather someone who is more interested, more in touch with or has more knowledge on the topic:

The student sees in the classroom for example with what kind of attitude the teacher approaches the topic, so there's immediate hidden learning in whether the teacher's attitude and approach is positive and conveys appreciation or does the teacher think that this is a mandatory small thing that you're forced to do. So, you need to be discreet and clearly convey respect and appreciation, that it's very

> *important one belongs to an indigenous people and you're a really valuable indi-*
> *vidual. —Teacher Rovaniemi*

Finally, also political pressure was raised:

> *It's sort of like if it's not spoken about on the governmental level or at the level of*
> *decision makers then, if these sort of lower level officials start to talk about it, then*
> *it's kind of funny, like what is the teacher reprimanding the state for doing this and*
> *that. --Teacher*

This was connected to mentions of the tightening "attitude atmosphere" (asenne il-mapiiri), such as the Trade Union of Education in Finland (OAJ) being called 'horny for immigrants' ('mamukiimainen') by the head of the Finns party (at the time of the interview the most popular party in the polls) and how there was a stir about participating in an Amnesty letter campaign by having the option for students to write in favour of changing the trans-law in Finland. Participation in the campaign had been approved by the National Agency for Education. A teacher also referred to the Finns Party Youth campaign to expose teachers that spread anti-Finn party attitudes (instead of using official complaint mechanisms) and parents who keep a keen eye on what is taught. These dynamics combined with the silence from the state side can lead one to wonder "what you can say [...] where does the line between doing politics and human rights go or does it exist or should you just be super brave and give it all you got and go for it" (Teacher interview).

This is where epistemic violence can be seen to blatantly extend on an individual level to those who speak in favour of in this case the Sámi— some teachers are also concerned as to what they can say on the matter linking to epistemic violence in terms of Shiva's (in Brunner, 2021) idea of epistemic violence touching a wide range of groups including the subjects of knowledge and Dotson's notion of self-silencing (2011). In the vein of Spivak's (1994) thoughts, it does not seem to matter who brings out voices, certain voices are aimed to be stifled either way. It is not my intention to claim that the epistemic violence that the sympathetic majority faces is the same as for the Sámi or on the same scale as it is for the Sámi, nor to draw attention away from that in an "all lives matter" kind of way, but to point out that the discussion environment can be toxic for anybody with a certain message. When the state is nearly silent on the issue nor do its structures provide or enable support for the issue, it also leaves the teachers to deal with these concerns alone with no mechanisms to deal with them. As a result of the current knowledge regime, people bringing out Sámi perspectives whether Sámi themselves or not, can be targeted with the attempt to silence them, to take down their agency. This

has also shown in Dihtosis, though they have faced little hate speech regarding the project:

> *There has also been very little hate speech but a few years ago on the Sámi National Day when we were on the morning show on TV, I also got this vile hate speech email and it made me think that I'm not even Sámi and it was a wonderful, I think the interview session was a very positive and lovely and the project was portrayed nicely, but even that avoke anger in someone and they wanted to take it out on somebody. That made me think how much someone who openly brings out being Sámi faces hate speech, because me as well, a Finn. And then we've had trouble recruiting Sámi youth lately and I remember at the beginning of the project we talked about it that some Sámi youth do not want to be profiled as Sámi because it can be very exhausting if you get hateful feedback from it. --Dihtosis, non-Sámi*

5.1.3 Inequality and riskiness

Most of the teachers saw the current level of knowledge risky and overall, teachers saw that the school provides "flimsy" or "no support whatsoever" for Sámi individuals in their identity development, in contrast to what majority individuals get.

> *Well, it does not provide support in any way for sure. It certainly does not stomp on it either but does not really support. Of course, with the fact that there is more cultural diversity in general, that you let everyone be seen but our school is unfortunately not one of those schools either where it would be seen as a positive resource yet. Cultural diversity is for now seen more as something that adds to the workload, so I think the Sámi would go along with that with little effort made if it was our school, people would certainly not belittle it, but with the current mentality it also would not be supported.--Teacher Oulu*

> *At least in southern Finland the school brings nothing –Teacher Tampere*

Moreover, teachers saw the level of information as risky in terms of stereotypes and misinformation, as well as leaving the majority unequipped to discuss Sámi issues and many called for also discussing the negative aspects.

> *Usually, this sort of lack of knowledge is at least not good, then there's more space and power to pre-assumptions and wrongful information. Usually, knowledge actually adds to or decreases the risk of feeding wrongful prejudice. In that vein, it would be important of course that you would get rightful information of the Sámi at least in school.—Teacher Kalajoki*

People still don't know enough and it's not enough that we bring up, of course that's also important that the language and culture are raised in a positive sense, but then the unfortunate history has been quite well swept under the carpet in Finland I say. Many don't talk about it or don't even know.—Sámi teacher

Well, it at least does not increase knowledge and awareness nor push things further. Also, this sort of hush-hush in a way, like the reason that the languages are not spoken so much is because it was thwarted, you weren't allowed to speak, so of course that happened, so things like these should also be told [...] so that it's not like we don't talk about that, we only talk about the nice things, bright colours and reindeer. It should sort of be the whole package—Teacher Oulu

The more the teachers from the majority population seemed to know the more outspoken and/or perplexed they seemed to be about the state actions.

Of course, all awareness and knowledge of everything is very important and it's very bad for the state if it lives in a double standard that the oppression of indigenous peoples in other parts of the world is judged, but then what happens in your own country is not seen. That's not a good starting point for any sensible decision making, that you don't see what's happening at your own end. Already that is a kind of moralistic issue; what we do, is it in line with what we guide others to do [...] we have this dark drawer of our own, a closet where we sweep our own issues and wish that no one will see it.—Teacher

As these notions are in contrast to the master narrative of equality, these lead us to discuss narratives of the teachers to explain the situation.

5.2 Teachers' narratives

We also got to discussing why the situation is how it is at the moment with the teachers. Oftentimes the teachers used multiple narratives simultaneously to explain the situation in teaching. Thus, the narratives should not necessarily be understood as competing with each other but complimentary.

5.2.1 Cycle of unawareness and rigidity of structures

Many have asked for example when I have said that we had this or we held this, 'that how do you know, do you have a (Sámi) background. Many think that to be able to tell, you would need to be Sámi or something else, I don't know what, but there should be more knowledge and awareness somehow [...] I think it's precisely the thing that you don't even know necessarily, when I think about for instance, we

also have some of those teachers who are just retiring and their childhood has been in the time, when nothing has been said on the topic--it has not even been acceptable and it has rather been pushed somewhere at the back. Maybe it's really that people don't know more themselves, many of the teachers, and then of course our school is also the kind that we have a lot of different kinds of challenges on many classes, so it can be that there's outright not enough, if there is no personal interest to invest in the topic, then you don't have enough energy for anything extra.—Teacher Oulu

The first narrative thus involves a cycle of unawareness where the lack of knowledge perpetuates as an individual teacher or school may not have the time or resources to break the cycle on their own and there is rather thin institutional support. As a result, "when the Sámi come forward, many don't understand why, what the situation is".

A few of the teachers also described the system changing slowly. Teachers described "the wheels turning slowly", it being "stiff before things change". This was always combined with the cycle of unawareness or power, as apparent in the example below.

The society changes so slowly and teachers are also, we teach what and how we are used to, so this kind of new information, even if we'd know more, if it doesn't make it into the study books, then part of the teachers still teach what's in the old school books. Somehow everything happens a little more slowly than in real time and then it's easy for the majority population to forget from their position of power, I think it's just that we haven't given enough voice to the minorities for example the Sámi, so now we are finally getting there that we could move forward. If in the 90s the Sámi Parliament was established and then people awoke to the fact that we need to give them these rights, only now we're beginning to notice hidden structures, that we still continue this same old story if we don't change this structure as well. --Teacher

Moreover, one teacher also mentioned the rigidity and lawful nature of the curriculum as an explanation to its inadequacy, and thus, it needing to be vague.

5.2.2 Power and politics

Another widely mentioned narrative explanation was that of power and politics, where current power structures, certain parties or the state in general was seen to benefit from non-disclosure of information on the Sámi. Teachers mentioned that it would be difficult for their students or people in general to have a view on anything related let alone understand Sámi perspectives or engage in active political discussion on the topic, when

they know next to nothing of it. Many of the teachers also saw a connection between awareness and attitudes in saying that increased knowledge and awareness would help improve the position of the Sámi. Political intentions and power structures were also mentioned directly as intentions in keeping Sámi issues in the dark:

> *Disclosing the topic does not serve the current power structures, so you'd better keep it hidden. Or well it pays off for the media to bring it up every now and then to get a good story. --Teacher*

> *There's politics involved for sure as well [...] in Lapland the Centre party is strong and people want that those who have the lands are happy and get to keep them. Even now when there is such a government, which has in one way or another spoken a lot about human rights, so I see it also as something political that people don't dare to, that then one party would not like it if all of a sudden people started to be afraid of 'will someone take my lands now or what's happening here', but I don't know what the truth is. --Teacher*

In fact, it seems that the state benefits from the unawareness—at least those of the state actors and businesses, who wish to utilise the land to benefit their interests and/or are lazy to consider other perspectives than their own in initiatives. Moreover, keeping the status quo and staying the same course is easy, rather than questioning one's own thinking and actions, and changing (Pietilä-Litendahl, 2014, p. 27). Whether they actually benefit in the long run in terms of for instance climate change, natural reserves and mental health costs stand to question. Simultaneously the idea that the Sámi should somehow be beneficial for the majority to see the value of the culture is based on a utilitarian doctrine and can also be seen as epistemic violence. Whatever the case is with state interests, the teachers are left not only responsible for bringing up Sámi issues, but some also felt left under political pressure as a result of the silence as outlined previously.

In addition, awareness of one's privileges and of power structures in general was raised:

> *I find that still, a lot of Finns, especially white, straight Finns don't understand their own position of power and the privileges that position has given them, so in general somehow the critical inspection of one's own privilege would be needed more widely for all generations.*

All of the power and politics narratives seem to run in some way contrary to one of the master narratives of Finland as an equal and fair welfare state and thus these teachers seem to have embraced dangerous memories. In other words, there are cracks in the majority Finnish regime of truth.

These notions were indeed linked with the teachers' views on the position of the Sámi in Finland and on Finnish majority--Sámi relations. While many teachers found that there is more visibility and the position is better compared with other indigenous peoples or the past, most saw (sometimes next to the previous notion) room for improvement or blatantly regarded it as "inferior", "colonial", "invisible" or "bad":

> Oppressed or sort of limited" refers to the Sámi definition "a minority must have the right to determine their culture and rights themselves and there is this sort of colonial legacy, which is not recognised in Finland in my opinion [...] there is this very long chain of oppression that needs to be unravelled. I still find the position weak in Finland. --Teacher

> It's the position of a minority people, which has its downsides that you're always in a childlike position. --Teacher

> Well, I think the position is bad and it should be better, my own perception is that the influence of the Sámi Parliament is pretty minimal compared to what it could be, I'm happy about the fact that there is a sort of consensus to preserve the language and culture—that's important and I've understood that some support is provided for that. So, in terms of language and culture we are going towards a much better situation, but then these sort of Arctic railway and other land ownership issues and in general indigenous rights, with those the situation is bad and in my opinion the government should apologise to the Sámi like they have done in the neighbouring countries. I don't understand what the hold up is. --Teacher

> Colonial, that's how it is in issues considering land or land use or logging or mining or in these sorts of issues it's most present. --Teacher

One of the teachers also mentioned that the issue has been discussed among history teachers but so far they haven't managed to systemically push it into schools. Though the breath of this knowledge and perspectives should not be overemphasised, this can make one wonder how many people have embraced these perspectives in their own bubbles but remain out of view for public discourses? And when does it become more dangerous to not embrace a dangerous memory than it may be to embrace one to maintain a sense of self and face to others, whether an individual or the state?

Though more people saw the situation as bad than directly talked about politics and power, many (also those who did not explicitly mention power and politics) expressed support for the Sámi on multiple issues. Also, the fact that a teacher regarded the relationship issue as contradictory depending on whom you ask suggests that the question itself has a political nature and of course it is possible that some of the teachers did not

want to or feel comfortable mentioning their stance. Some also found the question diffi-
cult to answer or said directly that they do not know.

The narratives were all systemic explanations to the issues even when connected to the
individual level. These also roughly correspond to Kuokkanen's (2007) notions of the
situation. Moreover, in involving thought processes, they also show agency and I would
argue are connected to one's internal pressure for proactive agency as one firstly sees
the need for changes and also the kind of change that is needed. Figure 5 summarises
the influencing factors regarding taking up the Sámi in teaching. This roughly corre-
sponds to the levels of investigating agency (Ojala et al., 2009, pp. 13–16).
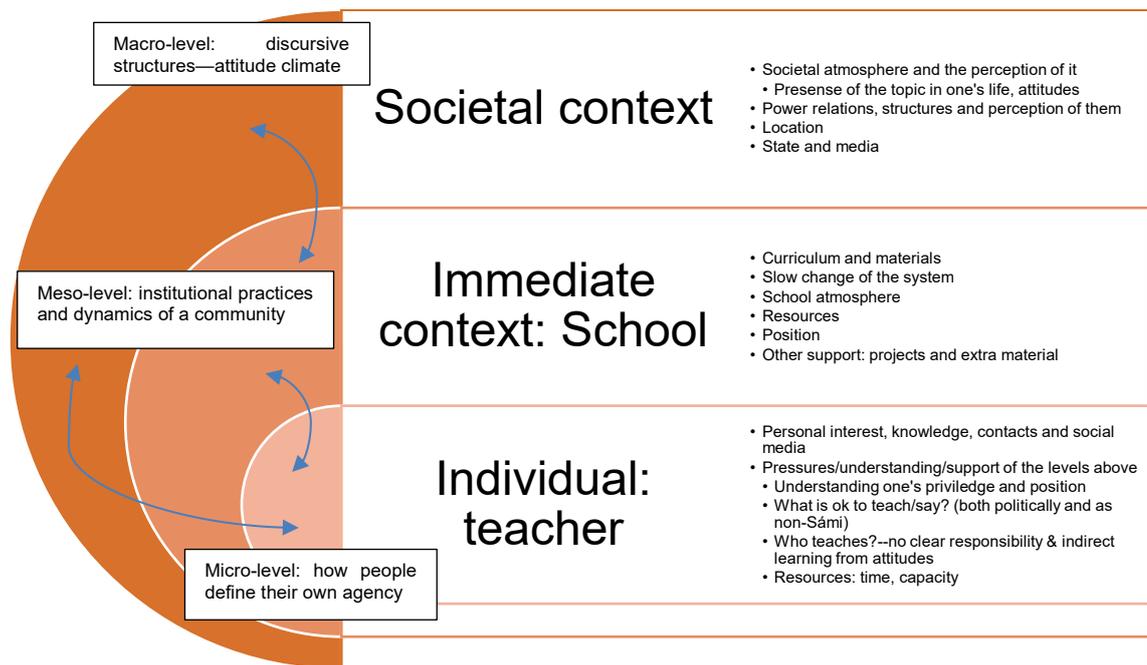
Figure 5. *Overview of factors, pressures and considerations regarding teaching
about the Sámi and bringing up Sámi perspectives*

6. DIHTOSIS—METHODS TO BREAK KNOWLEDGE HIERARCHIES

I will discuss the project further illustrated by people involved in organising Dihtosis, teachers' experiences of the workshops and examples of *Sukellus saamelaiskulttuuriin* (Diving into Sámi culture in seppo.io platform) game exercises and/or method deck exercises. This is divided into multiple sections for clarity and represent different ways of seeing Dihtosis. This division is analytical: examples in one section could easily be presented as examples in another. Therefore, these perspectives should not be seen as mutually exclusive but rather complimentary to each other and simultaneously present.

6.1 Dihtosis as self-determination of knowledge and Sámi education

I think what has succeeded very well here and is important is that the Sámi themselves have been at a very important, central role in the project [...] we want to highlight the Sámi right to self-determination of their own language and culture, so that's something very important that we tell, what the exercises are about is the kind of information that the Sámi want to be told about the Sámi. That's very important in terms of self-determination [...] and it's important that it's correct information, which does not add to the building up of stereotypes. –Dihtosis Sámi

As the quote above demonstrates, Dihtosis represents Sámi self-determination of the knowledge that is spread of the Sámi. This has arisen from the community, what they think is essential to know and thus also connects to Sámi values (see further). Moreover, Dihtosis can be understood to break the majority Finnish regime of knowledge and not only are the Sámi remembered but they are portrayed in the way that the Sámi want themselves be presented. This also represents proactive agency in both giving knowledge but also the kind of knowledge. This extends to the vocabulary used:

We looked pretty closely which concepts and what kind of vocabulary is used and that it's the kind of language that the Sámi use to talk about themselves [...] that it's the vocabulary that we wish that is used of the Sámi and Sámi related issues.--Dihtosis, Sámi

Self-determination is also realised through the application of practices from Sámi education:

Involvement and that the youth themselves get to form opinions on the topic and discuss with others, that has been important and also that it integrates into multiple school subjects and students can choose and according to skill and knowledge level --Dihtosis, Sámi

Sámi education is based on the idea of indirect learning--children are guided to think, observe and make conclusions for themselves by for instance telling stories about events or other people instead of directly instructing (Sámediggi, 2009, p. 11). Next to factual knowledge, children thereby learn also about attitudes, emotions and values. This does not entail manipulation or the absence of boundaries and support but provides children the opportunity for more self-guided learning and learning through trial and error, by working and playing (Sámediggi, 2013, p. 29). This is central in Dihtosis workshops and materials where the youth are encouraged to be active through exercises, discuss with each other and search for information. Learners have a more participatory and independent role. These notions have also been recognised by many classical pedagogues (for instance, Montessori and Freinet) as characteristic of good learning (Rahko-Ravantti, 2016, p. 108).

As pointed out by the Chair of the Youth Council, the way in which the project has progressed, involving the community, language groups and Sámi youth, also stems from the Sámi educational tradition. They continue that the youth are not seen only as the future, but crucial in the present. Therefore, it is important that they get to influence and act independently, in a manner which is good for them. Sámi youth may also not have received indigenous knowledge—it is a matter of identity and a sense of community belonging, which are actualised through Dihtosis. According to the Chair of the Youth Council, this entails furthering well-being: working together for usable knowledge, the good of the community and figuring out how one adjusts to the current situation. Involvement of Sámi youth and the Sámi Parliament in the process of developing materials can thus be seen to reflect not only self-determination but also Sámi values and understanding of space, where learning is not constrained into school systems (in fact the school is originally a foreign notion). Traditionally skills are learned in the environment they are used in and what is locally relevant is emphasised, while respecting the culture (Sámediggi, 2013). Though Dihtosis is made to fit the majority structures and Youth Academy practices have also been a strong basis, consistent with Sámi education, nature, the community and the society are all seen as part of the learning environment and can participate in education and learning. As the Chair of the Youth Council elaborates, this materialises in having Sámi youth visit the schools, which reflects the resource person

practice, where skilled people of the community participate in education regarding their field of expertise.

The resource person practice itself as an example of interaction within and outside school can be seen as a materialisation of the holistic view, Sámi sense of space as well as Sámi values such as community and participation (see Markkula & Helander-Renvall, 2014, pp. 12–13; Sámediggi, 2009). The Sámi education values are presented shortly in Figure 6 below.
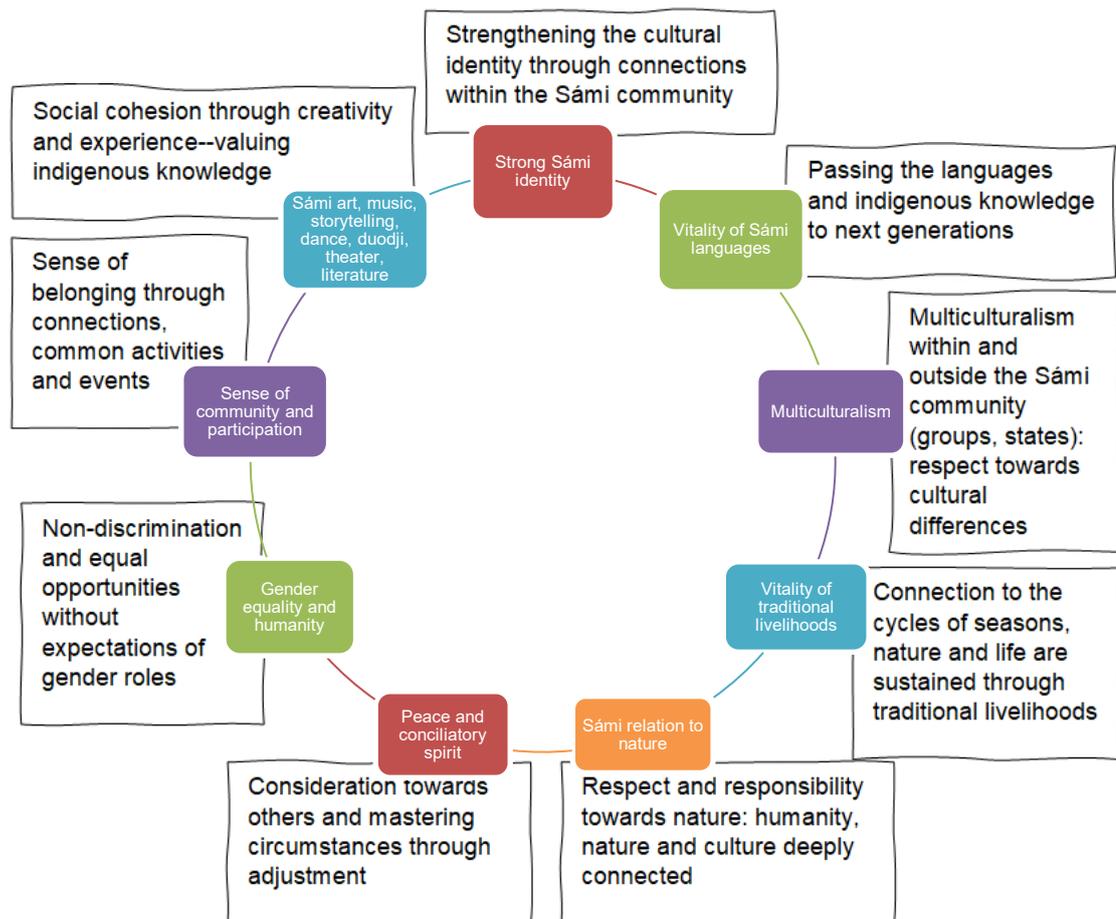

Figure 6. *Sámi cultural values in education, adapted from (Sámediggi, 2009, 2013)*

As hinted at, the Sámi values are rooted in how the project has progressed along with the knowledge and exercises presented. As the values are connected to each other and not separate entities, many are present at once in both procedures and exercises. For instance, the importance of nature is exemplified among others in the exercise below, where students are asked to think about how the Sámi relationship with nature shows in the North Sámi names of the months. The exercise also exemplifies the connectedness of language, culture, nature and indigenous knowledge, as the names of the months describe what happens in nature at a certain time. Here also a sustainable and ecological approach is highlighted—the Sámi are heard and understanding the traditional

relationship with nature also fosters safeguarding nature and giving value to local and culturally bound knowledge as noted by Chair of the Youth Council.

Similarly, the exercise on Sámi languages brings out for instance multiculturalism and Sámi identity next to the languages. This includes the Sámi as a people crossing state boundaries and through other exercises an indigenous people with rights as well as their own flag and national song, not merely a minority among others, which is more the tone of majority discourses. Sámi values are present in all exercises, also in further examples.

Luontokuukaudet

Exercise type: Creative
Maximum points: 2000

January, in North Sámi the "new year moon" describes the changing of the year. March is "swan month", as that's when the first swans arrive to the melted rivers of the North.

Familiarise yourselves with the North Sámi calendar and think about how the Sámi relationship with nature shows in the Sámi names of the months. Hand in your answer, 3 to 5 sentences and you'll get points according to the quality of your answer.

January (ođđajagimánnu) – new year month
February (guovvamánnu) – snow month
March (njukčamánnu) – swan month
April (cuoŋománnu) – deep snow month
May (miessemánnu) – calf month
June (geassemánnu) – summer month (fallow, field)
July (suoidnemánnu) – hay monthi
August (borgemánnu) - hair shedding month
September (čakčamánnu) – autumn month
October (golggotmánnu) – mating month
November (skábmamánnu) – polar night (kaamos) month
December (juovlamánnu) – Christmas month

Build your answer:

Video   Audio

Saamen kielet

Exercise type: Missing word
Maximum points: 1200

In total there are 9 Sámi languages. Familiarise with the languages by reading the text below and putting the missing word in its right place conjugated or in the basic form.

Missing words: writing system, state, North Sámi, dialect, Inari Sámi, linguist

Sámi languages are all separate languages, not

They are endangered, so in danger of disappearing.
_____ ,which is also spoken in Finland, has the most speakers. The further away the Sámi languages are from each other geographically, the harder it is for a speaker to understand another Sámi language.

Sámi languages do not follow _____ borders. Often they are spoken in several states. Exceptions include for instance _____ , which is spoken only in Finland on the shores of lake Inari as well as Kildini Sámi and Turja Sámi in Russia.

Not all Sámi languages have an officially accepted _____ of their own. They are mainly spoken languages. For instance, Skolt Sámi has its own officially accepted writing system, which is relatively new. Thus, people who speak Skolt Sámi as their mother tongue often don't know how to write in their own mother tongue. Mainly _____ write in Skolt Sámi.

In the project versatility has also been important, in terms of the range of topics dealt with (elaborated further later) and in providing different kinds of exercises and options for different kinds of learners. This is visible in game exercise types: there are multiple choice tasks, open answers, word/sentence connecting exercises, filling in the missing word and so on. Also, with the open answers one can write, do an audio recording or video. Additionally, within the method deck there are games, discussions, debates, but also information or picture searching exercises, some of which also include making a

visualisation element (e.g. posters). In the workshops different kinds of learners are considered as well, not limited to going between different levels of activity:

> It wasn't too lecture centred, the facts were condensed and then some interesting things were nicely brought up, like experiences of the youth and children which were on the video clips […] the kind of concreteness, I liked it, texts were compiled shortly, because it was always important that there were different things for different kind of learners: when a person talks, others remember super well by listening and others need a readable text, so they showed us the kind of slide shows that had the most important things gathered into text and there were a lot pictures and a splash of music on all the videos and finally a bit of yoik […] on the primary school lecture it was children who told about the Sámi on the video and in the other it was more the youth.-- Teacher Kalajoki

> They kind of also wanted background information but then there was also involvement through different techniques like write in the chat or now we divide into groups, even though we had it distantly, it worked […] you implement involvement through different ways-- Teacher Oulu

This can be seen to reflect Sámi education through the holistic premise, which shows in the goal to educate balanced and whole personalities, entailing not limiting one's knowledge and expertise to one area, but also seeing a person's education holistically. Things are traditionally taught in entities bringing out different sides of issues (Aikio in Rahko-Ravantti, 2016, p. 86). Moreover, considering different ways of learning also connects to indirect learning and student centeredness as students are free to do things in a way that is good for them. This also shows in the workshops as the Sámi youth can compile the lesson from a variety of exercises. Thus, the sessions are variated according to the person leading it, in terms of what kind of exercises they pick (which lesson they are going to, the age and level of the students), their personal take and the teachers wishes (Dihtosis discussion). This showed in different workshop compilations: while some elements, for instance the Sámi dress were nearly always present, exercises and topics varied from playing contemporary and traditional style Sámi music to discussing images of the North all the way to discussing issues of gender minorities in the Sámi community.

These points also connect to contemporary trends in mainstream education, which are closer to Sámi education, namely student centeredness, self-guidance and participation along with more holistic ideas with no traditional subject boundaries (e.g. problem based learning, phenomenon learning) brought up also in the Finnish curriculum in some

notions such as multidisciplinary topics and the learning community (Rahko-Ravantti, 2016, p. 108).
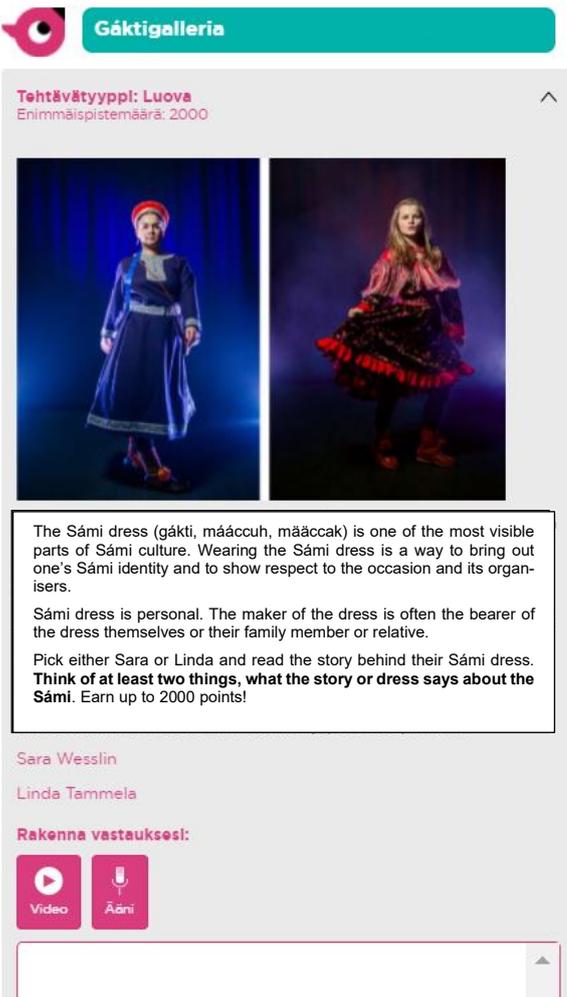
By definition of the way the topics have been picked, they are all important for the Sámi in terms of increasing understanding, respect and also moving forward in public discourses. This is evident in for instance discussing the Sámi dress (*määccak, máaccuh, gákti*). During workshops the different models, parts of the Sámi dress and what the different elements tell about the owner of the dress are often discussed and sometimes visitors would bring it with them or wear it for students to see, some also sharing the story of their own Sámi dress. In the adjacent exercise, students are asked to familiarise with the story of the Sámi dress of either Sara Wesslin or Linda Tammela and to think of at least two things that the story or dress tells about the Sámi.

Next to bringing out a personal story, these exercises or discussions in the workshop bring out its special meaning and appreciation:

> *It brings a good personal addition and maybe children are prompted to respect the Sámi dress, that it's not just any dress, it costs and people have collected money for it and it means something, that certain colours mark the dress from a certain area and you can immediately see what kind of dress it is.—Teacher Turku*

Understanding the meaning and appreciation also connects to the discussion on cultural appropriation and advancing that discussion:

> *Cultural appropriation, it's somehow difficult to understand so it's so good that it's included here, because it's in the media all the time. We are always at the same point and it's always the same that 'the Sámi got upset and the Sámi this'. Here we can somehow process it in a way that maybe in the future we can move on. -- Dihtosis, Sámi*

In the exercise below the meaning of cultural appropriation is explained followed by questions on what it can entail, why it's problematic and finally a few news articles where a Finn has worn a fake Sámi dress representing Finland and a question why this was not appropriate.

In the game exercises, the Sámi duodji trademark is also featured, which provides the majority with concrete knowledge of ethical choices, buying products that are made by the Sámi and thus supporting authentic Sámi handicrafts. Whether one is uncertain of using/wearing a certain item as non-Sámi, one can always ask.

It is important to note that the notions of Sámi education presented here are merely pieces and do not represent the entire picture. Moreover, there can also be some differences in how the Sámi values are understood between the North Sámi, Inari Sámi and Skolt Sámi cultures in Finland (Sámediggi, 2009, p. 13). As a whole, Dihtosis represents new ways of appropriating traditional knowledge to present day: it is processed by modern means (technology for instance) but still culturally tied. Also, the strong linkage to human rights discourses is present in Dihtosis exercises as well as the notion that getting rightful information is a human right to both the Sámi and the majority (Chair of the Youth Council).

6.2   Dihtosis as peace education and anti-prejudice methods

Also, we've wanted to maintain a positive angle throughout the project. Now we think that there's overall a need to share information and students and teachers want to receive information. Information is focused on and through an angle of positivity, having moments of realisation yourself, that the youth get conversation starters, which they themselves start to think about—what this means in their lives and in a way in the workshops also emotional education, strengthening dialogue and these sort of things take place, which fosters us to understand each other, diminishing hate speech and on the other hand decreasing polarisation or that people would live in harmony.--Dihtosis, non-Sámi

The focus on dialogue and increasing understanding brought up above connect to the peace education tradition: according to several peace researchers, peace education promotes peaceful relationships between all social groups, and thus, values of understanding, respect and tolerance are central as well as overcoming stereotypes, dichotomous thinking and polarisation (Carter, 2010, pp. 188–199; Korostelina, 2013, pp. 21–24). Moreover, considering antiprejudice approaches, providing correct information about a group hardly works in isolation and comes with various issues (Pedersen, Walker, et al., 2011). Information alone does not change behaviour and it runs the risk of homogenising and essentialising groups. Thus, providing information should be coupled with other mechanisms for it to be effective. One example includes participation, which has been central for Dihtosis: people should have the chance to participate and think for themselves instead of being passive recipients of a lecture. Needless to say this requires a safe environment for everyone (Pedersen, Walker, et al., 2011).

Besides working in a group and encouraging the youth to think and to discuss with each other, empathy and emotional education is present more explicitly in multiple exercises. For instance, the youth are asked to think about the meaning of apologising in the context of offensive skits and to think about structural discrimination towards minorities.

This supports empathy education. With that kind of a question you are led to how another person feels like, how something can be difficult for someone else, much more difficult when you are privileged yourself and you don't realise to think about it, because you are in a privileged position as the majority population […] you'd have the feeling, that everyone is included, that we understand each other and know how to listen to one another and discuss with respect […] we want to promote this sort of conciliation. –Dihtosis, non-Sámi

Empathy is central in both peace education and antiprejudice methods: empathy is one of the emotions negatively related to prejudice, more of the empathy, less prejudice. As for instance dealing with collective guilt is tricky (people tend to avoid the feeling of guilt), empathy may be more suitable and is central to most anti-prejudice interventions (Pedersen, Walker, et al., 2011). Furthermore, peace education includes commitment to non-violence in action and communication, non-discrimination and multicultural understanding. In practice, this can entail learning to recognise conflict or mistreatment and different forms of violence (also systemic and structural), acknowledging and seeing beyond one's privilege (Carter, 2010, pp. 188–199; Korostelina, 2013, pp. 21–24).

Additionally, Dihtosis brings out connections between the Sámi and the majority in some of its exercises including those of popular culture, long history and language as described by the Dihtosis member below:

> *We have one exercise where you reflect on which Sámi words have come into the Finnish language, of that there are different kinds of exercises, it has been led to both primary schools and university youth. It is in my opinion always thought provoking, perhaps raising the notion of how many connections we have and how long we've lived side by side.--Dihtosis, non-Sámi*

The Finnish language has inherited a lot of place names and other words from Sámi languages. Many words that have transferred from Sámi to Finnish relate to typical aspects of Sámi culture, nature or animals of the North.

Connect the word and its explanation. The word is written first in Finnish. The word in North Sámi, from which the Finnish word stems from, is in brackets

kaamos
kaamos (skábma)

A traditional Sámi music style which is not singing exactly but unisonous vocal music.

tundra
tundra (duottar)

A large mammal of the Arctic which has big tusks

ruska
ruska (ruški)

A cold zone. The word is considered the most known word originating from Sámi.

joiku
joiku (juoigan)

Describes the colour splendour of the autumn. The phenomenon comes about when the amount of light decreases and nights get colder

mursu
mursu (morša)

A lightweight dwelling, which is mostly built from wood leaning against each other and cloth, which is pulled around them

naali
naali (njálla)

Predator which is classified as extremely endangered in Finland. Lives on the tundra of the Northern hemisphere.

tokka
tokka (doahkki)

The period when the sun does not rise above the horizon. The phenomenon appears on the Arctic and Antarctic Circles and latitudes higher than them.

Focusing solely on commonality or difference is indeed risky according to Pedersen, Walker, et al. (2011). Therefore, both should be dealt with sophisticatedly, which often involves discussing disadvantage and privilege but also what is common. I would interpret this to include having both lighter as well as more difficult topics. In Dihtosis this was

also considered important and is visible in exercises where the students are asked to find their 'language pair' (the person that has the answer or question in the same language that matches your phrase), get to know the Sámi storytelling tradition through Christmas stallu or think about why it is important that a popular children's movie Frozen 2 was published also in Sámi at the same time with the rest of the world, while having exercises about the Arctic Railway, human rights and Sámi activism.

> *It (for instance the Chrismas stallu exercise) gives you new things and something to grasp, which maybe interest you in a different way. Somehow I especially like them or am I just tired and sick of always discussing cultural appropriation and the rights discussion, so there are also nice, light exercises which is also very good.--Dihtosis, Sámi*

> *Somehow for my own part, even though I also like that there is Christmas stallu and Frozen and everything, it's wonderful that there are also these easier ones that you can choose and interesting ones, but somehow I would've also hoped that once, when I was in lower secondary or upper secondary that there would've been, well maybe then it wasn't discussed with these terms, but it would have been good to know already then what for instance cultural appropriation means or somehow why the Arctic Railway, what the point of view of the Sámi is on that and what it actually means, because these are discussed very much from the point of view of the majority population and then a youngster does not necessarily know about the discussion.--Dihtosis, non-Sámi*

According to Carter (2010, pp. 188–199) and Korostelina (2013, pp. 21–24), human rights, redefining historical narratives and providing space for other narratives as well as different cultural norms outside the dominant group are an integral part of peace education. This therefore often involves dealing with dangerous memories, which are apparent here in for instance exercises dealing with privilege and issues of discrimination as well as Sámi perspectives on Deatnu and the Arctic Railway, not to mention Finnicization. These are still presented, at least in my interpretation, in a not-instilling-guilt-on-individuals kind of manner. Below the Frozen exercise and a part of the Finnicization exercise are presented.

Frozen 2

Exercise type: Creative
Maximum points: 2000

There are very few Sámi language children's programs. Unna Junná is the first Sámi language children's show to air on Finnish television.

Later on the Sámi and Walt Disney Animation Studios collaborated on the Frozen 2 movie. It was important for the Sámi to ensure that the Sámi culture is dealt with respectfully and appropriately in the movie. The movie came out in 2019 and was also published in North Sámi.

Think of two reasons, why it is important that a highly popular children's movie is published also in Sámi—and at the same time with the rest of the world?

Build your answer:

▶ Video   🎤 Audio

Exercise type: Multichoice
Maximum points: 300

Vastatkaa edellisen tekstin perusteella vielä seuraaviin monivalintakysymyksiin.

Colonialism is often used to refer to the times when European great powers endeavoured to expand their might outside the continent to colonies. Finland did not exactly participate in acquiring colonies, but it had similar ambitions and efforts towards Sámi areas. What is meant by settler colonialism?

○ Action, as the result of which a people supplants the indigenous people in the area by taking its resources and areas for itself

○ Process through which uninhabited areas are settled into

○ Action through which the indigenous population settles back to the areas of their ancestors

Exercise type: Multichoice
Maximum points: 300

The Sámi owned the *Siida*.lands at least till the 1600s. Through the centuries the ownership disappeared. How big of a portion of the *Siida* lands is nowadays so called state land?

○ About 50%

○ About 70%

○ About 90%

Additionally, the context of the school and particular classes was carefully considered through looking at curricula and creating activating and interesting exercises and workshops that were suitable to the group and their level (age and knowledge) in question. Teachers were happy with the balance of information and activities and found both parts crucial.

Moreover, Dihtosis widens the image of the Sámi beyond stereotypes central to peace education. In that it breaks the essentialist view of Sámi identity it also constitutes a dangerous memory:

> *Somehow bringing the Sámi into the modern time: there is a lot of media and rap and these sorts of things. A lot of the time schoolbooks are preservatory ('putting the Sámi in a museum' like), they preserve the Sámi, talking about a people somewhere (far), so we wanted to bring that up and also that the Sámi don't only live within the Sámi area [...] the basic image of the Sámi needs to be widened somehow. --Dihtosis, Sámi*

For example, besides introducing traditional Sámi music yoik and discussing impressions of different pieces, the exercises introduce Sámi rappers and ask students to think about why it is important that they make youth music in Sámi languages, Áilu Valle in North Sámi and Amoc in Inari Sámi. In the workshops having workshop holders from Sámi youth also fostered a concrete connection to the youth and present:

Exercise type: Creative
Maximum points: 1000

Get to know Sámi rappers!

Choose one of the songs. Play it and **while listening think of two reasons, why it is important that Amoc (in the picture) and Áilu Valle make youth music in Sámi languages**?

·····

Amoc: Kiälláseh feat. Áilu Valle

From Inari Mikkâl Morottaja (born 1984), known as Amoc is the world's first person to do rap in Inari Sámi language. Amoc's music is mainly heavy "monster rap", as they describe their style. They see their music as a means to spread awareness of Sámi culture.

·····

Áilu Valle: Sáhtán ja máhtán (voin ja osaan)

Áilu Valle is from Utsjoki. By profession Áilu is a teacher, teaching in Sámi language and while rapping they feel they are doing important language revitalisation. In their music, Áilu brings forth for instance Sámi culture and human's relationship with nature. With music Áilu wants to raise awareness on the concern for the future.

Build your answer:

Video | Audio

> *I think it was ingenious that it was a young person, who came to tell, who belongs themselves, is Sámi, those were two crucial things here when you talk to the youth. You can give plenty of this sort of teaching, but here it was very smart, then you don't get the feeling that you're talking about something in the 1800s but the here and now—more of this absolutely. --Teacher Espoo*

Teachers in general found it crucial that the school visitor was Sámi, providing expertise and a chance for identification:

Great meaning that the holder of the workshop was Sámi themselves, you get a different experience of connection and it's easier to identify with and it also provokes interest. --Teacher intern

The most meaningful in it was that the holder of the workshop was Sámi themselves [...] when we see, even if it's just from the screen, we still notice that exactly, we are all people [...] the workshop was so well done and the fact that it was that good distantly, so what would have the in-present version been; now when some time has passed, it's as if they were there, their presence was so strong on that board […] an excellent way to spread Sámi culture, extremely, it for sure stuck with the kids—myself I felt like I'd like to learn more.--Teacher Turku

Always nice when someone makes the effort to come and talk about the topic in their own words and if there is a question, they can answer, I don't need to say that I'll look into it or wait a second, I'll see if I can find something on that, it's always more efficient when it's a person to whom the topic is close to or is Sámi themselves or attached to the topic, it's good absolutely--Teacher Turku

Though contact between members of groups has had mixed results considering antiprejudice initiatives (see Pedersen, Walker, et al., 2011), Dihtosis has managed, at least based on the comments of these teachers, to establish meaningful contact that supports understanding, dialogue and learning. This is not only done by having workshop facilitators from Sámi youth but also through having exercises involving articles with Sámi voices or using videos in some workshops, where Sámi youth or children got to speak. In certain settings this may be a better way as "The primary responsibility lies with the perpetrators, not the groups that are negatively targeted, to rectify issues of prejudice" (Pedersen, Walker, et al., 2011, p. 59).

One of the teachers also said that especially immigrant children identified with the issues brought up:

What was very visible was that, I said we have a lot of immigrant children in our class, so in a way, when there was a young Sámi woman living in the same city who tells them things, they somehow identified with that.--Teacher Turku

I would interpret this to connect to the one-sidedness of the Finnish materials and curriculum and narrow (above all white) portrayal of Finnishness, which can make anyone not identifying with that image feel otherness or pressure to fit into the ideal (see Riitaoja in Eid, 2019; Keskinen et al., 2021; Tervonen, 2014). The purpose is not to say that everybody coming from 'outside' would feel this nor to imply that no one in the perceived majority could feel it. But if the collective stories and identities presented are narrow and

one does not see themselves in them, it may feel like a breath of air to get a wider portrayal.

There are indeed other peoples and minorities that are left out and forgotten within the system (Riitaoja in Eid, 2019). Some of the teachers mentioned this as well and said that there is overall an issue of inclusion of different perspectives and becoming conscious of privileges. A few while concerned also seemed worried, whether and how this task could be tackled as teachers already have a lot on their plate. Some schools and teachers had also found ways for further inclusion: for instance, one teacher said they planned to also celebrate the Roma national day and had planned something in cooperation with parents, while in one school awareness was raised on the deaf community and sign language (which also used to be forbidden from use) through videos and exercises. Nonetheless, responsibility of these kinds of entities is quite something to leave solely on individual teachers (Vuorikoski et al., 2003, pp. 40–47).

In this section Dihtosis was connected to principles of peace education and methods used in anti-prejudice interventions. It is important to note that while the peace education tradition has ideas of merit, it has been criticised for its essentialist understanding of peace and justice, disregarding connections of social injustice and conflict and ultimately its base in the dominant realm of knowledge, taking its structures such as the nation state, democracy and the school system as truths without questioning them and disregarding power structures and inequalities embedded within (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012, pp. 26–35).

This connects to wider discussions on culture of peace and everyday peace building. Culture of peace in its UN defined form includes many aspects mentioned here from peace education such as human rights, understanding, tolerance and education for peaceful resolution of conflicts and is sometimes seen as the foundation and goal of peace education (De Rivera, 2004; Navarro-Castro & Nario-Galace, 2010, pp. 23–27). However, this is also based on a liberal conception (De Rivera, 2004) and connects to the liberal peace framework. The latter has long been the dominant basis for peace building, the ideas of which were rooted in liberal philosophy: democracy, free markets and the primacy of institutions especially the state (Richmond, 2009). These notions have been criticised due to their top-down nature, interventionist policies and subtle forms of colonialism embedded in the idea of liberal superiority, not to mention the inability of the liberal peace framework to provide peace in its standardized form in a variety of contexts. In contrast, everyday peace advocates for the importance of everyday interactions, local voices and narratives while giving less focus on the state. In other words, as Michel de Certeau puts it, the everyday entails how individuals navigate and conduct their activities

amidst institutions of power (Richmond, 2009). Thus, peace is formed in seemingly mundane interactions in the everyday, making engagement with the everyday and excluded groups crucial (Berents, 2015; Richmond, 2009). The state or institutions in general are not seen as obsolete, but local, everyday experiences are valued.

Through this the actions of Dihtosis and teachers who address the topic can be seen next to part of the process of decolonisation, shortly revealing and deconstructing colonial structures (see Kuokkanen, 2007), also as everyday peace building. While it connects to many of the UN culture of peace ideas and engages with institutions it also engages with people, youth and teachers in their everyday drawing from its own perspectives, value basis and emphasis on self-determination, something that could also be better highlighted in culture of peace. Moreover, the agency of people is crucial.

Regarding anti-prejudice interventions, the full list of Pedersen, Walker et al.'s (2011) 14 mechanisms is presented in Figure 7. Note that a few of them have had varying results in their effectiveness and context makes a difference. Though there is not much, scientifically considered, rigorous research done on the effectiveness of antiprejudice interventions (Pedersen, Walker, et al., 2011, p. 58), and bearing in mind the limitations of experimental conditions versus real life, there is however indication that these mechanisms have positive effects. Pedersen, Paradies et al. (2011) found that an intervention using these mechanisms increased positivity towards cultural 'outgroups' as well as intention to speak out against incidents of prejudice when they were not directly involved, bystander antiprejudice that is. Furthermore, these mechanisms and presenting diversified perspectives connected to positions aid critical thinking, increase understanding and self-reflection.

Moreover, Oceja and Jiménez (2007) discovered in their experiments regarding awareness of others in a social dilemma, that those who felt high empathy towards a person, allocated more resources to that individual as opposed to people who felt less empathy or who had no opportunity to feel it. Empathy also increased the awareness of other specific individuals in the same situation, connected in some way to the person who sparked the empathy (Oceja & Jiménez, 2007).

The provision of information
Involving the audience with respect from both sides
Choose emotions to tackle wisely
Emphasise both commonality and difference
Consider the context
Invoking cognitive dissonance (pointing to incompatibility of one's beliefs)
Evaluation
Discussing consesus effects: building and invoking social norms, e.g. prejudiced people's tendency to overestimate their support in the community
Arranging appropriate contact
Discussing group identities, e.g. national identity, whiteness
Finding alternative talk
Addressing the source and function of attitudes: values, direct and indirect experience
Appropriate length of intervention
Multiple voices from multiple disciplines

Figure 7. *Mechanisms and tools for antiprejudice interventions (Pedersen, Walker, et al., 2011)*

6.3   Dihtosis as practical and needed

My gut feeling is that for the most majority population teachers the Sámi are not a familiar topic at all, it's not ill willed like 'nah don't feel like it' but it can be that simply you don't find the time for it in your work that 'I shall build an extra lesson from this piece of educational content as well', when there is constantly too little time and too many things to teach plus making entries into Wilma till you drop, so this is a very good tool for the everyday (real) life of a teacher, which is scheduled by the minute day after day and such a hectic rhythm, that someone kind of offers, 'well hey here is a set package and free'.—Teacher Kalajoki

Next to the well-thought and grounded methods, the workshops were simply needed as pointed out by several teachers and indicated by the popularity of the project. As presented in the previous sections, teachers may be too busy and burdened to familiarise themselves, collect materials and create a lesson or uncertain about how to bring up the topic. To these issues Dihtosis has offered aids that have been popular showing both the need and successfulness of the materials. In conceptual terms Dihtosis has aided teachers in proactive agency on the issue. School visitors are often asked personally to

come again and students found sessions interesting, some were inspired to look into the topic further:

> *It usually goes very well with the students, they're astonishingly interested in the topic and of course the methods are the kind that they are in principle quite acti-vating, so that helps of course. […] once I was in the same school to tell first for one 9th grade class and then another. When I came for the other one, the teacher who had ordered the visits for both gave me this poster on which the class had crafted what they had learnt of the Sámi and it was in the colours of the Sámi flag. I thought that was absolutely wonderful—they were ninth graders! --Dihtosis, Sámi*

> *Some were inspired to look up information online themselves afterwards and asked questions and made comments […] and then they have asked afterwards for in-stance and can we listen to the songs and music sometime and about yoik, that they have asked about afterwards about how the sound is produced and how do they know about what they yoik, if they don't yoik with actual words and so on. These kinds of questions at least come to mind, one student wanted to write eve-rything down. –Teacher Oulu*

A few of the teachers also mentioned that having someone outside of the school visit has power in general, as the students "perhaps a bit unconsciously respect the guest and then they perhaps listen more closely what that person is saying than if it's the same person who yaps at the front of the class everyday". Many teachers also said that it encouraged them in taking up the topic on their own in class or organise something for a bigger group or the entire school, which indicates at least a partial ripple effect that has also been the goal of Dihtosis, to make knowledge about the Sámi something normal and everyday.

There was hardly any negative feedback. Some teachers had trouble finding the project and said that it could be marketed more. Furthermore, a few were overall very content but had small comments: one said their session could have been even more active, while another said that it would have been interesting to have even more on the language. This is in line with the overwhelmingly positive feedback that has been collected of Dihto-sis. Finally, the teachers also saw similar meaning and importance in raising the topic as the Dihtosis members:

> *Additionally, we have some students at school, one of the parents of whom is for instance Sámi so yes in my view the strengthening of the identity is above all quite important […] these are small lifelines […] but the fact that you create acceptance and that it gets recognised and it's not forgotten and it's seen as a good thing and*

it's seen as a valuable thing, even if it's only for one day or just for a quick moment. –Teacher Rovaniemi

Indeed for many the Sámi were as if they were a foreign and distant people, with whom you wouldn't have much if anything in common even though they probably couldn't recognise a Sámi youngster from a Finnish one if they met [...] and also for knowledge of cultures and at the moment somehow the fact that the position of the Sámi could be more consciously improved if people are more aware of issues and perhaps that more voice would be given to the Sámi instead of if the majority population just walking over them and saying that they only get upset and so on, it's very outdated, so yeah somehow we'd need open-mindedness and knowledge of different cultures and knowledge of difference, and acceptance. I believe that that would strengthen, if we'd be more aware of what a heterogenous bunch lives here in Finland and what is Finnishness and what is the experience of a Finnish Sámi for instance and so on. Probably recognising the power structures in Finland better somehow.--Teacher Oulu

This was in addition to fighting wrongful information and hate speech. Many teachers also mentioned it being general knowledge. Figure 8 summarises these points from both the perspective of the teachers and Dihtosis members.

Teachers	Dihtosis
• General knowledge ("Yleissivistys"), knowledge of cultures within Finland, not just those from the 'outside' • Supporting the Sámi--identity and rights • Positive light--against hate speech and wrongful information • Increasing awareness, understanding and respect (it is valuable) • Improving the position of the Sámi and giving voice, non-discrimination • Also important to discuss problems • Dihtosis especially provided concreteness and knowledge from the Sámi--identification and 'professionals' and was free to schools	• Weeding out hate speech, racism and bullying • Media does not reach the youth--> another way • Increasing visibility and normalising the Sámi • Improving the position of the Sámi, doing good for the Sámi community • Supporting the development of Sámi identities • Bringing the depictions of Sámi to present • Understanding, empathy, dialogue, avoiding polarisation • Self-determination in knowledge shared, procedure and wording • Common good of knowledge as a human right and fairness

Figure 8. Summary of the importance given to Dihtosis and increasing knowledge

6.4   Dihtosis as limited—needs for action

Of course no project solves a problem in one go, I don't mean that this would in some way be an unsuccessful project, but if you think about it in practice, in our school two groups heard about it—that's excellent—others didn't, but in my opinion these sorts of things are essential, these kind of, of course visits are always great, they're more memorable…but all of these set materials and such, they are essential. The 'remember to talk about these, this or that thing in school' does not help if aids are not offered, 'talk about it in this way or use this ready-made material or invite a visitor from here--done. --Teacher Tampere

As a project, Dihtosis has limitations on scope and its continuation is uncertain. Though Dihtosis can be seen to break knowledge hierarchies in multiple ways, they do not necessarily reach everybody, and it is uncertain how long the operations continue. This has been a concern for Dihtosis along with the uncertainty of funding, which has been a struggle as resources are scarce to begin with:

Limited resources in the end, that by sector there's one official who is in charge of their own sector, we had when I started was it three projects at the same time and those are, well not extra, but additional to the basic operations, so we've had work to do and of course as the funding is not ensured, it's also very uncertain. Like I said before, we had the first year and it was ordered out and then we apply for more money and it takes a few months and schools are asking and we don't know

whether it'll continue and then we get money and everything starts with a hustle. And then this is the third time we've gone through this mayhem.--Dihtosis, Sámi

The scarcity of resources thus limits Sámi agency and connects to wider under resourcing indicating the power of the state and perhaps the unawareness within, since they have also gone through the system:

When distributing the funding people perhaps don't understand that especially the Digiärrä, as it is a statutory service and it is a constitutional right that you get, that you have at least one page in Sámi language, then people don't understand how big of a significance the project has. The Youth Council operates for the Sámi youth or the Sámi community in general and because we don't get the 15, 000 euros, we will have nothing for the Sámi youth and it's pretty sad that it's not understood. Of course, I understand that there's corona and all, but still 15, 000 euros is not big money in the State Treasury. --Chair of the Youth Council

From politics I remember that in every budget meeting you need to fight about, whether e.g. the Sámi language centre Giellagas gets funding or not. There are many things that don't get permanent government funding even though it should be self-evident. --Teacher previously involved in politics

Dihtosis thus still works with the limitations of the current power-knowledge structures, not only adapting to majority systems but also in terms of funding. Although the funding is uncertain, the situation of colleagues at the Ministry's end is also recognised:

Dihtosis is on MINEDU's separate funding and when we went to talk to them, it's probably quite rare that the same project gets a third year of separate funding and usually they are only these innovative development initiatives. Of course, we've always had something new that this game or the game for primary schools, how it expanded to primary schools that there is something new, but this is kind of basic operation like and we're on our third year, so at the MINEDU they find this important and they have at least brought it up for us that we're doing important work […] but I think that also there people don't really know to whom and where this would belong (under whose responsibility). –Dihtosis, Sámi

Though it may also be confusing and a question of responsibility within state agencies, the wider lack of funding and uncertainty can leave individuals with great personal responsibility and input:

We applied for additional funding for it (Digiärrä) so that we could make it permanent, but we didn't get the funding, it's always takes away from the Sámi youth and because we didn't get the additional funding, I mean I do Youth Council things four

hours a day in the Youth Council, then I study and then I have the reindeer tasks and I do this practically for free. Through the Digiärrä project I've also gotten some pay for producing social media content, but now when we have no funding for that, I need to do it completely for free. --Chair of the Youth Council

Moreover, there is the question of responsibility in general, who should ensure that these topics are dealt with in an appropriate manner?

As we would also have other development activities, for instance we'd like to develop youth culture in Sámi languages, which hardly exists here in the North, then you have to prioritise a bit, which projects advanced, because we have such limited resources also at the Sámi Parliament to run projects […] The Youth Council does this project work but whose task is it really? What if the Youth Council doesn't get the funding for the fourth year, then what? That's an interesting question and also, we don't reach, is it about 100 visits per school year—that's not a whole lot. --Dihtosis, Sámi

Many of the teachers indeed emphasised how wider action is needed—additional education for teachers and renewal of book and the curriculum:

The only things that would ensure them getting into the teaching are class teacher education and the curriculum. In the curriculum it would need to be a binding content of some subject so that people who make the schoolbooks would have to consider it and teachers would need to consider it. –Teacher Tampere

In my opinion it could at least be added into the curriculum so that it would be like all the other topics addressed every year and always going deeper a bit, so I think it could be added there in multiple places and several subjects [...] similarly as there are these multiculturalism courses nowadays, I think it could be included as a topic area there, indigenous culture(s). –Teacher Oulu

I think all teachers, whatever subject they teach, could benefit from additional education on the topic and yeah. We would need more knowledge and more Sámi voices in public discourse so that gradually the majority population would firstly hear what they are saying and could understand it. —Teacher Oulu

It wouldn't hurt to have it more prepared in learning materials, so that it would also work as tools for those teachers who don't feel like making the effort or who don't have the time or who don't realise to make the effort [...] in primary school books it's scattered here and there, but I think it would be better that they'd be in one chapter in the books too, if you talk about minority peoples then basic facts would be gathered somewhere in one place, at least I'd hope for that. Otherwise, it

requires for the teacher to take care that they'll be addressed at some point.—Teacher Kalajoki

Absolutely, students should know and it should be in the curriculum, within subjects that you know about all the groups of the population living in the country, but especially the indigenous people, would be extremely important for general knowledge […] of course all the additional material, I mean I would gladly use it, if there is some, but that only means that those teachers who are interested would use it, so that's why the curriculum and the schoolbooks, schoolbooks also have an awful lot of power, so those should change first so that it would be applied wider, equally across the schools of Finland. —Teacher Espoo

At the same time, many teachers along with Dihtosis members explicitly said that more than regular school teaching is needed. (To be clear, this was not a question that was asked in the interviews, but brought up from the initiative of the teachers):

The Youth Council is very important to me and Dihtosis is a really important project for me, so even though it takes resources from us to carry out something for Sámi youth, I want the project to make progress, because I don't believe that the usual lessons where teachers talk about the Sámi meet the current needs. We need these visits, because we don't need visibility only in schools, but overall in Finland and media and decision making. --Chair of the Youth Council

Somehow I think, does it make up for having a Sámi person talk about it, I'd rather be in favour of, if they're thinking about that in this project, that it would be someone from the indigenous population because the workshop worked so well distantly so it wouldn't require for the person to come [...] even if you'd record the workshop and send it, it would work like that. --Teacher Turku

I feel that now I have ok or quite good abilities as I've done some research and especially the workshop reinforced that, but I'd definitely want, I'd invite them again if at all possible, I would gladly order it again. I think it was very practical, I hope that the project continues and that as many schools as possible get to utilise it, because it's so much more concrete and influential, when the message comes from a Sámi person. --Teacher Oulu

In my opinion, especially this sort of topic would need vivid material, videos or something like that, where you could get into it, that you'd also influence emotions through that, you'd also see a bit what life has been like or is at the moment. --Teacher Espoo

A goal for Dihtosis has in fact been to secure permanent funding to be able to further develop their model as a part of their permanent operations. This would ease the pressure of uncertainty for both the project members as well as schools since they have been eagerly involved:

> *The vision is that we'd secure the funding and make it permanent and then we could start to create our own model, either the old one, the Norwegian one or a hybrid—for that we need to listen to the Sámi youth, how they find it, the Sámi community and teachers—of course we hope that it's also ordered to Sámi schools, we need to reach the majority population but also offer the Sámi schools what they need. --Chair of the Youth Council*

There have also been ideas to integrate the school visitor program as a themed internship to Giellagas institute or teacher education. This could aid in one of the challenges, in the beginning recruiting the workshop holders was challenging, as many do it next to their studies and are busy: "you have so much going on and it's such a small group, the Sámi, so it's very understandable that you don't have the time or energy".

7. DISCUSSION

In this study, with Dihtosis we collaboratively explored the project and the situation of teachers in schools through having discussions with the project and interviewing 10 teachers. Though teachers saw improvement in that the Sámi were at least mentioned in schoolbooks and the curriculum, they rather described lack of structural support: in the curriculum the Sámi are mentioned in the long and wordy general section where it is easily left unnoticed or as the responsibility of someone else as it is not clear where the topic should be addressed. In the analysis differences in area were also found in terms of institutional support and experience in the need of it highlighting the contextuality and co-presence relating to knowledge, power and agency. Many of the teachers like people in general do not know enough or feel like they know enough to bring up such a, rather sensitive topic and in their current time and topic pressure do not necessarily have the time to familiarise properly; Teachers were worried about what they can say and if they say something wrong but also whether they can talk about it since the state remains rather silent about the matter and they felt the attitude climate in general not inviting. Thus, the teachers are left on their own to rectify what they described as the system being unequal in terms of the knowledge and identity support for the Sámi as well as providing the majority knowledge to avoid wrongful information and stereotypes to root and to further understanding and the position of the Sámi. Simultaneously, Sámi perspectives have not been taken into consideration in the making of the curriculum.

In other words, what is presented to the majority is framed as neutral knowledge while it is actually based on selective and purposeful processes of memory, remembering and forgetting, which represent the majority Finnish regimes of truth that recreate the existing power relations, and thus, also the current injustices often remain unreported or misunderstood. One needs to individually follow Sámi news and activists or actively seek out works that provide this information—individuals are left responsible for a structural problem. Thus, the situation is epistemically violent towards the Sámi as they are still often presented through the majority gaze, which hinders hearing their voices. Moreover, indigenous knowledge and knowledge of experience may not be accepted as viable sources. The educational system, which is built from majority starting points, is itself colonial towards the Sámi as majority history, systems and values are learnt there instead of Sámi ones—education in a manner appropriate to the culture is also stated in indigenous rights (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007). Within the educational system this can be linked to the coloniality of the system in

general, its representation of whiteness and middle class in terms of knowledge but also behavioural norms, many other peoples or minorities are also left out. This is also a matter of structural racism—the histories and accomplishments of non-white[15] people (including the Sámi) are left out and overlooked. In the area we now call Finland, there have always been people of varied backgrounds and also the history of racism and racialisation is long (Seikkula & Keskinen, 2021), which is hardly made visible and also the educational system is based on these thoughts. School in Finland in general has moved to focusing on individuality in the terms that the societal situation is not considered, but both the position of the teacher and the system (in its whiteness, middle classness, heteronormativeness etc.) is neutralised and seen as normal (Riitaoja in Eid, 2019).

Overall, the current state of knowledge has all-encompassing effects which materialise in stereotypes and hate speech, Sámi individuals having to carry the burden of educating professionals and anyone curious of the Sámi as well as the perpetuating neglect and lack of understanding of Sámi rights whether it concerns language, lands, climate crisis, cultural appropriation, legislation or the public discussion of these issues, where members of the majority can still aim to define the 'truth' and 'appropriate feelings' of the Sámi. Also the internal discussion of the community becomes more difficult, when resources need to be used elsewhere. In practice varied forms of racism and violence are enabled through unawareness. As a whole, this can be linked to the logic of elimination of settler colonialism and structural racism, which the majority population should learn to understand in wider terms and to constructively discuss these topics. Otherwise, the frame of discussion is defined beforehand from a position of power and they strengthen these positions. There should be room for negative feelings of those who suffer fron these structures, without them being labelled as people who upset themselves. The wide scale epistemic violence towards the Sámi is to an extent extended to those of the majority who are sympathetic (of course not to the same degree) as they may have also received hate speech or are worried in political terms what they can say, hindering their proactive agency.

The unawareness also worms its way in to shape individual encounters and the situation is not only unfair towards the Sámi:

> *It's in a way unfair towards the majority population that they need to send messages that 'I don't know enough about the Sámi' or that 'I'm ashamed that I don't*

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[15] Whiteness does not refer only to skin color, but a norm and ideal that consists of multiple qualities based on which racialised differentiations are made (Seikkula & Keskinen, 2021)

> *know', but it's also unfair towards the Sámi that they need to receive these messages. --Chair of the Youth Council*

After all, information is also a human right (Chair of the Youth Council) enshrined on a general level in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948) and more specifically in Article 15 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples:

> *1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information.*

> *2. States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among indigenous peoples and all other segments of society. (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007)*

Teachers themselves explained the situation in schools through multiple, complementary narratives, which all linked to systemic explanations: The cycle of unawareness, in other words, teachers having not learned about it themselves naturally perpetuates not teaching on. Moreover, structural change was seen to take long. Politics and power was another narrative mentioned by multiple teachers who saw the state benefiting from keeping it hidden and/or political interests of parties involved. In general, power structures and one's position in them is hardly discussed in school. Thus, many of the teachers had embraced dangerous memories of the state and many of them had been proactive agents also next to ordering the Dihtosis workshop by holding lessons themselves before or after, organising something for the entire school or collecting materials for others. Yet for the most part, they were the only active ones in their school communities. This also raises the question of when dangerous memories seize to be 'dangerous', and what kind of a perception of the state and its actors forms in the minds of also the majority if the course of action and structures are not changed and/or issues are not reported, when gradually people know more and attitudes change.

Considering the context of teachers, Dihtosis was regarded as a much needed and preferred tool to the hectic everyday work of teachers and meaningful in providing much more knowledge than school materials and a chance to identify with a Sámi person through video or physical presence, making it much more influential and current. It also fostered the proactive agency of teachers by giving them more confidence to take up the issue on their own. Furthermore, Dihtosis works from the premise of self-determination

of knowledge and employed Sámi values and principles of Sámi education such as indirect learning, involvement and the resource person practice. Thus, Dihtosis breaks the hierarchies of knowledge by not only presenting issues not usually presented but also drawing from their own system of knowledge. Dihtosis also employs principles of peace education and antiprejudice methods by for instance bringing out silenced histories, drawing from human rights, fostering peaceful relations, employing empathy, bringing out commonalities and differences and involvement next to providing information.

Dihtosis is however limited in scope and by uncertain state funding, it remains so far a temporary project—so far the responsibility remain on the shoulders of Sámi and majority individuals. Wider action is thus needed with respect to Sámi self-determination and the currently burdened context of teachers. Teachers rooted both for structural changes in curricula, books and teacher education and continuation of Dihtosis as this was seen as more influential and in general material that also taps into emotions (e.g. films) is needed on the topic. All in all, Dihtosis works in the frame where knowledge is a human right and enabler of both power and agency. Through its actions and principles Dihtosis can be seen to participate in efforts of decolonisation and everyday peacebuilding.

Taken a step further memory is integral in the process of reconciliation (Rigney, 2012). This connection is not simple as it can also reinforce division, yet I would argue that considering most majority Finns are unaware about the needs and background for such a process in the first place, foreclosure may be a larger danger: since collective memories and representations of them are constructed through what is relevant in the present, when the Sámi are not included in this, we are effectively saying that they would not be important in the present. Thus, if the state (and us as regular people) is serious about the truth and reconciliation process (and not just the formal one), not only using the formal process as a performance and political technique, it could do well to see the process as "the beginning of a new negotiation about present conditions" and as "permanent transition" (Rigney, 2012, pp. 253–254) as well as to promote opportunity to engage or engage themselves with the everyday (people, situations) next to structural changes. Thus, the operation and popularity of Dihtosis and the fact that many of the teachers had embraced 'dangerous' memories is a hopeful start of everyday engagement.

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APPENDIX A: TEACHER INTERVIEW OUTLINE

This outline was flexibly applied.

- Introduction

    o Introducing myself and the practical matters of the research concerning voluntary nature, privacy etc.

    o This interview and research is about the Dihtosis project and through that the awareness of the Finnish majority on the Sámi, knowledge of the Sámi in the Finnish educational system and by association the relationship between the Sámi and the majority population. The purpose is not to place blame: current or historical issues are not your fault. The goal is more to form an overview of the situation. There are no right or wrong answers so please answer honestly.

- Background information

    o Which subject(s) do you teach? When did you graduate?

    o What grade? What kind of class?

    o Were the Sámi or Sámi related topics addressed in teacher education? How?

    o How many workshops have you had?

    o On which lesson was the workshop on?

    o Distant or in-school workshop?

- The workshop

    o Why did you order the workshop?

    o What did you want to give your students/yourself?

    o Describe the workshop (from start to finish)

    o How did the workshop go? What did you think about it?

    o What did you think about the content? (different elements and themes)

    o How was the discussion of issues? (as in easy, difficult, differences between themes etc.)

    o How was student reception of the workshop? –View/approach: How is the class usually vs. this situation)-group dynamics

- Dihtosis project (small introduction to bridge—teaches the majority about Sámi culture, funded by MINEDU, funding till 30.06.2021)

  - How do you see Dihtosis in terms of increasing knowledge?

  - Have you held lessons on your own? (e.g. by using the method deck—if they know it)

  - How have the theory and activity-based methods worked together? (activities and discussion vs. merely school book, theory studying—group dynamics)

- Awareness

  - What did you know before of the Sámi or Sámi related issues and where have you come across them?

  - What has this prior information been like? (Different?)

  - Did you learn something new? (What?)

  - Did you expect to learn something new? Were you surprised by something?

  - What kind of abilities do you have to teach about Sámi related issues?

  - Are you aware of Sámi rights? Do you know current examples or cases, where they or their state appear?

  - What do/did you know about the current situation of the Sámi?

  - What do/did you know about the history of the Sámi?

  - What topics related to the Sámi/ Sámi culture interest you?

  - How would you describe the position of the Sámi in Finland?

  - How would you describe the relationship between the Sámi and the (majority) Finns?

  - Have you come in touch with Sámi people or Sámi related issues? Describe these situations.

- Addressing Sámi issues in schools

  - Is there and if so what kind of content related to the Sámi in your class/school outside of the project?

  - Do the learning materials address the Sámi and if so how?

- o Would you need and if so what kind of assistance and tools?

- o What is the school atmosphere like considering the Sámi? (as in in support of increasing knowledge and education or more remaining silent on the issue and avoidant)

- o Have other teachers in your school ordered visits?

- Curriculum and the way forward

  - o In the curriculum the Sámi are mentioned in e.g., the following manner:

The community appreciates and utilises the country's cultural heritage and national languages as well as the cultural, linguistic, religious and convictional diversity of its own and the environment. It (the community) brings forth the meaning of Sámi culture and different minorities in Finland. It develops the understanding and respect between individuals and cultures along with responsible activities. It is recognised in the community that the right to one's own language and culture is a fundamental right. Cultural traditions are familiarised with, different ways of thinking and acting/doing are discussed constructively and new ways of working together are created. (Opetushallitus, 2016b, p. 28)

  - o Additionally, for instance the UN declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples is mentioned.

  - o What do you think about these parts?

  - o What kind of tools does the curriculum offer?

  - o In the value basis of the curriculum e.g. multiculturalism as an enriching factor, human rights and equality are mentioned. How do you see the Finnish educational system supporting or not supporting these values when thinking of the Sámi?

  - o How do you think Sámi values are visible in the Finnish school system? (connection to nature, sense of community, culture and cultural heritage, strong identity etc.)

  - o Child's identity formation is mentioned as a central process of education. What kind of effects do you think the current level of teaching has on the identity of a Sámi child? How about the way the majority sees/approaches the Sámi?

- Should something be changed and if so how and what kind of changes would be needed? *(Curriculum, learning materials, education, educational system, the project etc.)*