

## **Educating the majority:**

### **How are the Norwegianization process and the Alta conflict presented in lower secondary school textbooks?**

**Iryna Tryndyuk**

*Thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies*

*May 2017*



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## **Abstract**

This thesis is devoted to the issue of education about the Sami in Norway. The aim of the study is to analyze how important events from Sami history are presented in Norwegian Social Studies textbooks. The study is based on an analysis of textbooks currently used in lower secondary schools following the National Curriculum. Textbook analysis is the main research method for the thesis. The cases analyzed are the Norwegianization process of the Sami population and the Alta conflict.

In comparison to research on other indigenous peoples, Sami history and culture seem well represented, though much of this research is published in Norwegian. This thesis is written in English and, consequently, may be used by not only a Norwegian-speaking audience. It uncovers the nature of information given at lower secondary school about two of the most important events in Sami history. It may be an important contribution to the development of future curricula plans, as well as testing the relevance of the textbooks offered for the pupils.

*Key words:* education, Sami, indigenous, Norwegianization, assimilation, the Alta conflict

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Problem statement, scope of the study and research question

... Perhaps you think we are ignorant and uninformed. Go, then and teach the whites... Improve their morals and refine their habits – make them less disposed to cheat Indians.

– Sagoyewatha<sup>1</sup>

These words of Sagoyewatha, a Seneca chief, quoted in Apple and Buras' book, remind us of the long history of struggle of oppressed groups and nations against domination. His voice reminds us that encounters between unequally empowered groups and contests over knowledge have never unfolded along simple lines. His voice reminds us that the history of struggle has echoes in the present<sup>2</sup>.

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This thesis is aimed at examining what information is given to Norwegian pupils in lower secondary school about the Sami people in Norway, specifically, about the process of Norwegianization and the Alta conflict. In *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people*, Anaya highlights the importance of increasing public awareness about the Sami people, so as to help revive the Sami language and

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<sup>1</sup> Apple, M. W. & Buras, K. L (2006): p. 2

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

culture<sup>3</sup>. The report is based upon information presented to Anaya during a conference organized by the Sami Parliamentary Council that took place in 2010 in Rovaniemi, Finland. Written submissions delivered to him, as well as independent research, created the basis for the report. It presents the human rights situation of the Sami people, and offers recommendations in accordance with international standards.

According to Anaya's report, "current primary school curriculum fails to adequately reflect the diversity of the Nordic countries' populations, and text books for compulsory schooling have used stereotypes to describe the Sami culture"<sup>4</sup>. He continues, stating that university programs for teachers do not include satisfactory recommendations nor guidance on how to teach the Sami history and culture. According to Anaya, the deterioration of the public image of the Sami people occurs due to the highly stereotypical image of the Sami. It also leads to a general lack of interest in the Sami life or culture in the society in general<sup>5</sup>.

Anaya recommends that the Norwegian and Sami Parliaments should cooperate in the direction of developing and implementing measures to increase awareness about the Sami people. One of the most direct ways to promote such awareness is through education<sup>6</sup>. The same point is raised by Tauli-Corpuz, who was appointed to the position of the UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples after Anaya, and follows up his report. Even though she only briefly touches upon educational issues in the report of 2016, she still states that Norway should continue existing efforts towards advancing the Sami rights for self-determination, improving of educational programs and consultations with the Sami parliament concerning educational issues<sup>7</sup>.

Education scholar Johansson states that in most countries, schooling is strongly influenced by the dominant culture. Since it was not until 1980 that the Sami people had the possibility to influence the educational sphere, it is of crucial importance for them now to have their voice heard in the process of forming education<sup>8</sup>. Theoretically, they have a good opportunity for the promotion of

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<sup>3</sup> Anaya, J. (2011): p. 19

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.: p. 22

<sup>7</sup> Tauli-Corpuz, V. (2016): p. 10, 20

<sup>8</sup> Johansson, G. (2007): pp. 3, 5

their culture and history through the educational process since the public education policy in Norway is based on the principles of equality and equity. These principles guide educational policy in Norway, ensuring that everyone has equal opportunities in education<sup>9</sup>, as stated by the Ministry of Education<sup>10</sup>.

A sociologist of law, Lile states that although Norway is obliged to, it has not taken enough initiative to ensure that information about the Sami people is sufficiently learned at school. He presents in his research that 60.7% of interviewed pupils have never heard about the history of Norwegianization<sup>11</sup>.

Taking the above-mentioned statements as a starting point, I decided to find out what kind of information about the Sami is given to children in Norwegian schools. The aim of the project is to analyze how historical events that are of great importance for the Sami peoples are articulated in Norwegian schoolbooks written in accordance to the National Curriculum.

The thesis examines the presentation of two events in the Sami history - the process of assimilation of the Sami people and the Alta conflict - in order to determine whether, and how, they are presented in textbooks that are used by Norwegian pupils at lower secondary school. Due to the limitation of information that can fit in the Master's thesis, I could not do my research on all levels of education in Norway, so I elected to focus upon lower secondary schooling.

Thus, for serving the aim of this thesis, the research question was built:

- How are the Norwegianization process and the Alta conflict presented in textbooks for lower secondary school pupils?

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<sup>9</sup> Özerk, K. (2013): p. 53

<sup>10</sup> Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (2007): p. 5

<sup>11</sup>Lile, H. K. (2011): p. 429

## 1.2 Methods of data collection

In the first section here, I will present the way I will be doing my data analysis. In the following section, the methodological discussion will be presented.

### 1.2.1 Methods for doing data analysis

This thesis analyzes Social Studies textbooks currently used in state-sanctioned lower secondary schools in Norway, following the National Curriculum. The main research method for the study is textbook analysis. It is chosen in accordance with the research question - open-ended and narrow<sup>12</sup>. This study will analyze four sets of textbooks, and each set will be analyzed as a unit.

At its starting point, my research is deductive. Deductive approach is more linked to an academic understanding of a researched topic. It presupposes the establishment of categories a researched textbook is expected to cover<sup>13</sup>. I pose two categories - the process of Norwegianization and the Alta conflict - as the main categories for my research. While doing data analysis, I shall first of all check if those two cases are covered by the researched textbooks. When presenting this step of the analysis in my thesis, I will not quote directly what is written in the researched textbooks, but instead reproduce the points in my own summarized formulations. This will give the readers a general analysis of the textbooks, as well as it will allow me to avoid repetition in the written analysis of the translation. In case there is a need for a quote from the textbooks in order to support my analysis, I will use it. It is important to highlight that I will use my own translations throughout the analysis and the thesis in general. Since neither Norwegian nor English are my native languages, whenever I will not be sure about the quality of my translation, I will ask a person who is a native speaker of both Norwegian and English to review those translations in

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<sup>12</sup> Bryman, A. (2012): p. 529

<sup>13</sup> Pingel, F. (2010): p. 70

relation to the original texts. It will help me to overcome the challenge of having incorrect or incomplete translations that could lead to invalid interpretations.

Secondly, I will determine if the information given (if it is given) is presented in an informative or explanatory way. This is an inductive analysis which is interpretative concerning the content of the researched textbooks<sup>14</sup>. I will judge the presentation to be informative if it relies solely upon a basic retelling of an event. I will consider the text to be explanatory if it includes the reasons for an event to happen, and/or deeper analysis of outcomes. At this step, each set of the textbooks will be analyzed on its own, without being compared to the other sets. This will allow me stay more neutral and not rank one textbook as ideal and have the other textbooks answer to the ideal one.

Further in the process of data analysis, I will use an inductive approach for discussion of the presented information, and for seeing how the information is presented in the researched textbooks, and if there are any patterns of presenting. By patterns I mean that I intend to see if the researched cases are presented similarly across the books. Finally, I will discuss the texts concerning the two cases. The purpose of this is to discover whether children who use different sets of books are exposed to similar interpretations and understandings of the two events.

## 1.2.2 Methodological discussion

Wade, in her research “Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks: A Review of Ten Years of Research”<sup>15</sup>, states that the quality of textbook analysis is often disappointing, and she points out limitations of the method. She states that textbook researchers often rely too much on their own perceptions or bias instead of using additional sources for supporting their opinions. She writes

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Wade, R., C. (1993): pp. 233, 247-249

that almost all textbooks researchers conclude that their study topics are not given adequate attention in the textbooks, are presented in inaccurate ways, and are stereotypical and biased. That is why Wade writes that it is often possible to make conclusions on textbook research without even reading the research<sup>16</sup>.

Roberts, however, disagrees with Wade's idea concerning the importance and predictability of textbook analysis. He states that any textbook analysis is important to the field of Social Studies. As he says, textbooks "are often used as the primary source of knowledge and understanding about the social studies, they offer important points for readers to consider when thinking about the content"<sup>17</sup>. He highlights that any findings from textbook analysis should be taken into consideration by textbook publishers, authors and teachers. Even a poorly done textbook analysis, according to Roberts, can still be a source for readers and educators.

I agree with Roberts concerning the importance of textbook analysis, and I support the idea that textbook research is valuable. However, I understand the challenges of doing textbook analysis pointed towards by Wade. She gives recommendations on how research on textbooks can be approved. Roberts supports her idea and encourages following the advice. Wade suggests that researchers need to examine textbooks as a whole, and not only be specific in one or some topics. I will partially follow this up. I will research all the chosen textbooks and identify the sections and topics devoted to the Sami issues. However, when analyzing, I will include only the part where the Sami issues, namely, my researched cases, are described. I understand that examining only two issues in Sami history - Norwegianization process and the Alta conflict - is very limited. However, the importance of those events cannot be overstated. They are significant moments that greatly influenced Sami history, as well as Norwegian history. I will expand upon the importance of those cases in Chapter 2. I have decided to treat only those two events due to their significance, as well as for practical reasons, such as the limited scope of a master's thesis.

Wade points out that the key issue in textbooks analysis is for a researcher to decide either he or she will count the occurrence of words, sentences or other units of analysis, or use a descriptive approach. In other words, either a researcher will use a qualitative or quantitative analysis. Some

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Roberts, S, L. (2014): p. 52

researchers justify using qualitative research (for example, Larkins, Hawkins, Gilmore and Romanish), while others insist on a quantitative focus (for example, Holsti and Siler)<sup>18</sup>.

I have chosen to do a qualitative research. Contrary to the quantitative approach, it gives a better possibility to answer my research question that is in itself descriptive and open-ended. As Pingel states, the qualitative approach has its challenges and advantages<sup>19</sup>. It can help revealing the interpretations and values presented in the textbooks, however, it relies greatly on the researcher's own understanding of the text under study. This is the main challenge of the approach<sup>20</sup>. However, there are possibilities to overcome this challenge. As Mason states<sup>21</sup>, it is important for a qualitative researcher to be critical about what he or she is doing and why. A researcher has to challenge his or her own assumptions. This is what I will consider during the entire research process. I will try to reflect on my thoughts, and only after that will make my research decisions. While absolute neutrality in social science research is probably impossible, self-awareness about it is possible. Accordingly, I will stay as neutral as I can, and try to write without my own bias, in a meaningful and sensitive way.

According to Pingel, there are two ways of doing research on textbooks: using vertical analysis or horizontal analysis. Vertical analysis allows to learn the change, if any, in the presentation of topics over time. Horizontal analysis gives researchers a possibility to investigate how the researched issues are presented in one period of time in a wide range of texts<sup>22</sup>. For this research, horizontal analysis is used. It fits the study best since the research question requires examining all texts in the researched textbooks and does not include an examination on how the presentation of the researched topics has changed over time.

Combined, all of the above described approaches build the methodological framework that will allow for answering the research question of the thesis:

- How are the Norwegianization process and the Alta conflict presented in textbooks for

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<sup>18</sup> Wade, R. C. (1993): p. 247

<sup>19</sup> Pingel, F. (2010): pp. 67-68

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Mason, J. (2002): pp. 5-8

<sup>22</sup> Pingel, F. (2010): p. 30



lower secondary school pupils?

## 1.3 Main concepts of the project

Two main concepts highlighted in this thesis are the concepts of indigenous people and of education in relation to indigenous issues. These concepts helped me both while looking for information to read for understanding the topic better, and in my research as it is, while reflecting on the above-mentioned concepts for making my data more reliable and full. I used the concepts separately, reading about education and about indigenous people. In addition, I combined them in terms of “education about indigenous people”. This kind of combination has helped me to find many important and useful pieces of information that are used in the thesis.

### 1.3.1 Concept of indigenous people

The definition of the term indigenous people differs depending upon the state or institution. None of the UN-system bodies has adopted an official definition of “indigenous”. However, the system has developed a modern understanding of the term based on the following criteria:

- self-identification;
- historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies;
- strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources;

- distinct social, economic or political systems;
- distinct language, culture and beliefs;
- non-dominant groups of society;
- resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities<sup>23</sup>.

One of the most cited descriptions of the concept of “indigenous” was outlined in Cobo’s *Study on the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations* where a working definition of “indigenous communities, peoples and nations” was offered:

“Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system”<sup>24</sup>.

The International Labour Organization in its Convention No. 169 gives a statement of coverage rather than definition<sup>25</sup>, stating that the Convention applies to:

“(a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations;

(b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to

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<sup>23</sup> UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (n.d): p. 1

<sup>24</sup> UN (2009): p. 4

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.: p. 5

which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions”<sup>26</sup>.

According to the UN, the dominant view today is that there is no need for any universal definition of the term “indigenous people” such as it will probably be either over-inclusive or under-inclusive and will only make sense in some societies but not in others. For practical purposes, the commonly accepted outline provided in Cobo’s study mentioned above, shall be used<sup>27</sup>.

The history of the Sami people goes further back in time before the determination of the state boundaries. The Sami in Norway, as a minority, are also an indigenous people. Norway, by ratifying the ILO Convention 169 in 1990, recognized this fact<sup>28</sup>. The Convention is an important set of guidelines for both the state and for the indigenous population.

Article 27 in the UN's International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights from 1966 points out:

“In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language”<sup>29</sup>.

In Norway, the Covenant is incorporated into the national legislation<sup>30</sup>. Additionally, Norway supports the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and also incorporated the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination into its domestic law<sup>31</sup>.

An example of the implementation of the laws mentioned above is establishment of the Sami

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<sup>26</sup> International Labour Organisation (a) (1989)

<sup>27</sup> UN (2009): pp. 6-7

<sup>28</sup> Ravna, Ø. (2012): p. 265

<sup>29</sup> UN (1966)

<sup>30</sup> Josefsen, E. (2010): pp. 7-9

<sup>31</sup> Tauli-Corpuz, V. (2016): p. 7

Parliament in Norway - Sametinget - that works for strengthening the political position of the Sami, contributes to equal treatment of the Sami people, and ensures the protection and development of the Sami language, culture and way of life. It is people-elected and consists of 39 representatives that are elected every four years.

In order to be able to vote in elections, one must be 18 years of age or above, and be registered in the Sami electoral register. To register, one must declare that he or she perceives himself/herself as a Sami and either a) has Sami language as the main language at home, or b) has or has had a parent, grandparent or great-grandparent with Sami as a native language, or c) is a child of a person who is or was registered in the Sami electoral register<sup>32</sup>.

### 1.3.2 Concept of education and indigenous issues in education

The concept of education has a variety of meanings and definitions<sup>33</sup>. One of the most recent UN Declarations, the Incheon Declaration (2016), states:

“Education is a public good, a fundamental human right and a basis for guaranteeing the realization of other rights. It is essential for peace, tolerance, human fulfilment and sustainable development. We recognize education as key to achieving full employment and poverty eradication”<sup>34</sup>.

In 1948, by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights<sup>35</sup>, education was established as a fundamental human right. Since then, the international community again and again in numerous

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<sup>32</sup> Samediggi/Sametinget

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Kumar, S. & Ahmad, S. (n.d.) or UN (2016): p. vii

<sup>34</sup> UN (2016): iii

<sup>35</sup> UN (1948)

declarations and documents highlights its obligation to provide quality education to all<sup>36</sup>. IWGIA, the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, lists the most important and valuable documents on educational rights for indigenous people: ILO Convention 169<sup>37</sup>, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)<sup>38</sup> and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007)<sup>39</sup>. Additionally, the Fourth World Congress of Education International (2004), the Preparatory Meeting for the World Conference of Indigenous Peoples (2013) and the Lima Declaration of the World Conference of Indigenous Women (2013)<sup>40</sup> are named in the list.

In spite of these, there are still major problems in indigenous education. For example, language barriers, ethnic social stigmas and institutionalized discrimination, gender-based discrimination, traditional practices (such as early marriage), poverty and child labor, and a lack of access to basic services due to geographical isolation. Often, the formal school system neglects the realities of indigenous livelihoods or traditional educational systems. Most national curricula tend to ignore indigenous peoples' history, cultures and languages. Educational materials do not fully include indigenous people's values, reflecting only the norms and traditions of mainstream society. Often, schools do not take into consideration indigenous peoples' livelihood, for example, pastoralism and nomadism<sup>41</sup>. Additionally, there are problems not only in education for indigenous people, but also in education about indigenous people. My research will concentrate on the issues of education about indigenous people - the Sami in Norway.

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<sup>36</sup> IWGIA (n. d.)

<sup>37</sup> International Labour Organisation (a) (1989)

<sup>38</sup> UN (1989)

<sup>39</sup> UN (2007)

<sup>40</sup> IWGIA (n. d.)

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

## 1.4 Previous research

There has been a great deal written about the Sami people, both in Norway and other Scandinavian countries, as well as in Russia. The topics vary widely, starting with reindeer herding and finishing with language revitalization. While there are numerous articles, books and academic texts concerning education for the Sami, it was difficult to find literature concerning education about the Sami people in Norway.

One of the most relevant, a PhD thesis written in 2011 by Lile, *FNs barnekonvensjon artikkel 29(1) om formålet med opplæring: En retts sosiologisk studie om hva barn lærer om det samiske folk*<sup>42</sup>, analyzes the purpose of education, both in relation to the Sami and in general. The purpose of the study was to research if children in Norway learn what they are supposed to about the Sami, according to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. First, Lile specified what pupils should learn about the Sami, and then evaluated what they actually learn. He did his research in 15 schools located in seven counties of Norway. The research is based on information the author gathered through interviews and surveys. 817 pupils and 190 teachers participated in the research as informants.

The author's conclusion was not particularly optimistic. He states that a large majority of the interviewed pupils had not received any teaching about the Sami or believed that the teaching they received was "not so good" (33.1%) or "bad" (22.2%)<sup>43</sup>. The biggest problem was in relation to history teaching, especially the Norwegianization process. Several of the teachers and students felt that the Sami were not equal and did not have an equal strong affiliation to Norway as a country. Some teachers stated, according to Lile, that Sami rights are a threat to democracy. The understanding of the Sami as independent people similar to the Norwegian people was completely lacking, according to the author. Furthermore, the results showed that a large proportion of teachers (92.4%)<sup>44</sup> believed that they had not received satisfactory education about

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<sup>42</sup> Lile, H. K. (2011)

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.: p. 358

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.: p. 340

the Sami during their teacher education.

Askeland in her *Omtalen av Alta–Kautokeino- konflikten i norske, svenske og samiske lærebøker*<sup>45</sup> discusses how metaphors and irony concerning the Alta conflict are presented in Norwegian, Sami and Swedish textbooks written after 1997 for lower secondary school. Her analysis shows that Norwegian textbooks present the conflict as a distant narrative; Swedish textbooks present it in a light of irony about the comic big community; and partly ironic and at the same time deeply serious story about how it is to be a minority is given in the Sami-Norwegian textbook. Concerning the Norwegian textbooks, she notes that there is a difference between the books published before the newest National Curriculum was introduced in 2006, and after it. She states that the textbooks written according to the previous curriculum, before 2006, give more space to the Alta case. Contrarily, the books written according to the updated curriculum, contain little information about the conflict, but they sometimes include the conflict in the text while describing something else, for example, energy policy, civil disobedience or environmental protection.

Aamotsbakken in her research *Pictures of Greenlanders and Samis in Norwegian and Danish Textbooks*<sup>46</sup> presents the ways the Norwegian and Danish history and first language textbooks inform about the indigenous people in both Norway and Greenland. Her main conclusion is that, the indigenous population in Norway is described in a more democratic and less racist way, in comparison to the indigenous population in Greenland. She states that the presentation of the Sami in Norwegian textbooks has changed over time. In more modern textbooks the Sami seem to be presented as being granted the same rights as the majority population. However, in textbooks for history, there still exists a problematic status of the Sami culture; the Sami are depicted in biased ways, and more recent textbooks have shorter chapters about the Sami people. At the same time, even though the information given is not neutral, it is more balanced concerning the indigenous population in Norway. She states that the books published after 2001 include information that expresses sympathy towards the oppressed minority and criticism towards the Norwegian authorities.

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<sup>45</sup> Askeland, N. (2015)

<sup>46</sup> Aamotsbakken, B. (2010)



Johansson's publication *Cultural Diversities in Education in the North*<sup>47</sup> highlights some perspectives on education in the North, especially connected to cultural understanding and cultural diversities. Johansson states that curriculum texts about minorities is very limited, as well as cultural sensitivity towards cooperation between the culture of the majority society culture and the minority groups. She builds her research on a case of the Sami and poses three research questions: the first one is aimed at answering a question of how parents and local society can be involved in development of curriculum. The second research question deals with the issues of how teachers together with parents can support cultural understanding and cultural diversity at schools. The third research question addresses cooperation between schools, parents, extended family and the indigenous community.

She states, referring to Freire (1970) and his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, that in most countries the dominating cultures have a strong influence on schooling. That is why it is very important for the minorities to have their voices heard while planning and interpreting the curricula. She highlights the importance of cooperation between homes, pupils and the school to reinforce socialization. She emphasizes the importance of teachers, teachers' education, and professional development, stating that when one works with different cultures, understanding is crucial.

One more research that my topic relates to is a work of Karlsson *Exotiska renskötare och trolltrummans magi. Samer och samiska frågor i grundskolans läraomedel för samhällsorienterande ämnen*<sup>48</sup>. It is in Swedish. I have never learned this language, and I unfortunately cannot read the text by myself. However, Johansson gives a short overview of the publication. It is stated that Karlsson analyzes textbooks used by the Swedish 10-14 year old pupils. Johansson continues:

“She found that these texts are deeply prejudiced. The Sami are described as being a male person, short and quite corpulent working with reindeer herding. Females are invisible, not mentioned in these texts. The curriculum is prescribing that all students at compulsory schools are supposed to have knowledge about the Sami cultural heritage when they leave the school. Only 50% of the books mention the Sami people at all. When they mention the

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<sup>47</sup> Johansson, G. (2007)

<sup>48</sup> Karlsson, T. (2004)

Sami they are described as exotic, mystic and static in their way of living. Karlsson also points out that the report within 1990 “Samerna i svenska läromedel” was revealing the same prejudices!”<sup>49</sup>.

An article by Andreassen and Olsen, *Religionsfaget i videregående skole. En læreplanhistorisk gjennomgang 1976-2006*<sup>50</sup>, presents an analysis of the history and content of the curricula for Religious Studies in Norwegian high school in the period between 1976 and 2006, and is an important case study that deals with Sami issues in education. Their conclusions show that the curriculum for Religious Studies has changed over the researched period. It changed towards a more instrumental understanding where the subject responds to quite specific social tasks.

The question concerning education about the Sami was raised by Folkenborg in his book *Nasjonal identitetsskaping i skolen. En regional og etnisk problematisering*<sup>51</sup>. He discusses school history lessons in Norway as education of national identity, and writes about the Sami subjects, their role and position at schools, as well as about the element from the Sami history and culture in the curriculum. Folkenborg analyses the way the Sami issues are presented in the history textbooks used for higher secondary education in Norway. The research question for the discussion of the textbooks’ presentations is about what national identity the school should convey. He states that in order to make the Sami feel as a part of the national “we”, schools should teach the perceptions of nationality through the political understanding of nationality where the indigenous population is a rightful part of the nation. The author highlights that indigenous people are not people without any history, and their history has to be learned in-depth. This will lead to fulfilling the goals for education in Norway set by the National Curriculum. It is important to give clear guidance to pupils, teach about multicultural society and its values. Additionally, his research shows that it is not only at school where it is important to emphasize those issues, but also they have to be underscored for the wider public, including public officials.

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<sup>49</sup> Johansson, G. (2007): pp. 13-14

<sup>50</sup> Andreassen, B. O. & Olsen, T. A. (2015)

<sup>51</sup> Folkenborg, H. R. (2008)

## 1.5 Relevance of the study

In preparing for my research, I found that relative to research carried out on other indigenous peoples, Sami history and culture seem to be well represented. Significantly, much of this research is published in Norwegian. Consequently my thesis shall be a good source of information in English, making it accessible to more than solely a Norwegian-speaking audience. It will seek to uncover the nature of information given at lower secondary school about two of the most important events in the Sami history. Further, it may be a useful contribution in the process of education about the Sami.

The fields of social sciences and indigenous studies are always in great need of case studies. There are many histories of educational struggle in the field. Each case study illustrates the complexities of the contents among differentially empowered groups to influence the construction of knowledge and appropriation of resources in the arena of education<sup>52</sup>. Case studies give a possibility to depict different situations and learn them from diverse perspectives. Moreover, cases give an opportunity to find relationships between a researched case and the ones published by other researchers, as well as find similarities and differences with other indigenous groups around the world. In this light, I hope that my thesis will be a small contribution to the large academic field, and that it can be a helpful source of information for other researchers.

## 1.6 Reflections

I came to Norway almost 7 years ago. Before that, I had not heard much about the Sami people.

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<sup>52</sup> Apple, M. W. & Buras, K. L (2006): p. 3

Here, I slowly began learning who the Sami were. After I visited Tromsø museum and saw the exhibitions of the Sami life and culture, I became very interested in this topic. That is why during my first year in Norway I decided to go to Kautokeino, Finnmark for the Sami Easter festival where we celebrated the beginning of the spring and the end of the polar night with traditional Sami songs, reindeer racing and other traditional events. It was my first direct meeting with the Sami culture and Sami people.

When I was accepted to the master's program in Indigenous Studies, I knew that I would write my thesis about the Sami. When I started working on my topic and talking to people about it, very often I was asked questions like "If you are not indigenous, why are you studying Indigenous Studies?", "Why are you writing about the situation in Norway if you are not Norwegian?", or "Why are you writing about the Sami if you are not Sami?". People positioned me as a complete outsider, and rightfully so. Norwegian and Sami history, culture and lifestyle are very new for me. I know that my encounter with it has been very brief, and I do not pretend to know everything<sup>53</sup>.

Being an outsider was the main challenge for me while doing this research. I had to learn not only the material for the project, I had to start with the history of Norway in general and Sami history in particular. Even though it is exciting, at the same time it is time consuming and led to me taking an extra year for completing the research. Language was a huge challenge as well. Most of my data has come from Norwegian sources. Even though I speak the language, it is foreign for me. While doing analysis I was always concerned and worried that I could lose some important pieces of data in translation and it could undermine the reliability and validity of the research. Therefore, I aim towards validity and reliability by being transparent and presenting my interpretations in a consistent and identifiable way<sup>54</sup>. I have discussed my study with peers and followed ethical guidelines through all stages of my research<sup>55</sup>.

However, from my point of view, it is not necessary to be indigenous to conduct research on topics concerning Indigenous Studies. As Smith states, the positioning of researchers and the

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<sup>53</sup> Smith, L. T. (1999): p. 1

<sup>54</sup> Talja, S. (n.d.): p. 13

<sup>55</sup> Chilisa, B. (2012): pp. 166, 173

views they bring to research has been well argued in terms of feminist research. Feminist research maintains its focus on issues of gender, but has moved away from the idea that only women can carry out feminist research. Accordingly, being indigenous is not an essential criterion for carrying out research on indigenous topics<sup>56</sup>.

The position of a researcher as outsider is not always an obstacle. If a researcher is an insider, “it can be difficult to differentiate between the role of researcher and the position of insider”<sup>57</sup>. The researchers in this situation may be familiar with data even before data collection and it can cause them to lose objectivity<sup>58</sup>. Consequently, I can turn this challenge into my advantage. As Chilisa says, the truth-value of a study is affected by the closeness of the relationship between the researcher and the researched. This closeness can become a threat to the credibility of the study<sup>59</sup>. In my case, I am positioned as an outsider who does not have much background, or much in common with the researched topic. Accordingly, it enlarges my chances of preserving credibility in my study.

As already mentioned, the main research method for the study is textbook analysis. While doing it, there is a challenge hidden in a researcher’s world views. One can easily make conclusions and suggestions based on one’s own biases. To avoid this, it is important to discuss the topic with experts, that will lead to better understanding and more reliable results<sup>60</sup>. Originally, I was planning to discuss my topic with a small sample of teachers of social sciences in lower secondary schools. However, I never succeeded in getting access to informants. I sent over fifty emails to schools explaining the purpose of my research, and asking if there was a possibility to come to school and talk to the teachers. Nevertheless, most of the schools did not even answer my emails; those that did answer declined to give me any kind of information. Accordingly, I had to find other solutions in order to overcome the possibility of being biased. I discussed my topic with my classmates, friends and professors at the university. Though not all of those people are experts in the field, importance of fresh and independent opinion was valuable for pinpointing and reducing possible stereotypical judgements.

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.: p. 187

<sup>57</sup> Irvine, F., Roberts, G. & Bradbury-Jones, C. (2008): p.37

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Chilisa, B. (2012): p. 168

<sup>60</sup> Roberts, S, L. (2014): pp. 60-61

## 1.7 Ethics

As stated in the *Guidelines for handling of questions regarding research ethics* offered by the UiT, a researcher is responsible for following the ethical norms in research<sup>61</sup>. Chilisa writes that it is important for a researcher to address ethical issues throughout all stages of the research process, starting with the selection of a topic for the study, formulation of research questions, choice of data collection instruments and techniques, carrying out data collection and analysis, and while presenting the research findings. To put it in other words, “every research activity is an exercise in ethics”<sup>62</sup>.

It was important for me to conduct ethically correct research. That is why, at the very beginning of the process, I sent my topic to the Norwegian Centre for Research Data. There, my topic was approved and considered as not sensitive since it does not contain any personal data. However, ethics are important not only while working directly with people and personal data. As Punch emphasizes, research ethics are not only the treatment of others. It is also the treatment of self, the ways in which a researcher recognizes and makes sense of his or her emotions and frustrations while doing unbiased research, avoiding stereotypes and generalizations<sup>63</sup>.

I was trying to abstract from my own perceptions and bias. As mentioned above, I discussed my topic with others and reflected on those discussions. I took into account the challenges I could and did meet, especially the challenge of being an outsider and the challenge hidden in my research method. And, as described in the previous sections of the thesis, I found the ways to overcome those challenges or turn them into my advantages. I have strived to stay neutral and write without my own attitudes and judgements. I gave accurate references to all sources used in my thesis. And I hope that my study will never cause harm, and instead will be, in the short or long term, beneficial for society<sup>64</sup>.

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<sup>61</sup> UiT (2008)

<sup>62</sup> Chilisa, B. (2012): pp. 34, 86, 171

<sup>63</sup> Punch, K., F. (2014): p. 54

<sup>64</sup> National Committees for Research Ethics in Norway (2006)

## 1.8 Thesis overview

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 has introduced the research topic and question, highlighted the importance of the researched topic and given an account of the methodological and conceptual tools of the study. Previous research on the same topic as well as my ethical considerations and motivation to research were also presented in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 gives background information on the chosen cases – the process of Norwegianization and the Alta conflict. Chapter 3 introduces the education system and curriculum in Norway. Chapter 4 focuses on presentation of data for this research and contains data analysis. Concluding remarks are written in Chapter 5.



## Chapter 2: Background information: researched events

Chapter 2 of this thesis will present background information. I will be writing about the Sami people and the importance of the chosen research events - the Norwegianization process and the Alta conflict - for the Sami people. I decided to use the examples of the Alta controversy and the assimilation of the Sami because these events are so central to the Sami people of Norway's history. I will give a brief overview of the selected events, focusing on the situation of the Sami people in Norway.

The Sami are the indigenous people who inhabit an area divided by the borders of four countries: present-day Finland, Norway, Sweden, and the Russian Federation. The Sami people continue to be one people, in spite of having their territory divided by borders drawn up by others. They have managed, to varying degrees, to preserve their values, culture, language, livelihoods and ways of life<sup>65</sup>.

Because there is no overall registration of the Sami population, it is difficult to offer an exact estimate of the Sami population today. A reason for this is that there are special criteria for defining if a person is Sami or not. Pettersen and Brustad explain the criteria by placing them in three groups: a) geographical location (live in the area defined by the Sami Act as the Sami Language Administrative District), b) linguistic connection (speak Sami language or have a family member in the 3 previous generations who speak it, and c) ethnic self-identification (Sami identification shall be self-ascribed by a person)<sup>66</sup>. Estimates of the Sami population range widely, with Åhren stating that it is estimated that in all four countries that the Sami inhabit, they constitute an amount of approximately 120,000<sup>67</sup>. Henriksen offers a total number for the Sami

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<sup>65</sup> Åhren, M. J. (2004): p. 65, 68

<sup>66</sup> Pettersen, T. & Brustad, M. (2013)

<sup>67</sup> Åhren, M. J. (2004): p. 68

population as somewhere between 80,000 and 95,000 individuals<sup>68</sup>. Anaya, followed by Tauli-Corpuz, write that the Sami population is estimated to be between 70,000 and 100,000, with about 40,000-60,000 in Norway<sup>69</sup>. This study examines only the case of Norway.

## 2.1 Norwegianization process: an overview

The Norwegian state policy for more than 100 years (from about 1850 up to roughly 1980), was to create one culturally homogenous society<sup>70</sup>. The national government adopted policies that were aimed at assimilating the Sami people into the majority society<sup>71</sup>, trying to make the Sami “drop their language and change the basic values of their culture and national identity”<sup>72</sup>.

The process of Norwegianization was partially based on the ideas of social Darwinism<sup>73</sup>, the superiority of “the White Man’s” culture over the Sami culture<sup>74</sup>. Later on, the assimilation policy led by Norway was a sort of national security issue. The First World War, the redrawing of borders according to the Versailles peace treaty, and Russian revolution made Norwegian authorities more concerned regarding their common border with Russia and Finland in the north. In the light of insecurity in that region, the authorities increased the measures of Norwegianization<sup>75</sup>.

The assimilation was conducted in different ways. First, it emphasized the settlement and livelihood policy by prioritizing and protecting Norwegian livelihoods, fishing and farming

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<sup>68</sup> Henriksen, J. B. (2008): p. 27

<sup>69</sup> Anaya, J. (2011): p. 4; Tauli-Corpuz, V. (2016): p. 4

<sup>70</sup> Minde, H. (2003): pp. 121-122

<sup>71</sup> Anaya, J. (2011): p. 5

<sup>72</sup> Minde, H. (2003): p. 121

<sup>73</sup> Lehtola, V. P. (2000): p. 194

<sup>74</sup> Evjen, B. & Beck, D. R. M. (2015): p. 29

<sup>75</sup> Minde, H. (2005): p. 16

methods, particularly in the regions where the Sami used to live. Secondly, an emphasis was made on language and education policy by prohibiting the use of the Sami language, creating boarding schools, encouraging Norwegian teachers to teach in Sami regions, and prohibiting the use of interpreters in official transactions<sup>76</sup>.

At the end of the 1950s, Norway considered whether or not the Sami people were covered by the ILO Convention No. 107 of 1957 aimed to protect tribes and indigenous peoples. The decision was negative and based upon the view that the Sami were generally integrated into society. As Minde explains this statement, the Sami were not treated as people with special rights. And it was so not only in Norway, but in all Nordic countries<sup>77</sup>.

## 2.2 The Alta conflict: an overview

A century of assimilation logically finished with a historical event that became a symbol of the Sami struggle for revitalization - the Alta controversy of 1979-1981. It is highlighted as an event that changed Sami history completely, brought greater attention to Sami issues and concerns<sup>78</sup> and as an event that, perhaps, for the first time made Sami issues publicly known both in Norway and internationally<sup>79</sup>. The event “galvanized contemporary Sami culture across boundaries and forged a unified modern Sami identity”<sup>80</sup>. Minde argues that before the conflict, the Sami were not even treated as people<sup>81</sup>. A statement like this might have contributed greatly to focusing on Sami rights and often dissatisfaction with them.

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<sup>76</sup> Lehtola, V. P. (2000): p. 194

<sup>77</sup> Minde, H. (2001): pp. 111-113

<sup>78</sup> Broderstad, E. G. (2014)

<sup>79</sup> Marjomaa, M (2012): p. 2

<sup>80</sup> Muus, N. (2010): p. 9

<sup>81</sup> Minde, H. (2001): p. 113

The conflict began after the Norwegian authorities had decided to build a dam across the Alta-Kautokeino River, which drains a large amount of the water system on the Finnmark plateau<sup>82</sup>. Originally, the dam would have resulted in the flooding of Masi, a key village in the heartland of Sami territory<sup>83</sup>. It would have had a serious impact on the Sami peoples' way of life, their agricultural and fishing industries, reindeer herding areas, and important seasonal migration routes would have been destroyed.

During the conflict, several dramatic events took place, including civil disobedience and hunger strikes outside the Norwegian Parliament. A strong alliance between the environmental and Sami movements occurred, lending external support for their cause and leading to significant international attention to Norway's treatment of the Sami<sup>84</sup>. The demonstrations, as well as the acts of civil disobedience, spread once the environmental movements joined the Sami people in the protest against the decision of the Norwegian Parliament. The discrete nature of Sami politics was transformed after a group of Sami in October 1979 erected their Sami tent in front of the Parliament building in Oslo<sup>85</sup>.

Despite all the protests and demonstrations, a part of the major project remained, even though the original plans had been reduced. A 100-meter high dam was built across the river, and the reindeer grazing and calving areas became places where a road was being constructed<sup>86</sup>. However, the conflict marked a turning point in the Norway's Sami policy<sup>87</sup>. The conflict between the indigenous minority and the state raised more awareness in Norway about the Sami people and their position in the Norwegian nation-state<sup>88</sup> and became the first event that put the Sami aboriginal status on the national political agenda<sup>89</sup>.

The Alta-case brought one more important result for the Sami: the development and revitalization of their self-understanding and self-esteem after a long period, starting from 1850 to around

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Dalland, Ø. (1997): p. 43

<sup>84</sup> Broderstad, E. G. (2014)

<sup>85</sup> Minde, H. (2001): p. 113

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Marjomaa, M (2012): p. 2

<sup>88</sup> Ohm, C. (2008): p. 12

<sup>89</sup> Thuen, T. (1995): p. 23

1980, of being the subjects of assimilation policy. The development after the conflict was rapid and favorable. Sami handicrafts and music are well established, both nationally and regionally. A Sami theatre group, Beavvas, was established in Kautokeino and now has the status of a permanent theatre. The Sami language has been recognized as an official language in Norway. A Sami regional college was established in Kautokeino in 1989<sup>90</sup>. The conflict “became a symbol of the Sami fight against cultural discrimination and for collective respect, for political autonomy and for material rights”<sup>91</sup>.

Due to this conflict, the Sami people received international attention. This was the beginning of the institutionalization of Norwegian Sami policy<sup>92</sup>. The Norwegian Government and Parliament started contributing towards securing the rights of the Sami people through legislation. For example, they recognized that the UN Convention on Civil and Political Rights (1966)<sup>93</sup> provided rights for cultural protection of the Sami people<sup>94</sup>.

In 1987, the Norwegian Parliament adopted the Sami Act, through which the Sami Parliament was established<sup>95</sup>. Its establishment led to further political and cultural revival and mobilization of the Sami<sup>96</sup>. The act of 1987 defines a core district of Sami language administration within which the Sami language may be used at municipal and state organs and courts. There is a duty of translating relevant laws and regulations, rights to interpretation and right to education in and on the Sami language<sup>97</sup>.

In 1988, an amendment that is a specific section in Sami rights was introduced to the Norwegian Constitution that demonstrated the dual-ethnic character of the state<sup>98</sup>. Article 110 (a) of the Constitution lays down a political, moral and legal responsibility on the state in relation to the Sami people and states that the state authorities are responsible for facilitating conditions to

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<sup>90</sup> Saelthun, N., R. (1998): p. 139

<sup>91</sup> Minde, H. (2003): p. 122

<sup>92</sup> Ohm, C. (2008): p. 12

<sup>93</sup> UN (1966)

<sup>94</sup> Smith, C. (1995)

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Evjen, B. & Beck, D., R., M. (2015): p. 44

<sup>97</sup> Dolva, T. (n. d.): p. 2

<sup>98</sup> Smith, C. (1995)

enable the Sami people to preserve and develop their language, culture and way of life<sup>99</sup>. A new chapter on the Sami language was added to the Sami Act in 1990<sup>100</sup>. The same year, Norway was the first country to ratify ILO Convention 169<sup>101</sup>. In 2005, the Norwegian Parliament adopted the Finnmark Act. It is one more important document that recognizes the Sami's ownership of land and natural resources.

Article 31 of ILO Convention 169 (Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention), states:

“Educational measures shall be taken among all sections of the national community, and particularly among those that are in most direct contact with the peoples concerned, with the object of eliminating prejudices that they may harbour in respect of these peoples. To this end, efforts shall be made to ensure that history textbooks and other educational materials provide a fair, accurate and informative portrayal of the societies and cultures of these peoples”<sup>102</sup>.

According to this, it would be reasonable to think that education in Norway is based on the ideas of the convention. In my case, it is important to check if it is so particularly in the area of connection between the textbooks of Social Studies and the National Curriculum.

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<sup>99</sup> Dolva, T. (n. d.): p. 1

<sup>100</sup> Smith, C. (1995)

<sup>101</sup> Ibid;

International Labour Organisation (b) (1989)

<sup>102</sup> International Labour Organisation (a) (1989)

# Chapter 3: Curriculum and education in Norway

In this chapter I shall briefly present the system of compulsory education and the school curriculum in Norway. It is important for my research to examine the curriculum because it is “shaped by the general ideology” of education in a country<sup>103</sup>, and is a normative source that controls the content of the textbooks used for education. Social Studies as a school subject will be presented at the end of this chapter.

## 3.1 Studying curricula

A curriculum is at the heart of a school program. A well-planned curriculum helps the learners to relate one learning experience to another and recognizes the importance of continuity and sequence<sup>104</sup>. According to Pingel, the curriculum by itself represents a compromise reached by educational agents. Built on philosophical conceptions of a country, becoming a written statement and further on becoming used in practice at educational institutions, it continually changes and is interpreted in various ways<sup>105</sup>.

Ennis, Quashigah, Ampadu, Yeung and other researchers discuss Goodlad’s book *Curriculum inquiry: The Study of Curriculum Practice*, and state that a curriculum contains five levels. It can exist in the ideal level, as theories and principles about curriculum integration, with the original assumptions of the designers; the formal level, as concrete curriculum documents, developed by curriculum developers or policy-makers; the perceived level, or teachers’ interpretation of the

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<sup>103</sup> Pingel, F. (2010) p. 28

<sup>104</sup> Goodlad, J., I. & Anderson, R., H. (1987): pp. 79, 87

<sup>105</sup> Pingel, F. (2010): pp. 28-29



formal curriculum; the implemented level, representing the classroom implementation of curriculum integration; or the experiential level, what actually happens in the classroom in terms of instructional practices. All together, they interact and form the holistic curriculum<sup>106</sup>.

As I do not here research the curriculum directly, I will neither research the original ideas concerning the existing curriculum in Norway. I did not have an opportunity to talk to teachers and observe how the classes at schools are conducted practically. This research will be therefore regard the curriculum at the formal level.

## 3.2 Education in Norway

Universal schooling for children was introduced in Norway in 1739. From 1889, seven years of compulsory education were provided. In 1969 it was increased to nine years, and in 1997 it was increased again to ten years of schooling<sup>107</sup>. Nowadays, the Norwegian educational system ranges from kindergarten to the PhD degree level. Public education is free of charge. Children, youth and adults in Norway have both a right and an obligation to complete primary (grades 1–7) and lower secondary (grades 8–10) education. After completing these levels, everybody is entitled to upper secondary education that qualifies for further studies or a vocation<sup>108</sup>. Normally, children begin going to school the year they become six years old<sup>109</sup> and they normally complete lower secondary school in the year they turn 16<sup>110</sup>.

Norwegian educational policy is based on a principle of equity, and education for all is the basic

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<sup>106</sup> For example, Quashigah, A., Y., Dake, G., Y., Bekoe, S., O., Eshun, I. & Bordoh, A. (2014): p.5; or Yeung, S. S.-Y. & Lam, C.-C. (2007): p. 115; or Ampadu, E. & Adofo, S. (2014): p. 108; or Ennis, C. D. (1990): p. 80

<sup>107</sup> Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (2007): p. 9

<sup>108</sup> NOKUT (a) (n. d.)

<sup>109</sup> Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (2007): p. 9

<sup>110</sup> NOKUT (b) (n. d.)

precept of Norwegian educational policy. Everyone regardless of where they live, their gender, social status, cultural background and special needs must have an equal right to education. All pupils have to “share a common foundation of knowledge, culture and values”<sup>111</sup>.

The Norwegian Parliament and the government define the goals and decide the budgetary frameworks for education<sup>112</sup>. The Ministry of Education and Research is responsible for implementing national educational policy and is the highest administrative body for educational matters in Norway. At the regional level, the National Educational Office represents the central government and cooperates with municipal and county authorities for ensuring appropriate schooling in accordance with all regulations<sup>113</sup>.

The municipalities are responsible for primary and lower secondary schools, while county authorities have the responsibility for managing upper secondary schools. Legislation and regulation, including the National Curriculum, form a binding framework for education in the country. However, within this framework, the municipal and county authorities, schools and teachers can influence the implementation of the education and training. Teachers have significant influence on how much and what pupils learn, since they in cooperation with various boards, councils and committees can decide, for example, what learning methods to implement and what teaching materials to use<sup>114</sup>.

In this context the significance of textbooks has to be highlighted. In Social Studies, textbooks reflect fundamental ideas concerning the issues of cultural diversity, politics, power, development and democracy. However, as mentioned by Pingel, textbooks are not always critical enough, glorifying their own nation or the majority society, and underestimating the others<sup>115</sup>. Since textbooks, as Roberts says, are often used as the main tools for educating, thus, likely influencing thinking in a classroom, it is important to teach pupils multicultural awareness and portray an

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<sup>111</sup> Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (2007): p. 5

<sup>112</sup> Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (2014)

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (2007): p. 7, 22;

Waagene, E. & Gjerustad, C. (2015): pp. 19-23

<sup>115</sup> Pingel, F. (2010): pp. 7-8, 44

unbiased understanding of the world and society<sup>116</sup>.

In Social Studies, according to UNESCO, the aim of textbook analysis is to provide better insight into the relationships that exist between the teaching of the relevant subjects of History, Geography and Civic Life, and the prejudice, pre-judgements and misconceptions carried by mass media and general political culture to pupils' everyday life<sup>117</sup>. Looking at the subject aims, it is vitally important for pupils to not only understand information given to them, but to also be able to analyze it, evaluate and draw correct conclusions. Only then they will be able to fulfill the main ideas of the Norwegian education system and live their lives in and through the ideas of democracy<sup>118</sup>.

### 3.3 School curriculum in Norway

Including a temporary version of a study plan from 1971, there have been four National Curricula in Norway for the period of obligatory schooling (10 years, as of today). The first one, M-74, was accepted in 1974, the second curriculum, M-87, was developed in 1987, the third curriculum, L-97, was presented in 1997<sup>119</sup>. In the autumn of 2006 a school reform called The Knowledge Promotion was introduced<sup>120</sup>. The objectives and quality framework for primary and secondary education and training are laid down in The National Curriculum for the Knowledge Promotion (LK-06)<sup>121</sup>. This is the curriculum that I work with for this study. The curriculum applies to all levels of primary and secondary education in Norway, and includes the following:

- The Core Curriculum

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<sup>116</sup> Roberts, S. L. (2014): p. 52

<sup>117</sup> Pingel, F. (2010) Ibid.: p. 43

<sup>118</sup> Meld. St. 28 (2015–2016)

<sup>119</sup> Folkenborg, H. R. (2008): pp. 37-67

<sup>120</sup> Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (n.d.)

<sup>121</sup> Utdanningsdirektortet (2007)

- Quality Framework
- Subject Curricula
- Distribution of teaching hours per subject
- Individual Assessment<sup>122</sup>

The Core Curriculum is a further development of the previous curriculum. It provides objectives for schooling<sup>123</sup>, sets overall goals for education and contains the value, cultural and knowledge-related basis for primary and secondary education<sup>124</sup>.

The Quality Framework defines and explains the responsibilities of school owners, the local and county administration authorities,<sup>125</sup> in ensuring quality education<sup>126</sup>.

The Subject Curricula lay down a common learning content for all pupils and includes competence aims for the pupils after certain grades. Each subject has competence aims after grades 4, 7 and 10, as well as after each level in upper secondary education and training. Some subjects also have competence aims after grade 2<sup>127</sup>. Five basic skills are integrated into the competence aims of each subject: reading literacy, verbal expression, written expression, numeracy and digital/computer literacy<sup>128</sup>.

Distribution of teaching hours per subject should be done in accordance with the Knowledge Promotion Curriculum. The details of the subjects the pupils should study are given in the tables describing the distribution of teaching hours per subject. School owners are obliged to offer this minimum number of hours but are also free to offer additional teaching hours. The school owner should decide on the distribution of teaching hours for each class within the minimum hours framework. Each school is free to organize its teaching units as it desires, so long as it is in

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid.: p. 9

<sup>123</sup> Nusche, D., Earl, L., Maxwell, W. & Shewbridge, C. (2011): p. 17

<sup>124</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (2011)

<sup>125</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (n.d.)

<sup>126</sup> Nusche, D., Earl, L., Maxwell, W. & Shewbridge, C. (2011): p. 17

<sup>127</sup> Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (2007): p. 9; Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (2014)

<sup>128</sup> Nusche, D., Earl, L., Maxwell, W. & Shewbridge, C. (2011): p. 17

accordance with the set hours<sup>129</sup>.

The main purpose of Individual Assessment is to promote learning and development. Pupils should play an active part in assessment and get practice in taking responsibility for and evaluating their own work. In primary education, the assessment does not involve the awarding of marks. In lower secondary education, a system of marks is introduced as part of ongoing assessment and final assessment<sup>130</sup>.

The subjects of primary and lower secondary education are:

- Norwegian
- Mathematics
- Social Studies
- Christianity, Religion and Ethics Education (CREE)
- Arts and Crafts
- Natural Science
- English
- Foreign Languages/ Language In-depth Studies
- Food and Health
- Music
- Physical Education
- Student Council Work
- Optional Programme Subject<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (b) (2013): pp. 2, 6

<sup>130</sup> UNESCO-IBE (2012): p. 26

<sup>131</sup> Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (2007): p. 10

### 3.4 Social Studies as a school subject

According to LK-06, Social Studies as a school subject at the lower secondary level of education has 249 allocated hours<sup>132</sup> (for pupils who do not need any special academic and hour allocation). This amount was allocated to the subject for the study year 2016-2017, as well as in the two previous academic years<sup>133</sup>.

Social Studies as a school subject is complex and divided into various subject areas. In my project the main focus is on lower secondary school, thus, the main subject areas for this level of education will be studied. They are: The Researcher, History, Geography and Civic Life<sup>134</sup>.

*The Researcher*: This part of the subject covers pupils' individual work and research, and is essential for the other three subject areas. It is presupposed that the Researcher will be worked with while work with the other subject areas will be taking place. This part of the school subject covers discussion, critical thinking and communication. Using sources and sources criticism are significant for this main study area<sup>135</sup>. Since the Researcher goes beyond the texts in the textbooks and covers first of all pupils' individual work, it does not stand as relevant for my thesis aimed at the textbooks research, and will not be studied here in any greater detail.

*History*: This main subject area deals directly with my topic since it is aimed at developing knowledge about human history and change of societies over time; it studies how people shape their own understanding of the past, and how this picturing influences the present; it stimulates reflective and critical participation in society<sup>136</sup>. This main subject area will be studied further in my thesis.

*Geography*: This main subject area teaches how to maps, stimulates understanding of sustainable development, natural resources and man-made conditions on the planet, and interconnections

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<sup>132</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (2013): p. 9

<sup>133</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (2016)

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.: p. 3

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

between them. It teaches about towns and countries, nations and regions, and similarities and differences between these terms<sup>137</sup>. This main subject area covers the research question of my study, and will be explored further.

*Civic Life*: The main topics covered by this subject area are politics, socialization, economics and culture. Civic Life deals with the notions of equality, co-citizenship and democracy as well as developing democratic skills<sup>138</sup>. Even though this subject area does not cover my research question directly, the topics covered by it are important for the research and may likely include information on Sami culture, politics or values. Accordingly, I include this subject area in my further research.

The choice of the researched subject areas corresponds with Pingel's ideas concerning textbook analysis where he states that research on History, Geography and Civic Life textbooks is relevant for education towards democracy, human rights and intercultural awareness. In addition, these subject areas convey understanding of: norms and rules of a society and the ways of living within a society; they reflect the traditions a society has developed; and they contribute to developing the individual's self-esteem. At the same time, they also mark the borderlines of each society. In my case, it will help to trace if there are these kinds of borderlines between Norwegians and the Sami people<sup>139</sup>.

### 3.5 Competence aims for Social Studies

The Education Act states that the Norwegian school curriculum has to assure "provision of education concerning the Sami peoples and language, culture, and civic life in conjunction with

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Pingel, F. (2010): pp. 7-8

other subjects”<sup>140</sup>. It is elaborated further in the Core Curriculum which emphasizes that Norway has a special responsibility to safeguard the Sami language and culture as a part of common heritage<sup>141</sup>. In the current Subject Curriculum for Social Studies, it is stated that knowledge about Sami culture and the situation of the Sami as indigenous people are an important part of Social Studies<sup>142</sup>.

Social Studies as a school subject has competence aims that state what pupils are supposed to know after completing the subject after the 4<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> years at the primary and lower secondary levels of education, as well as after years 1 and 2 in upper secondary school (Vg1/Vg2)<sup>143</sup>. For this study, I will look at the competence aims for Social Studies for the lower secondary level of schooling, in accordance with the demands of my research question, to assure that the idea of educating about the Sami culture is preserved. According to the goals set by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, competence aims for Civic Life in the 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and 10<sup>th</sup> grades include 12 goals, History consists of 10 goals, and Geography has 8 goals. The full list of competence aims<sup>144</sup> for this level of education is presented in Appendix 1.

*Gávnos. Samisk innhold i Kunnskapsløftet – et ressurshefte for lærere i grunnsopplæringen*<sup>145</sup> is a booklet for teachers for working with Sami content in education, published by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (Udir), the executive agency of the Ministry of Education and Research. It is stated in the document that each level of education contains competence aims explicitly connected to Sami content<sup>146</sup>. They are discussed in the booklet, and presented both separately, as well as in connection to each other. This is a positive sign, highlighting that the

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<sup>140</sup> Act of 17 July 1998 no. 61 relating to Primary and Secondary Education and Training (the Education Act) with amendments as of 25 June 2010, 31 May 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2014. In force as of 1 August 2010

<sup>141</sup> The Royal Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs (n. d.): p. 9

<sup>142</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (b) (2013): p. 1

<sup>143</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (2013): p. 3

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.: p. 7

<sup>145</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (2015)

This document presents the competence aims that are connected to the Sami issues. It incorrectly states the subject areas the competence aims belong to in the Subject Curriculum for Social Studies. It is still a reliable document since it is published by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (Udir) which is the executive agency of the Ministry of Education and Research in Norway. In this case here, as well as further in the thesis while referring to the competence aims suggested by *Gávnos. Samisk innhold i Kunnskapsløftet – et ressurshefte for lærere i grunnsopplæringen*, I refer to the competence aims in the documents but put them in the subject areas in accordance to the Subject Curriculum for Social Studies. I use the translated version of the Subject Curriculum for Social Studies (in English) published by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.: pp. 47-61



Ministry of Education, at least on the formal level, follows up the statement from the Education Act and the Core Curriculum. Further, I will study how the competence aims concerning Sami issues are operated with on a more practical and everyday level, namely, in the textbooks.

According to Gávnos, the Subject Curriculum for Social Studies for lower secondary level of schooling includes three competence aims connected to Sami issues<sup>147</sup>. They are the following:

- 1) Civic Life - competence aim 4 - “give an account of the main principles of the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the most essential UN Conventions (such as the ILO Convention concerning the rights of indigenous peoples), explain how these are laid down in legislation and discuss and elaborate on the consequences of violating human rights”<sup>148</sup>;
- 2) History - competence aim 3 - “present the main characteristics of the history and culture of the Sami people from the mid-1800s up to the present, and discuss and elaborate on the consequences of the Norwegian policy of Norwegianization and the Sami people’s fight for their rights”<sup>149</sup>;
- 3) Geography - competence aim 5 - “investigate how people exploit natural resources, other resources and technology in Norway and other countries around the world, and discuss the premises for sustainable development”<sup>150</sup>.

One can see that the competence aim for History directly corresponds with my research question and explicitly highlights that the process of Norwegianization must be learned by pupils. The other two competence aims do not mention the process directly, however, they can also be relevant for the competence aim in History. For example, natural resources are important to the Sami. Reindeer herding, as well as the use of sea and land resources, have historically been of a great importance for the Sami community. Relating to competence aim 4 under Civic Life, The ILO Convention 169 is obviously relevant to the Sami people. Talking about it and its ratification as an event that took place after the Norwegianization policy ended and Sami rights were gaining more attention in Norway and internationally, can underline understanding and the desire of the

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid.: p. 54

<sup>148</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (2013): p. 7

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

Norwegian authorities to accept the Sami as a part of the rightful population in the country. Additionally, it is important to talk about all of these issues in the light of each other, and combine some aspects from each of the competence aims while teaching, in order to highlight the interconnectedness of the issues dealt with in the best and the most rich way.

The Alta case is not directly mentioned in any of these three competence aims. Neither is the conflict mentioned in the remaining competence aims for Social Studies on this level of education. Even though it is not mentioned directly, it is highly relevant to the competence aim in Geography where natural resources are to be studied. The competence aim for Civic Life may be relevant if it is considered in the light of the Alta conflict as a reason for Norway to ratify the ILO Convention 169. The competence aim for History can also be relevant in discussing the Sami's fight for their rights. So while the Norwegianization process is specifically mentioned in competence aim for History, the Alta conflict could potentially be used as an example in all three competence aims.

I decided to check the competence aims for Social Studies for all other levels of education in Norway (after elementary school (1st - 4th grade), primary school (5th - 7th grade), and upper secondary school (VG1 - VG3)), to find out if the conflict is explicitly mentioned elsewhere.

The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training states that there are competence aims on each level of schooling that are specifically aimed towards Sami content in Social Studies<sup>151</sup>. Accordingly, upon completion of the 4<sup>th</sup> grade there are two competence aims that touch upon Sami issues. They are:

- 1) History - competence aim 3 - “describe central characteristics of Sami culture and way of life up to the Christianisation of the Sami people”<sup>152</sup>;
- 2) History - competence aim 5 - “converse about and explain why 17th of May and 6th of February are celebrated, and tell others about national days in other countries”<sup>153</sup>.

After completion of the 7<sup>th</sup> grade, there are five competence aims related to the Sami issues.

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<sup>151</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (2015): pp. 47-61

<sup>152</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (2013): p. 5

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

According to these, students should be able to:

- 1) History - competence aim 2 - “give an account of how the Nordic states and Russia established the borders between them along the Northern Cape until the first half of the 1800s and give an account of how this affected the culture and living conditions of the Sami people and their relationship at this time with these states”<sup>154</sup>;
- 2) Geography - competence aim 1 - “use an atlas, find information from printed thematic maps and digital map services and locate neighbouring municipalities, counties in Norway, the traditional Sami areas and the largest countries in the world on a map”<sup>155</sup>;
- 3) Civic Life - competence aim 10 - “provide examples of different cultural symbols and give an account of what we mean by the concepts of identity and culture”<sup>156</sup>;
- 4) Civic Life - competence aim 11 - “elaborate on the main characteristics of the Sami society today”<sup>157</sup>;
- 5) Civic Life - competence aim 13 - “discuss the objectives of the United Nations and other international collaborations, including cooperation and work by indigenous peoples, and explain the role Norway plays in such cooperation and cooperation”<sup>158</sup> (as I see).

In upper secondary school there are five competence aims connected to Sami topics:

- 1) The Individual, Society and Culture - competence aim 6 - “describe the main features of Sami culture today and reflect on what it means to be an indigenous person”<sup>159</sup>;
- 2) The Individual, Society and Culture - competence aim 7 - “discuss how religious, ethnicity and cultural variation create opportunities and challenges”<sup>160</sup>;
- 3) Politics and Democracy - competence aim 2 - “give an account of the various challenges faced by democracy, including issues of representation for indigenous peoples and minorities”<sup>161</sup>;

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid.: p. 6

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.: p. 8

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

4) Politics and Democracy - competence aim 5 - “elaborate on the type of government and the most important political bodies in Norway and discuss and elaborate on a pluralist democracy in relation to indigenous peoples and minorities”<sup>162</sup>;

5) International Affairs - competence aim 4 - “find examples of different types of conflicts and human rights violations and discuss and elaborate on what the United Nations and other international operators can do”<sup>163</sup>.

In total, according to the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, the curriculum for Social Studies on all levels of education contains fifteen competence aims that are intentionally related to Sami content<sup>164</sup>. It is important to mention that the majority of the competence aims are very broad, both those connected to Sami content and not. However, in none of the levels of education do the competence aims explicitly highlight the Alta conflict. Yet, according to the competence aims on the Sami content that logically build up on each other, the Sami issues are supposed to be learned at each level of schooling. Because the Alta conflict is such an important event, as highlighted in more detail in Chapter 2 where background information is presented, I imagine that the Alta conflict is learned at school at some level.

For the case of this thesis and the lower secondary level of education, from my understanding, the Alta case can be drawn in under any of the three competence aims. My research will uncover if the two researched events - the Alta case and the process of Norwegianization - are presented in the Social Studies textbooks for Norwegian lower secondary school.

In the next chapter I will present the textbooks I have chosen for the study. The presentation is followed by data analysis and a discussion of the findings will conclude the chapter.

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (2015): pp. 47-61

# Chapter 4: Data presentation and analysis

In this chapter, I shall present the researched textbooks and do the data analysis, as described in chapter 1 in the Methodology section. First, I check if the researched events are presented in the textbooks. After, I analyze the presented information to find out if it is given in an informative or in explanatory way. I consider it informative if a textbook gives a basic retelling of an event. It is considered explanatory, if a textbook gives reasoning for an event to happen, and/or presents an analysis of the consequences of an event. A discussion of the findings concludes the chapter.

## 4.1 Researched textbooks

I decided to analyze four sets of Social Studies textbooks for lower secondary school (8-10 grade) published by the largest publishing houses in Norway<sup>165</sup>. The selected textbook series are:

- *Monitor* by Cappelen Damm
- *Underveis* by Gyldendal Norsk Forlag
- *Matriks* by Aschehoug, and
- *Kosmos* by Fagbokforlaget<sup>166</sup>

Based on the size of the publishers, together these textbooks dominate the educational market in the country and create a valuable arena for finding information for my research. In total, my study is based on the examination of 28 separate textbooks. Each textbook was read and analyzed as a part of the set, thus, I have four units for analysis meaning that each set of researched

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<sup>165</sup> Frankfurter Buchmesse (2015)

<sup>166</sup> Note: Fagbokforlaget is the largest imprint in the Forlagshuset Vigmostad & Bjørke group. Source: Fagbokforlaget (a) (2014)

textbooks is a unit for the research.

The publishers offer the textbooks both in Norwegian Bokmål and Norwegian Nynorsk. The majority of the analyzed textbooks were read in Bokmål, however, two sources were used in Nynorsk. Each the textbooks are published in accordance to the Norwegian school reform 2006 (LK-06). The research examines the editions named on the publishers' official websites, which are the first editions of each textbook.

It was important to include all of these books in this research, as they present the information given by the largest publishing companies in the country. The amount of data offers differentiated data material and lays a solid foundation for building strong and justified conclusions after analyzing the gathered data.

Although the researched textbooks come in combination with task books, support books for teachers, web-sites and easy editions of the textbooks, this research has only examined the main textbooks for pupils. Easy editions were not included because they contain much of the same information as the textbooks, but are developed for students who require adaptation, containing for example, simplified texts. Audiobooks, digital books and web resources were not included because they are largely a repetition of the textbooks, or are based on the texts from the textbooks. The books for teachers offer basic ideas and points of learning strategies, as well as tips on how students can learn best<sup>167</sup>. I do not include them in the research either because although there are specific topics and areas that teachers are supposed to cover according to the books, it is entirely dependant upon how and what the teachers decide to focus on. As I did not have an opportunity to interview any teachers, I did not include those books into my research. As such, my research is limited to exploring how the two researched events are presented in the textbooks. It is difficult to know to what degree all of the learning materials offered by the publishers are used from subject to subject, but textbooks are definitively the sources the pupils interact with the most in the classroom.

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<sup>167</sup> Fagbokforlaget (c) (n.d.)

### 4.1.1 *Monitor 1-3*

*Monitor* consists of three sets of books (*Monitor 1* – for the 8<sup>th</sup> grade, *Monitor 2* – for the 9<sup>th</sup> grade, and *Monitor 3* – for the 10<sup>th</sup> grade), and each set is divided into 3 textbooks (History, Geography and Civic Life). The publisher, Cappelen Damm is a cultural and educational enterprise that publishes for both adults and children, with more than 1000 new titles being published each year. It is based in Oslo<sup>168</sup>.

*Monitor 1, 2, 3* consists of:

- textbooks;
- task books;
- theme booklets;
- teacher's manual;
- web resource [www.monitor.cappelendamm.no](http://www.monitor.cappelendamm.no)<sup>169</sup>

In *Monitor*, the subject material is organized into five main topics that are presented in the textbooks of History, Geography and Civic Life. Each topic contains an overview of the content and learning objectives. *Monitor 1* deals with Europe, while Norway and the world are presented in *Monitor 2* and *3*. Assignments in the task books are based on the information from the textbooks. The tasks check pupils' progression on three levels within each task, covering a basic width of each chapter. They demand variation in learning methods and practice in basic skills<sup>170</sup>. The authors of *Monitor 1-3*, Trude H. Olsen, Elisabeth S. Berner, Trond Borge, Fredrik Fagertun og Olav Fossbakken have extensive teaching experience from primary and secondary school, as well as at the university level<sup>171</sup>.

The process of Norwegianization is discussed in *Monitor* several times. As it is stated in *Monitor 2. Samfunnskunnskap*, the Norwegian state maintained a strict assimilation policy towards

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<sup>168</sup> Cappelen Damm (a) (n. d.)

<sup>169</sup> Cappelen Damm (b) (n. d.)

<sup>170</sup> Cappelen Damm (c) (n. d.)

<sup>171</sup> Cappelen Damm (d) (n. d.)

different minority groups in the country, including the Sami. Until the 1950-60s<sup>172</sup>, the Sami were forced into the Norwegian majority culture. “This policy was called Norwegianization”<sup>173</sup> [My translation]. As well as marking the approximate end of the Norwegianization policy, the book also marks its beginning - 1859<sup>174</sup>, while noting that it was at the end of the 1800s, that the Norwegian authorities announced that Sami language should be used as little as possible in education.

The book gives more information about the case, for example, the reasons of the country’s policy of Norwegianization are presented: 1) the Norwegian authorities feared that other countries would make use of Norwegian land. The neighboring country in the northeast, Russia, was seen as the main threat by the authorities. Therefore, it was important for the government to make population in those territories “as “Norwegian” as possible”<sup>175</sup> [My translation]. It would have made it difficult for Russians to claim that it was their territory; 2) A way of thinking during those times was that the “white” European civilization was considered to be “higher” than the other population, including the indigenous people, whom were seen as subordinate and weak. Accordingly, they were pressed by the majority towards assimilation<sup>176</sup>. The textbook highlights the case, stating: “The researchers and scientists, authors and politicians of those times believed that the Sami belonged to a "race" that was too weak to be able to live on. The Norwegian "race", the Norwegian culture and the Norwegian institutions, on the other hand, were strong. Only if the Sami were taken up into the Norwegian culture and became Norwegians, could they survive. They had to be assimilated, that is, they had to be Norwegianized or become more Norwegian”<sup>177</sup> [My translation]. The Kautokeino uprising in 1852 can also be considered, according to *Monitor*, as a reason that made the authorities prefer the disappearing of the Sami culture and way of life

Next, the methods of implementing the policy are presented: 1) Norwegianization through schools: using Norwegian as a language of teaching, using textbooks in Norwegian, providing better salaries to the teachers that were the most effective at Norwegianizing the pupils. Many

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<sup>172</sup> Berner, E., Borge, T. & Olsen, T. H. (2007): p. 33, 36

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Fagertun, F. (2007): p. 36

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.: p. 45

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.: pp. 45- 46

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.: p. 46



Sami were not happy about it, and parents stopped sending their children to schools; 2) Norwegianization through removing children from the Sami environment and putting them into boarding schools, where the environment was strictly Norwegian speaking; 3) Norwegianization through the language policy, making everyone who lived in Norway use Norwegian language<sup>178</sup>.

As a result, according to *Monitor*, the Sami pupils did not learn Norwegian well in this way. Neither did they learn other subjects because of the lack of Norwegian skills. Some pupils became neither good in Norwegian nor in Sami language. They did not feel that they were belonging to either the Sami or Norwegian. For many, especially in the coastal areas, it became shameful to have the Sami background. In the counties of coastal Finnmark, Troms and Nordland, the Sami stopped speaking their language, even though many knew it. They stopped wearing their traditional clothes - kofte. "The Sami became almost more Norwegian than the Norwegians themselves"<sup>179</sup> [My translation]. However, in the inner Finnmark county, the Sami culture and language still existed in the society. The population there was very much attached to the reindeer husbandry, and there was considerably less of a Norwegian influence. The fact that the pupils did not understand what was happening at school actually let them preserve their language and culture<sup>180</sup>.

Even though the textbook is lacking in presenting the ways of conducting the process, nothing is mentioned about the settlement and livelihood policies as a way of assimilating the minorities, only Norwegianization through education, boarding schools, and language policy are touched upon, this is an explanatory presentation of the process of Norwegianization. The reasons for the Norwegian state to conduct the assimilation politics against the Sami are thoroughly explained and a description of the process is given. The consequences of the process are pointed out, and the reflection over the process as a violation of human rights is presented. Additionally, the textbook offers pupils to reflect on the politics of assimilation by themselves. They are asked to imagine that when they come to school tomorrow, they will be notified that they are not allowed to speak Norwegian at school anymore. The teaching will be only in French, and they will have

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid.: p. 44, 46-47;

Berner, E., Borge, T. & Olsen, T. H. (2007): p. 33

<sup>179</sup> Fagertun, F. (2007): p. 47

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

to write and read in French only. If the pupils are caught speaking Norwegian during a recess, they will be punished. “How would you like this?”<sup>181</sup> [My translation]. The text concludes by stating that the Sami children had to live with this kind of rules for around 100 years! This kind of reflections may help pupils think deeper and by that comprehend the topic better.

The second part of my research question demands finding out if, and if so, how, the Alta conflict is presented. *Monitor* introduces the conflict<sup>182</sup>. It is stated in the textbook that around 1980 there was a hard struggle concerning the development of a power plant in the Alta-Kautokeino river basin. The textbook gives the reasoning for the conflict, stating that the government and the Norwegian parliament wanted to build a power plant that would lead to putting large areas of land under water, thus, ruining animal and plant life in those territories, destroying the traditional Sami territories for reindeer pasture, and putting the entire Sami village, Masi, under water. That is why the protests started. Those were the protests for protecting the traditional Sami rights and for protecting nature.

*Monitor* offers a chronology of the conflict: starting at the end of 1970, having the first activist-police meeting in Alta in 1979, police actions against the demonstrators in the period of 1979-1981, and the ending of the conflict with the building of the power plant, but according to a revised plan that reduced the damage. Furthermore, the textbook offers a detailed description of one day during the conflict - January 14<sup>th</sup> 1981, when over a thousand demonstrators gathered in a place called Stilla. The government sent 600 police officers from the entire country there, resulting in high tension that became discussed in national and foreign media. It was also the largest demonstration of civilian disobedience in Norway ever.

*Monitor* highlights the importance of the Alta conflict for both environmental organizations, that caught more attention to water and nature resources, and for the Sami people, that made a big step towards their self-determination and rights. *Monitor* continues, stating that the conflict was an important step towards the Norwegian democracy.

This way of presenting the Alta conflict is explanatory. As stated in the Chapter 1 of the thesis, a

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid.: p. 44

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.: pp. 48, 89-90

presentation is explanatory if it does not only retell an event, but indicates the reasons for it to happen and/or gives deeper analysis of outcomes. In the presentation of the Alta conflict in *Monitor*, it is explained why the conflict took place, how it was going on, and what it led to. The textbook presents all needed information for rating this presentation as explanatory.

#### 4.1.2 *Underveis 8-10*

Published by Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS, *Underveis 8-10 Ny utgave* is a series of textbooks for Social Studies for lower secondary school. The publishing agency offers a wide range of literary fiction and nonfiction literature alongside with textbooks and other education materials of high quality both on paper and in electronic form. “Being the most attractive publishing house for the readers, authors and partners” serves as the main goal for Gyldendal. The publishing house aims at “preserving cultural heritage while offering the best contemporary literature”<sup>183</sup>.

As a set, *Underveis 8-10 Ny utgave* consists of:

- textbooks;
- resource books;
- Gyldendal’s school atlas (as an additional source for Civic life)
- web resource [www.gyldendal.no/underveis](http://www.gyldendal.no/underveis)<sup>184</sup>

The textbooks for pupils are separate Geography and History books for the 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grades, and one Civic Life book for these three grades together. Clear structure is emphasized by the authors. Each chapter starts with presenting learning objectives and framework and finishes with different tasks like “Do you remember?” or “Further work”. The author of the History books is Harald Skjønsberg. Geography books were written by Jon Birkenes and Elisabeth Solberg

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<sup>183</sup> Gyldendal (a) (n. d.)

<sup>184</sup> Gyldendal (b) (n. d.)

Østensen. Mary Merete Strand and Torill Strand wrote the book for Civic Life. Each of the authors have background and experience in teaching<sup>185</sup>.

The textbooks in History, with their motto - “engaged and clear storytelling” - presents history chronologically. They offer extensive use of maps, timelines, various types of texts and tasks. History textbook for the 8<sup>th</sup> grade focuses on world history and history in Norway in the period from 1750 to 1914 discussing revolutions, nationalism and imperialism as main topics of the period. History for the 9<sup>th</sup> grade is devoted to the period between the two World Wars, while the book for the 10<sup>th</sup> grade deals with history after 1945 to today, focusing a great deal on the cold war and global world<sup>186</sup>.

Geography 8 presents weather, climate, the Earth's internal and external forces as well as vegetation and the different landscape types in Norway while Geography for the 9<sup>th</sup> grade focuses on Europe presenting lands and landscape, primary, secondary and tertiary industries, energy and energy management. Geography 10 deals with the world's regions, discussing countries, people's development, settlement and migration patterns, and wealth and poverty. Working with maps has gained a significant place in these books. Tables and statistics teach pupils to read material in different ways<sup>187</sup>.

Civic Life 8-10 is a single textbook for use for three school years. According to the authors, this allows for a greater flexibility in teaching. The textbook contains the following topics: the good society, identity and culture, democracy and power sharing, law, consumption, economy and globalization<sup>188</sup>.

The Norwegianization process is presented in this textbook. It states that the assimilation process had happened, giving the timeframes for it from the 1800s, highlighting that in 1880 it became forbidden to use the Sami language in education, up until the 1950-60s<sup>189</sup>. At those times everything Norwegian was seen as important and especially great. The Sami culture was often

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Gyldendal Undervisning (2016). p. 2; Gyldendal Undervisning (2011) p. 8

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.: p. 9

<sup>188</sup> Gyldendal Undervisning (2016): p. 6

<sup>189</sup> Skjønsberg, H. (2006): p. 255;

Strand, M., M. & Strand, T. (2006): p. 196

ridiculed by the Norwegians. They were seen as a problem because they were different: “They spoke a different language, they were wearing different clothes, they had different customs, different history and a different way of life”<sup>190</sup> [My translation]. Many Norwegians that did not like it. That is why the Sami had to become Norwegian, “either they wanted or not” [My translation]<sup>191</sup>. This is the reason for the assimilation policy, according to this textbook.

The ways of how the policy was conducted are listed: 1) Norwegianization through schools. The schoolchildren were not allowed to speak their language. The language of teaching was Norwegian. Also, it is mentioned, as a result of Norwegianization, that the Sami ended up not being able to read or write in their language; 2) Norwegianization through settlement and livelihood policies: “Only Norwegian citizens who could speak, read and write Norwegian, and used Norwegian as the everyday language were allowed to buy land in Finnmark”<sup>192</sup>; 3) Norwegianization through the language policy is briefly mentioned stating that the authorities wanted the Sami language to disappear, and they changed all geographical names in Sami to the ones in Norwegian. The textbook states that the Sami were discriminated against and treated very badly by the authorities<sup>193</sup>.

According to the definition of an explanatory presentation chosen for this research, this is an explanatory presentation of the event. The reasons the Norwegian authorities had for conducting the assimilation policy against the Sami are given and explained, and the ways of implementing the policy are also presented. The fact that the Sami started forgetting their language is named as an outcome of the policy. However, there is more to say about it. For example, a deeper discussion of how the policies were experienced, identifying the security threats perceived by the authorities as one of the causes for Norwegianization, as well as a more thorough analysis of the outcomes of the Norwegianization would be beneficial for the textbook.

The Alta conflict is also presented in the textbook. *Underveis* explains the reasons for the conflict, stating that in 1978 the Norwegian parliament decided to build a dam in the Alta-

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<sup>190</sup> Skjønberg, H. (2006): p. 255

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.: pp. 148, 255;

Strand, M., M. & Strand, T. (2006): pp. 144, 196

Kautokeino river basin, to supply the territory with more power. That construction affected the Sami directly by ruining their traditional reindeer grazing territories and putting the entire settlement of Masi under water. That is why the Sami started the fight for their rights to water and land. They were supported by environmental organizations, experts, and well-known people.

The textbook gives information about how the conflict was going on. It is stated that on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October 1979, a group of Sami erected a tent in front of the Norwegian parliament and announced a hunger strike. As a result, it led to postponing the building plans, however, in 1980 it was launched again.

On January 14<sup>th</sup> 1981, hundreds of demonstrators chained themselves together in front of the construction machines, under the slogan “Let the river live”. The government sent 600 police officers to Alta to remove the demonstration.

One more event of the conflict is described in *Underveis*, when in February 1981 Sami women and a child occupied the prime minister’s office in Oslo and demanded the end of the dam construction as well as more attention to the Sami people’s rights.

The results of the Alta conflict are mentioned in the textbook, stating that even though the Sami lost that fight, they had a political victory. In May 2005 the Sami Act was adopted that gave the Sami people more rights to land and water<sup>194</sup>. The textbook highlights: “The Sami Act is a result of the Sami actions that took place 30 years ago”<sup>195</sup> [My translation].

This as an explanatory text. It gives the grounds of why the conflict happened. The textbook highlight some events during the conflict, retells how they were going on and explains what they led to. *Underveis* briefly introduces the outcomes of the conflict and points out that the conflict was a political victory for the Sami people. More information about the outcomes would enrich the textbook and make it more full for learning about the Alta conflict, however, the amount and quality of information given by the textbook concerning the Alta conflict allow referring to the presentation of the event in this textbook as the explanatory presentation of the Alta case.

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<sup>194</sup> Strand, M., M. & Strand, T. (2006): pp. 128-129;  
Birkenes, J. & Østensen, U., E., S. (2007): p. 175

<sup>195</sup> Strand, M., M. & Strand, T. (2006): p. 100

### 4.1.3 *Matriks 8-10*

*Matriks 8-10* is published by Aschehoug, a publishing house founded in 1872. Its mission is “to find, distribute and disseminate literature in all genres”. Aschehoug states that it is passionate about books and creative writing, and guarantor of freedom of expression, that brings together Norwegian and foreign authors. The publisher offers books of different range: novels, poems, essays, biographies, memoirs, books on politics and history, travel guides, books for children and youth, books and tools for teaching and improvement of skills<sup>196</sup>.

*Matriks 8-10* consists of the following components:

- textbooks for each grade (separate for Geography, History and Civic Life);
- teacher’s manuals;
- a game “Tren Tanken”;
- a web resource [www.lokus.no](http://www.lokus.no)<sup>197</sup>

*Matriks 8-10* is structured in a twofold differentiation model, in an a- and b-part, not only differentiating between easy and difficult, but also between different genres and learning strategies. The textbooks, according to the publisher, emphasize good and understandable language, focus on in-depth conceptual training, offer illustrations and a neat layout. There is a close association between text and illustrations and the textbooks have a large variety of tasks.

The content of Geography for the 8<sup>th</sup> grade is related to the subject's competence aims. It informs about maps, landscapes, globe, internal and external forces of the Earth, soil, the Norwegian scenery and the water cycle. Geography 9 continues work with maps, talks about air masses, climate, food and energy. The Geography book for the 10<sup>th</sup> grade focuses on population and different regions of the world: Africa, Europe, Asia, Oceania, and North and South America.

History 8 discusses the major changes that occurred from the late 1700s to early 1900s,

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<sup>196</sup> Aschehoug (n. d.)

<sup>197</sup> Aschehoug (a) (n. d.)

presenting the French and American Revolutions, population growth and the industrial revolution, nationalism and imperialism, as well as giving information about Norway's independence. The content of the 9<sup>th</sup> grade book in History discusses some of the most extensive conflicts in world history. It starts with the story of the Titanic to illustrate society in the early 1900s, continuing with the First World War. Further chapters focus on class struggle and revolution in Russia, the labor movement in Norway, as well as the economic crisis in the United States. Two chapters on the Second World War conclude the textbook. The third History book includes history of modern world as well as Norway's history from 1945 until present day. The chapters deal with the cold war, welfare state, conflicts in the Middle East, the independence of the colonies, gathering and splitting of Europe, and Norway's place in the world.

The textbook in Civic Life for the 8<sup>th</sup> grade consists of three main parts: the influence, power and consumption. The 9<sup>th</sup> grade book offers chapters focused on human rights, law and justice, culture and diversity, and intoxication. Civic Life 10 contains chapters on economics, entrepreneurship, as well as discussion of what a society is, and topics such as sexuality and relationships<sup>198</sup>.

The Norwegianization process is discussed in *Matriks*. The authors state that it was aimed at making the Sami people to become Norwegian, and that from the 1880s until 1950-60s the process was the most active<sup>199</sup>.

The textbook presents the reasoning for the policy of assimilation: 1) due to Norwegian nationalism, the Sami were seen as inferior, and had to become Norwegian instead; 2) in order to prevent Russia from claiming Finnmark, the authorities wanted to ensure that the population in the north was as Norwegian as possible. The state encouraged and financially supported Norwegians who settled in Finnmark, cultivated land there and worked on the aim of assimilating the local population. "This is called Norwegianization", highlights the textbook<sup>200</sup>.

*Matriks* also highlights the ways of Norwegianization: 1) through education. "It was forbidden to

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<sup>198</sup> Aschehoug (a) (n. d.)

<sup>199</sup> Hellerud, S., V. & Moen, S. (2006): p. 141;

Andresen, G., Horne, T., Nicolaysen, H. & Skurdal, M. (2007): p. 90

<sup>200</sup> Hellerud, S., V. & Moen, S. (2006): p. 141



teach in Sami”<sup>201</sup> [My translation]. Additionally, the Sami pupils were taught that the Sami were “primitive people and that Norwegian culture was more valuable than Sami culture”<sup>202</sup> [My translation]; 2) through putting the pupils in the boarding schools where the environment was Norwegian speaking, and the Sami children were not even allowed to speak their native language in their free time; 3) through the settlement and livelihood policies of not allowing people who did not speak Norwegian to buy land in Finnmark<sup>203</sup>.

The outcomes of the policy are hardly discussed. It is stated that many Sami started believing that Norwegian culture really was more valuable, and became embarrassed of their own culture. Also, the lack of education is briefly mentioned in connection to the assimilation policy<sup>204</sup>. The textbook offers an explanatory way of presenting the process. The textbook emphasizes that the policy of assimilation took place, it presents the reasons that it happened, and the methods with which the policy was being developed are presented as well. However, the textbook highlights only one point while presenting the outcomes the policy. It would greatly benefit from a deeper and more detailed presentation of the consequences.

*Matriks* presents the Alta case as a fight of the Sami for their rights and interests. It is stated that in 1979 the Sami together with conservationists were protesting against the building of a dam in the Alta-Kautokeino river basin, according to parliament’s decision. The Sami and the conservationists believed that the construction would interfere with wildlife in the area and destroy the traditional Sami reindeer grazing territory. The conflict lasted for three years. But in 1981 the government sent 600 police officers to the watercourse and removed the protesters with force. The construction was completed in 1986<sup>205</sup>.

As an outcome of the event, *Matriks* states that ultimately, the authorities began involving the Sami in political decision making, leading to a change in the Norwegian Constitution, and to the

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<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.;

Andresen, G., Horne, T., Nicolaysen, H. & Skurdal, M. (2007): p. 73

<sup>204</sup> Hellerud, S., V. & Moen, S. (2006): p. 141;

Hellerud, S., V. & Knutsen, K. (2008): p. 67

<sup>205</sup> Hellerud, S., V. & Knutsen, K. (2008): p. 68

creation of the Sami parliament<sup>206</sup>. Additionally, due to the conflict the Sami became a subject of interest for many, both in Norway and internationally<sup>207</sup>.

This way of presenting the event aims for explanatory because it gives the reasons for the event to happen, and briefly presents some events during the conflict and the outcomes of the event. However, the text in the presentation is too vague for the readers to clearly follow the reasoning for the conflict. It lacks a thorough presentation, and more importantly, a discussion of the outcomes of the conflict that could benefit the textbook and lead to the text becoming explanatory. Accordingly, this presentation of the Alta conflict is an informative presentation, with some tendencies towards explanatory.

#### 4.1.4 *Kosmos 8-10*

*Kosmos 8, 9, 10* (for 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grades accordingly) is published by Fagbokforlaget, an independent publisher of literature founded in 1992. The company develops and distributes “knowledge of high academic and educational quality, for use in teaching and professional growth for the entire training course, nursery, primary, secondary, adult and higher education”<sup>208</sup>. Fagbokforlaget has its headquarter in Bergen, with offices in Oslo, Trondheim, Stavanger, Gdansk and Delhi<sup>209</sup>.

The authors of the textbooks are John Harald Nomedal and Ståle Bråthen. Nomedal is a lecturer at Karrus school in Kristiansand. Bråthen is a co-author for *Kosmos 9* and *10*. He is a lecturer at

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<sup>206</sup> Ibid.: p. 67, 71

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.: p. 67

<sup>208</sup> Fagbokforlaget (a) (2014)

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

Nordre Modum school and teaches History, Political Science and Social Economics<sup>210</sup>.

*Kosmos* is one of the most sold textbooks in social sciences for lower secondary school. In 2008 it was named one of the year's prettiest books (from a design perspective) and received the award "The year's book for lower secondary school"<sup>211</sup>. It consists of:

- textbooks;
- easy edition textbooks;
- digital textbook;
- audiobook;
- teacher's manual;
- book for teachers – *Utforskeren 8-10*;
- internet resource [www.kosmos.portfolio.no](http://www.kosmos.portfolio.no)<sup>212</sup>.

*Kosmos* has a new, contemporary design, comes with illustrations, and contains a variety of tasks and activities. Material is given in such a way that students have to work with books and also think independently, analyze and discuss<sup>213</sup>. Texts are divided in three parts: Geography, History and Civic Life. Each chapter begins with an introduction summarizing the chapters' content. The headlines are listed so that students quickly get an overview of what the texts are about. Each chapter is followed by a series of questions. The first group of questions is repetition, where students find the answers in the book. The second part encourages reflection and discussion, and students need to find answers outside the textbook<sup>214</sup>.

It is stated in the textbook that the process of Norwegianization took place, the Norwegian authorities wanted to Norwegianize the Sami and made them as Norwegian as possible, and that it lasted from the 1880s until the 1960s. *Kosmos* highlights that the Sami were discriminated

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<sup>210</sup> Fagbokforlaget (c) (n. d.)

<sup>211</sup> Fagbokforlaget (b) (2014)

Fagbokforlaget (c) (n. d.)

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

Fagbokforlaget (d) (n. d.)

Fagbokforlaget (e) (n. d.)

<sup>213</sup> Fagbokforlaget (c) (n. d.)

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

against<sup>215</sup>. The authors quote the former Prime Minister Johan Sverdrup in Parliament in 1863: “The only rescue for the Lapps is to be absorbed by the Norwegian nation”<sup>216</sup> [My translation].

The textbook outlines the reasons why the Norwegian authorities wanted to Norwegianize the Sami: 1) the authorities wanted the country's population to be one nation. “The Sami were seen as inferior. Their culture was not as good as the Norwegian culture”<sup>217</sup> [My translation]; 2) the authorities feared that Norwegian security in the north was threatened<sup>218</sup>.

The methods of carrying out the assimilation policy are described in the textbook. The authors highlight four ways which the policy took place: 1) Norwegianization through education policy is described, stating that the parliament banned the use of the Sami language in education. Often, the teachers did not understand the Sami and the pupils did not understand Norwegian. Teachers were supposed to ensure that Sami pupils did not speak their native language at school. It created major problems for many, and led to high absence rates among the pupils; 2) Norwegianization through boarding schools. It reduced the absence rates, and made it possible for the teachers to influence pupils in their spare time<sup>219</sup>. The authors reflect on the Sami’s point of view in the situation stating that many Sami schoolchildren experienced their time at boarding school as agonizing. At the same time, if the Sami parents refused to send children to school, they could be fined or arrested<sup>220</sup>. The situation is illustrated by a story of a Sami person who was a pupil at the time. He says:

“I was in the first group of Sami that were being “Norwegianized”. It was an agonizing time. The teacher we had did not understand Sami, and I did not understand Norwegian. It took three years before I realized what was happening on the blackboard. If we children were caught speaking Sami, it would be a terrible spectacle. The environment and culture I was put into were completely different from the ones I was used to. God, how I longed

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<sup>215</sup> Nomedal, J. H. & Bråthen, S. (2007): p. 192, 196

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.: p. 196

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.: p. 197

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid.: p. 196, 197

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.: p. 197

for my plateau, my family and siblings”<sup>221</sup>. [My translation].

3) Norwegianization through the language policy is also mentioned in *Kosmos*. It is stated that when the parliament in 1885 decided to give the equal status of two variants of the two Norwegian language - Bokmål and Nynorsk, “nobody thought about a people in Norway who used a third language”<sup>222</sup> [My translation]; 4) the process of Norwegianization in settlement and livelihood policy is revealed in the textbook where it is stated that in 1902 it became forbidden to sell land to people who could not speak Norwegian<sup>223</sup>.

This is an explanatory way of presenting the process of Norwegianization, since the reasons for the policy to happen are given, and the way the process took place is presented. However, nothing is mentioned concerning the consequences of the Norwegianization process. An outline and discussion of the outcomes would have enriched the presentation of the process and strengthened the position of the textbook.

The Alta conflict is mentioned in *Kosmos*<sup>224</sup>. The authors of the textbook present the conflict in the light of hydropower. They state that hydropower can create conflicts and offer the Alta conflict as an example. It is briefly mentioned that according to the Norwegian Parliament’s plan, the building of the dam was supposed to lay the settlement of Masi underwater along with Sami pastures. They continue, writing that, “The protests were strong. Parliament adopted to protect Masi, but decided again to build out the construction. The new plan also created controversy”<sup>225</sup>[My translation]. The Sami had many supporters in their protests. “Some went to the hunger strike and created the camps, while others organized demonstrations or tied themselves together with chains”<sup>226</sup> [My translation]. The authors do not identify who was supporting the Sami, or even when the conflict happened. The description of the conflict is very blurry, lacking in specific details, such as dates or names. The textbook does not mention the outcomes of the conflict. Accordingly, it is an informative way of presenting the event, that offers

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<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.: p. 196

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.: pp. 72-73

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.: p. 73

a very retelling of the conflict.

## 4.2 Discussion

In this section of my thesis, I offer a discussion of the researched textbooks in order to find out how they present the information in comparison to one another. It will help me to discover if the lower secondary school pupils who use these sets of textbooks for Social Studies are exposed to similar interpretations of the researched cases, or if there are variations between the presentations. Upon completing this step, I will be able to fully answer my research question for this thesis:

- How are the Norwegianization process and the Alta conflict presented in textbooks for lower secondary school pupils?

### 4.2.1 Explanatory presentations versus informative presentations

After the first two steps of my data analysis, I can state that all four researched sets of textbooks - *Monitor*, *Underveis*, *Matriks* and *Kosmos* - do cover both the process of Norwegianization and the Alta conflict. *Monitor* and *Underveis* give explanatory information for both of the events, while *Matriks* and *Kosmos* present the process of Norwegianization in an explanatory way, and the Alta conflict is presented in an informative way in those two textbooks.

Both ways of presentation give information about the process of Norwegianization and the Alta conflict. However, the explanatory presentations give more information about the cases in

comparison with the informative presentations. This is problematic because when the informative presentations simply state that an event has happened and neglects explicitly explaining why it happened and what the outcomes were, it may be challenging for pupils to fully and properly understand the event. This can lead to misinterpretations of the event by the pupils, difficulties in reflecting on the events, as well as in drawing connections between additional events, both past and present. For example, as in the case with the informative presentation of the Alta conflict in *Kosmos*, it could be problematic for the pupils who use this textbook to connect the conflict to the fight for the Sami rights and to the beginning of revitalization of the Sami rights and culture. Thusly, both the symbolic and historical importance of this event is left standing alone as a singular event, rather than being highlighted as an event that became a catalyst for change. Conversely, *Monitor* gives an explanatory portrayal of the Alta case. While reading it, the pupils who use this textbook have a clear statement that the Alta conflict was a fight for Sami rights, and that it launched the beginning of the awakening of the Sami culture<sup>227</sup>. In likeness to *Monitor*, *Underveis* clearly points out that the Alta conflict was a fight for the Sami rights<sup>228</sup>, however, it does not use the term “awakening” directly. *Matriks* also states that the Alta conflict was a fight for the Sami rights. The presentation of the conflict in *Matriks* is an example of how the informative presentation of the Alta case can balance on the edge of becoming explanatory. Even though the textbook gives basic information about the case, some reasoning for it, some events during the conflict, as well as some outcomes, the text is vague and makes it hard for the pupils who use this textbook to trace the connections within the conflict and, thus, reflect on the even in the connection to the present days.

Social Studies is a school subject that, according to the Subject Curriculum, gives pupils knowledge about the society around them, and inspires to understanding of him/herself and others<sup>229</sup>. Textbooks are the main and the most used teaching material for pupils. According to a study on the use of teaching materials ordered by The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 73% of the over 700 teachers who participated, responded that they use textbooks as the main teaching material in Social Studies<sup>230</sup>. Accordingly, it is important to include the maximum

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<sup>227</sup> Fagertun, F. (2007): pp. 48, 90

<sup>228</sup> Strand, M., M. & Strand, T. (2006): pp. 128-129, 196

<sup>229</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (2013): p. 1

<sup>230</sup> Waagene, E. & Gjerustad, C. (2015): p. 26

possible of relevant information to give pupils a larger arena for learning, thinking and reflecting. That is why the explanatory texts are superior and are more likely to lead to the achievement of the goals of Social Studies set by the National Curriculum.

#### 4.2.2 Presenting the process of Norwegianization

After comparing information in all four sets of the researched textbooks to each other, I can state that the textbooks have a quite similar way of presenting both the Norwegianization process and the Alta conflict. As it was already stated above, some of the researched textbooks give more information about the events, while some give less, however, they all cover the events and have a similar approach to presenting the cases, building up the presentation on the beginning (reasons) - process (ongoing) - end (outcomes) schema. All textbooks emphasize that the policy of Norwegianization was a negative policy for the Sami people, and that it led to their oppression and they were discriminated against. Concerning the Alta conflict, three out of four sets of the researched textbooks, all except for *Kosmos* which does not offer any discussion on the outcomes of the conflict, state that it was an important event for the Sami. They connect the importance of the Alta conflict to the fact that it led to Sami rights beginning to be recognized.

As the analysis shows, in comparison to each other, each of the textbooks has some issues mentioned and some issues not mentioned while presenting the two researched events. Basing on the analysis of the researched textbooks and taking all the presentations given by them into consideration, I have found out the overall picture of how the Norwegianization process is suggested for learning by the Norwegian pupils. First, the textbooks highlight the reasons for why the assimilation policy took place. In total, all four sets of textbook name two reasons why the Norwegianization happened: 1) nationalism; 2) security policy. *Monitor*, *Matriks* and *Kosmos* name both of them. However, *Underveis*, while presenting the policy of Norwegianization, does



not mention the security policy as one of the reasons for assimilation.

In presenting how the Norwegianization was being conducted, the textbooks in total suggest four ways: 1) Norwegianization through schools; 2) Norwegianization through boarding schools; 3) Norwegianization through land and settlement policy; 4) Norwegianization through language policy. Only *Kosmos* names all four of them. *Monitor* does not mention the land and settlement policy that led to a ban for buying land in Finnmark for people who could not speak Norwegian. *Underveis* does not name boarding schools as a way to assimilate the Sami children by removing them from their regular environment and placing into the Norwegian one. *Matriks* lacks a presentation of language policy as a method of forcing assimilation.

While presenting the results of the assimilation policy, the textbooks in total show three outcomes: 1) the Sami did not learn properly either Norwegian or other subjects at school due to lack of understanding the language of instruction; 2) the Sami stopped using their own language; 3) the Sami became ashamed of their identity. *Monitor* presents all three outcomes. *Matriks* highlights two of them, not naming that the Sami language stopped being used. *Underveis* names the outcome of not using the Sami language, however, the other two are lacking in presenting the results of the assimilation policy. *Kosmos* neglects to identify the outcomes entirely, not mentioning any of these.

In spite of the fact that each of the researched textbooks have variations as to which aspects they elaborate upon and which they leave out, all of them give explanatory presentations of the Norwegianization process. This allows the pupils who use these textbooks to understand the origin of the policy, see how it was conducted and make connections to the outcomes of the policy in three of the researched textbooks, except for *Kosmos* that does not touch upon the results of the policy. However, by mentioning only some parts of the entire process and not touching upon the other ones, the textbooks do not give pupils a possibility to see the holistic nature of the assimilation policy. This may cause misunderstandings and gaps in pupils' knowledge about the case.

Interestingly, none of the researched sets of textbooks gives a concrete timeframe for when the Norwegianization process was taking place. *Monitor* comes closest, stating that it began in 1859,

yet it does not explain why it was exactly that year. The textbook mentions that it was at the end of the 1800s that the Sami language was supposed to be used as little as possible in education. The textbook points to the 1950-1960s as the time when the assimilation policy ended. *Underveis* also highlights the same years as the end of the policy, but refers vaguely to the 1800s as the starting point, also mentioning that in 1880 the Sami language was supposed to be removed from education. *Matriks* states that the process took place from 1880s until 1950-1960s. *Kosmos* defines the beginning of assimilation in 1880s and its end in 1960s.

One can see that the beginning and the end of the assimilation policy are not presented exactly alike in each of the sets of the textbooks. There is still disagreement among researchers and historians concerning the exact years when the assimilation started and finished because it was a process that lasted for decades, was flowing, and that is why it is quite difficult to mark its exact beginning and culmination. Some researchers, such as Minde, connect the beginning of Norwegianization to the establishment of the Lapp Fund in 1851. It was established by the Norwegian Parliament in order to finance the Norwegianization policy<sup>231</sup>. Persen states that the process of Norwegianization started even earlier, in the 1700s, during the missionary period to the Sami areas<sup>232</sup>.

There are also different opinions concerning the end of the Norwegianization policies. According to Minde, the Alta conflict marked the end of the Norwegianization process<sup>233</sup>. Muus highlights 1940 as a year when the assimilation of the Sami finished<sup>234</sup>. Other researchers argue that the assimilation is ongoing. For example, in 2004 Åhren pointed out in his publication that the policy was still in the issue of the recognition of Sami customary law. He states, in 2004, that the policies developed during the process of Norwegianization still have some impact on the Sami people<sup>235</sup>.

Depending on the ideas and understanding of a particular researcher, the dates attached to this case can vary greatly. However, in the researched textbooks they are relatively alike. This should

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<sup>231</sup> Minde, H. (2005): p. 6

<sup>232</sup> Persen, B. (2008)

<sup>233</sup> Minde, H. (2005): pp. 6-7

<sup>234</sup> Muus, N. (2010): p. 9

<sup>235</sup> Åhren, M. J. (2004): pp. 92-93

not create a problem for pupils in following the presentation of the Norwegianization policy in each of these textbooks. The authors of the researched textbooks seem to support the idea that the beginning of the Norwegianization is connected to the law from 1889 stating that the language instructions in education in Norway had to be in Norwegian. 1963, the year this law was dismissed<sup>236</sup>, supposedly marks the end of the assimilation policy according to the textbooks. While this fact itself is not overly problematic, the texts would all benefit from engaging in this discussion more openly rather than simply stating the 1950-60s.

Pingel says that nations strive to develop a positive self-concept, in an attempt to avoid addressing historical periods that do not fit into a positive self-image<sup>237</sup>. The assimilation of the Sami people into the majority society was a historical period in Norway that does not show the country's actions in the best light. Accordingly, it is considered as one of those periods that some authors may prefer not to emphasize. However as stated above, in the four researched sets of the textbooks, the Norwegianization process is highlighted. The authors do not try to distance the Norwegians from their own history. Instead, they take up those points and discuss them from different perspectives. Reflecting on the negative events of the past and working through them openly has already a value in itself. It will not turn the negative past into a positive one, but dealing with it is important, and it takes a positive meaning by not being "silent"<sup>238</sup>.

Accordingly, presentation of the Norwegianization process in the researched textbooks is a positive fact. Especially when it is put in light of how the development of the Sami content in education was happening. Thus, it was not until 1974 that the Sami issues and the process of Norwegianization were explicitly included in the school program for Social Studies in Norway through the National Curriculum M-74. While in M-74 the Sami were portrayed as reindeer herders, in the next National Curriculum, M-87, they were given the status of "indigenous people". This track is followed in the National Curriculum L-97, and further in LK-06<sup>239</sup>.

Concerning the point raised by Pingel, the problem of not picturing the negative past in the textbooks is important not only for Norway, but for the other Nordic countries too. For example,

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<sup>236</sup> Folkenborg, H. R. (2008): p. 45

<sup>237</sup> Pingel, F. (2010): p. 38

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.: p. 39

<sup>239</sup> Ibid.: pp. 37-67

Anaya points out that in both Sweden and Denmark the school curricula do not include the diversity of the population in these countries sufficiently. Further, the textbooks contain prejudiced and biased information about the Sami<sup>240</sup>. This is confirmed in the research, for example, by Johansson. She states that the analysis of curriculum documents in Sweden showed that the minorities were invisible in the curriculum documents before 1990s, or included gradually through the supplements. The multiculturalism was included in the documents very briefly. During the 1990s, positive steps were taken in education towards learning about the minorities in Sweden, as well as in the other Nordic countries<sup>241</sup>. However, the change is still not sufficient. For example, Karlsson in her research states that in Sweden pupils do not learn what they should about the Sami history in accordance to the curriculum in the country<sup>242</sup>. Askeland states that in presentation of the Alta conflict, in comparison with Norway, the Swedish textbooks are more educational<sup>243</sup>. However, she analyzes only one textbook from each country, limiting the study and not allowing for broad generalization of the textbooks offered for pupils in Swedish schools.

The researched textbooks for this study point out that the policy of assimilation became weaker after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War due to the UN's work and a change in the ideas concerning minorities. None of the textbooks present any examples of Sami resistance to the assimilation process before the war. This may be interpreted as one of the examples of "hiding" the past by not explaining everything, as the texts mainly focus on the positive changes that occurred, stating that the Sami received new rights in the society, that their language culture were no longer looked down upon, that many new Sami institutions and organizations were created, and that it was once again allowed to use the Sami language in schools. The omission of details more critical of the Norwegian state, along with the focus upon the "benevolence" of the authorities to grant so many new rights to the Sami, amounts to a skewed account of history.

This way of presenting depends on the authors' own understanding of the Norwegianization and its culmination. As mentioned above, some researchers believe that Norwegianization is still to

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<sup>240</sup> Anaya, J. (2011): p. 19

<sup>241</sup> Johansson, G. (2007): pp. 5-6,

<sup>242</sup> Askeland, N. (2015): p. 271

<sup>243</sup> Ibid.: p. 279

some extent going on, and the Sami rights still have not received a proper place in the majority society. Nevertheless, not mentioning the Sami resistance throughout the assimilation process creates an opinion for the pupils who use these textbooks that the Sami were passive and did not stand for their rights, a view that is not accurate. There was a reaction and resistance from the Sami side to the authorities' actions. The Sami people were trying to influence the situation. For example, the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training highlights the first Sami national assembly that took place in Trondheim in 1917 as one of the ways the Sami were standing up against the assimilation<sup>244</sup>. It was the first time the Sami from Norway and Sweden met together in order to discuss their position in the nation-states, and to find solutions of how to influence the policy led by the authorities. The Sami National Day is celebrated annually on the 6<sup>th</sup> of February to commemorate this event.

*Matriks* and *Underveis* do not touch upon these matters. *Monitor* mentions both the Sami national assembly of 1917 in Trondheim and the Sami National Day<sup>245</sup>, however, without connecting them to the Sami resistance or the Norwegianization process. More so, without any connection of these two events to each other. *Kosmos* connects the events, stating that the Sami National Day is celebrated in order to commemorate the first Sami meeting in 1917 in Trondheim. The textbooks state that the Sami “gathered to work for common interests across the borders of the national states”<sup>246</sup> [My translation]. This presentation can be seen as depiction of the resistance of the Sami against the government. At the same time, this presentation is included in the section of the textbook where the authors describe the situation of the Sami people after the Norwegianization, in the light of “all good” that they have gotten - the National flag, the National song, the rights, the Parliament and so on. The question is if in this light the pupils will be able to see the first Sami national assembly as a part of the Sami resistance? Mentioning the fact that, as stated in the textbook, “common interests” that the Sami were discussing during their meeting does not point directly to the discussion of the assimilation. This makes it even more difficult to see the connections and reflect on them.

The same effect on the pupils is given by mentioning the name of Isak Saba. *Kosmos* is the only

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<sup>244</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (2015): p. 18

<sup>245</sup> Fagertun, F. (2007): p. 7

<sup>246</sup> Nomedal, J. H. & Bråthen, S. (2007): p. 198

textbook out of four used for this research, highlights that he is the author of the Sami national song<sup>247</sup>. But that is not all. Isak Saba is also the first Sami who was elected to the Norwegian Parliament in 1906-1912. A member of the Social Democratic Party, he was attempting to stop the policy of Norwegianization. But, for the most part, he was standing alone without any support from his colleagues in the party<sup>248</sup>. This information is not given to the pupils, and it also leads to the thought that the Sami were passive and did not do anything to stop the policy of Norwegianization before the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War.

The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training mentions Elsa Laula Renberg as one of the leading figures in the political struggle against the policy of Norwegianization<sup>249</sup>. She is not mentioned in the researched textbooks, even though she is the first known Sami woman writer who wrote a 30 page long pamphlet in Swedish encouraging the Sami people to demand the recognition of their rights and discussing how the Sami could survive the assimilation policy<sup>250</sup>.

Anders Larsen is also noted by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training. He started a Sami newspaper as a tool for resistance in the political struggle<sup>251</sup>. He is not mentioned by the textbooks either. Omitting information, names and dates on the Sami resistance to the assimilation policy creates a gap in pupils' knowledge of the policy and gives an incomplete and inaccurate picture of history.

The only case of the Sami resistance to the assimilation policy after the World War 2 is presented in the light of the Alta conflict. *Kosmos*, however, does not contain this information. But the other three sets of textbooks state that the Sami started fighting for their rights and the Alta conflict was the culmination of the struggle. It is important that the textbooks highlight that the Alta conflict was a resistance of the Sami people to the policy of Norwegianization. The importance of the Alta conflict is great because, as described in the chapter 2 of the thesis, it became a starting point for the revitalization of the Sami culture. *Monitor* and *Matriks* state that it

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<sup>247</sup> Ibid.

<sup>248</sup> Wessendorf, K. (ed.) (2001): p. 75;

Hirvonen, V. (n. d.): p. 5

<sup>249</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (2015): p. 18

<sup>250</sup> Hirvonen, V. (n. d.): p. 13

<sup>251</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (2015): p. 18

led to adoption of the Sami Act and creation of the Sami Parliament. *Monitor* also mentions adoption of the Finnmark Act as one of the outcomes of the Alta conflict.

### 4.2.3 Presenting the Alta conflict

The analysis of the presentation of the Alta conflict in the researched textbooks shows that all four textbooks emphasize the reason for why the Alta conflict began - as a reaction to the Norwegian Parliament's decision to build a dam in the Alta-Kautokeino river basin. The explicit naming of the main reason of building the dam gives pupils an understanding of why the conflict started. This understanding comes from each of the researched textbooks. The textbooks elaborate on the main reason for the conflict to start and state that it would: a) destroy the animal and plant life in the territory; b) destroy the traditional Sami areas for reindeer grazing; and c) destroy the traditional Sami land territories by putting the settlement of Masi under water. However, these categories are very connected to each other. *Monitor* and *Underveis* name all three causes, while *Matriks* does not explicitly name the ruining of Masi, and *Kosmos* does not explicitly mention ruining animal and plant life in the territory.

While presenting how the conflict was developing, in total the textbooks highlight four main points in the conflict: 1) 1979 – the first activist-police meeting in Alta; 2) 8<sup>th</sup> of October 1979 – hunger strike in front of the Norwegian Parliament that led to a pause in the construction work, but which resumed in 1980; 3) 14<sup>th</sup> of January 1981 the protest in Alta; and 4) 14<sup>th</sup> of February 1981, the occupation of the prime minister's office on Oslo by the Sami. None of the textbooks mentions all of these points. For example, *Monitor* does not present the February action in Oslo, *Underveis* does not present the first activist-police meeting, *Matriks* highlights only the Alta action in 1981, and *Kosmos* mentions only the hunger strike of 1979.

In whole, the textbooks present five outcomes of the Alta conflict that are important for the Sami

people: 1) the power plant was constructed; 2) the conflict was an important step towards Sami self-determination and their rights; 3) it led to the adoption of the Sami Act in 1988; 4) it led to the establishment of the Sami Parliament in 1989; and 5) it led to the adoption of the Finnmark Act in 2005. *Monitor* presents all of these outcomes. *Underveis* highlights that the power plant was built, and that the Finnmark Act was adopted; *Matriks* states that the construction of the dam took place, the Sami Act was adopted and the Sami Parliament was established; *Kosmos* points out only one of the outcomes, the construction of the dam. The Sami Parliament and “many new Sami institutions and organizations”<sup>252</sup> [My translation] without explicitly naming of these are also mentioned in the textbook, however, not in any connection to the Alta conflict. This omission can be damaging. It does not give the readers all information about the results of the Alta conflict. It reinforces the idea that the Sami were passive and fails to show that they actively fought for their rights.

One can see that that the textbooks cover some parts of the conflict, and do not cover the other ones. As already mentioned above concerning the process of Norwegianization, failing to present a thorough overview of the event leads to gaps in pupils’ knowledge. Importantly, all the textbooks illustrate why the Alta conflict started. However, elaboration on the events during the conflict as well as on the outcomes from it would offer the pupils more room for thinking and learning, and let them understand the case better.

All four sets of the textbooks illustrate the Alta conflict by mentioning the slogan “Let the river live!” [My translation] that was leading the Sami people during their struggle. *Underveis* mentions it in the text, while the rest of the researched textbooks contain pictures where the slogan is included. It is an important highlight of the conflict that depicts the value of nature for the Sami, as well as the other participants in the demonstrations.

Only *Monitor* gives a concrete timeframe for when the conflict happened, 1979-1981. Both *Underveis* and *Matriks* mark the beginning of it, 1979, but do not highlight its end. *Underveis* states that the conflict took place around 1980, and *Matriks* points out that the controversy happened in 1970s. *Kosmos* does not give any timeframe except for informing that the dam was

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<sup>252</sup> Nomedal, J. H. & Bråthen, S. (2007): p. 198



built, and started functioning in 1987. This suggests to the reader that the conflict had taken place before that year, however, information that is more concrete would be relevant for the pupils to understand the connections in their country's history. The Alta case was an event in history that has a quite clear beginning and the end, 1979-1981. Accordingly, it needs to be stated in the textbooks to make it clear for the pupils.

*Monitor*, *Underveis* and *Matriks* present the Alta conflict both in the sections that concern the natural resources and conflicts over them, and in the sections devoted to the Sami history. It allows the readers to see the importance of the event as saving the nature, and its importance as protecting the people's rights. *Kosmos* presents the Alta conflict only in the section where the natural resources are discussed. The conflict absolutely concerns the nature, but it also concerns the Sami people and their rights. It cannot be removed from the Sami history. The pupils need to understand how it relates to the Sami and why it is important. By only presenting the conflict in the section on natural resources, *Kosmos* does not show these connections and their importance. This again leads to a gap in the presentations of the Sami history in the textbook.

## Chapter 5: Concluding remarks

After completing the study, the research question posed at the very beginning of the research can be answered. All four sets of textbooks chosen for this research - *Monitor*, *Underveis*, *Matriks* and *Kosmos* - contain information about the process of Norwegianization of the Sami people and about the Alta conflict.

Norwegianization is presented in all four sets of the textbooks as a negative process conducted by the Norwegian authorities against the Sami. The textbooks highlight that the Norwegian state was discriminating and oppressing the Sami population by trying to assimilate them into the majority society. *Monitor*, *Underveis* and *Kosmos* directly reflect on the policy as discrimination. *Matriks* does not name discrimination directly but states that it was oppression of the Sami people.

In each of the textbooks, during the process of Norwegianization, the Sami are presented as passive up to the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War. The textbooks do not discuss any reactions from the Sami side to the assimilation policies of the Norwegian government. They were struggling but did not seem to do anything to resist the assimilation, according to the information given. The textbooks state that after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War the UN started working on indigenous issues and it helped in slowing down the assimilation. The government changed its mind and started gradually including the Sami into the political processes in the country. The Norwegianization was slowed down. Also, after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, according to the textbooks, the Sami become active participants of the fight for their rights. In three out of four researched textbooks - *Monitor*, *Underveis* and *Matriks* - the Alta conflict is presented as the culmination of that fight. These three point out that the conflict led to the inclusion of the Sami right to the legislation and creation of the Sami institutions. In all four textbooks the conflict is also presented as a fight for protecting nature.

After reading the researched textbooks, it may be hard for the pupils who use them to connect the Alta conflict to the beginning of the revitalization of the Sami rights, language and culture. This is particularly true when the textbooks state that the process of Norwegianization finished in

1950-60s. The Alta conflict took place about 20-30 years after that, making it difficult for the pupils to connect these two events.

I should state that the information in the chosen textbooks concerning the researched cases is not superficial and that details are often elaborated on. Two of the researched textbooks – *Underveis* and particularly *Monitor* – do quite a fair job in presenting the Norwegianization process and the Alta conflict. However, there still are many unaddressed problems, unspoken matter and unresolved questions. For example, the researched textbooks do not name important things such as the Sami resistance to the assimilation. There is no explanation as to why it is challenging to give a precise timeframe for the Norwegianization process. And facts about when the Alta conflict happened and why it is important for the Sami are also valuable details to be included. All these omissions create a gap in Norwegian history in general, and Sami history in particular.

It is clear that including everything in a single textbook may be hard due to the amount of information that can be covered by a textbook and to the amount of time given for pupils to learn this information. There can be many different opinions concerning what should be learned in depth, and what should be covered in a more brief way. The competence aims in the Subject Curriculum for the Social Studies are broad. Perhaps, more concrete statements of what needs to be learned about the process of Norwegianization would make the task easier. Adding a paragraph explicitly about the Alta conflict or even simply mentioning it in one of the competence aims would make sense. Without the Alta conflict being explicitly mentioned in the competence aims, it is up to each individual teacher to decide how the conflict shall be taught, resulting in a wide variation of what children learn about this important event in Sami history.

History cannot be changed. Even if there were events that do not put the majority in the best light, history cannot be rewritten. Yes, the Norwegian policy was to assimilate the Sami. Yes, the Sami stood up to the government. Both are important events and cannot be left out. History of the Sami people has to be studied. That is how it can be decolonized. It is a part of Norwegian history and one does not exist without the other one. Studying only one of those will not give a holistic picture of the country's history, making it incomplete and false. For full understanding of the present, the past has to be learned. Moreover, it has to be learned properly and

comprehensively, making use of different perspectives, sources and histories.

Knowledge is not simply transmitted from curriculum to a teacher, to a textbook, to a pupil or even from a teacher to a pupil. Biases and prejudice color our interpretations. As Apple and Buras point out, “the official curriculum is always reconstructed at the level of reception as teachers and pupils engage in the unending process of sense-making, resistance, and day-to-day teaching and learning”<sup>253</sup>. Textbooks are educational tools. However, the richness of education in a country is reached through the curriculum, through the textbooks and through teaching. The importance of any of these components should not be neglected. Only collaboration of all those will allow education to lead towards better democracy and widespread prosperity of human rights.

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<sup>253</sup> Apple, M., W. & Buras, K. L. (2006): p. 25

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# Appendix 1

## **Social Studies Subject Curriculum. Competence aims after Year Level 10<sup>254</sup>**

### *Civic life*

The aims of the studies are to enable pupils to:

1. give an account of how different political parties present different values and interests, connect this to current social science issues and argue one's own point of view;
2. give an account of political institutions in Norway and compare them with institutions in other countries;
3. explain what cooperation, participation and democracy mean on a national, local, organizational and educational scale;
4. give an account of the main principles of the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the most essential UN Conventions (such as the ILO Convention concerning the rights of indigenous peoples), explain how these are laid down in legislation and discuss and elaborate on the consequences of violating human rights;
5. explain how opinions about love and sexuality can vary in and among cultures;
6. analyse gender roles as they are portrayed through sexuality and explain the difference between desired sexual contact and sexual assault;
7. discuss how crimes are dealt with and discuss the reasons for and consequences of crime, and explain how a state governed by law functions;
8. give an account of the concepts of attitude, prejudice and racism and evaluate how attitudes can be influenced and how the individual and society can counteract prejudice and racism;
9. explain and discuss cultural variations and elaborate on the opportunities and challenges in multicultural communities;

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<sup>254</sup> Utdanningsdirektoratet (2013): p. 9 <https://www.udir.no/kl06/SAF1-03?lplang=eng>

10. describe how consumer patterns have developed in Norway and elaborate on consumer rights;
11. describe the development and consequences of using tobacco and narcotics in Norway and discuss attitudes to intoxicants;
12. describe the main characteristics of the Norwegian economy and how our economy is connected to the global economy.

## ***History***

The aims of the studies are to enable pupils to:

1. find examples of events that have helped shape modern Norway, and reflect on how society might have been different if these events had developed differently;
2. discuss and elaborate on the ideal of human dignity, discrimination and the development of racism from a historical perspective with a view to the present;
3. present the main characteristics of the history and culture of the Sami people from the mid-1800s up to the present, and discuss and elaborate on the consequences of the Norwegian policy of Norwegianization and the Sami people's fight for their rights;
4. present important features of developments in Norwegian history in the 1800s and the first half of the 1900s and explain how these influenced the society we have today;
5. explain the emergence of the welfare state and describe characteristics of modern Norway;
6. explain technological and social changes due to the industrial revolution;
7. discuss and elaborate on the ideas and forces that led to the American struggle for freedom and the French revolution, and the consequences these had for the development of democracy in Norway;
8. elaborate on imperialism and provide examples of de-colonization;
9. discuss and elaborate on the causes and effects of the key international conflicts of the 1900s and 2000s;
10. discuss and elaborate on important changes in society in recent times and reflect on how today's society opens to new changes.

## ***Geography***

The aims of the studies are to enable pupils to:

1. locate and document overviews of main geographic characteristics of the world and compare different countries and regions;
2. read, interpret and use printed and digital maps, and be able to use and read scales and legends on a map;
3. explain the basic forces of nature focusing on internal and external forces on earth, movement in air masses, circulation of water, weather, climate and vegetation, and discuss and elaborate on the relationship between nature and society;
4. describe and explain natural and cultural landscapes in the local community;
5. investigate how people exploit natural resources, other resources and technology in Norway and other countries around the world, and discuss the premises for sustainable development;
6. investigate and discuss the use and misuse of resources, consequences this might have for the environment and society, and conflicts this can create locally and globally;
7. compare size, structure and growth of populations and analyze population trends, urbanization and migration in modern times;
8. map out variations in living conditions in different parts of the world, explain the main difference between being poor and being rich, and discuss and elaborate on measures that can lessen this difference.





