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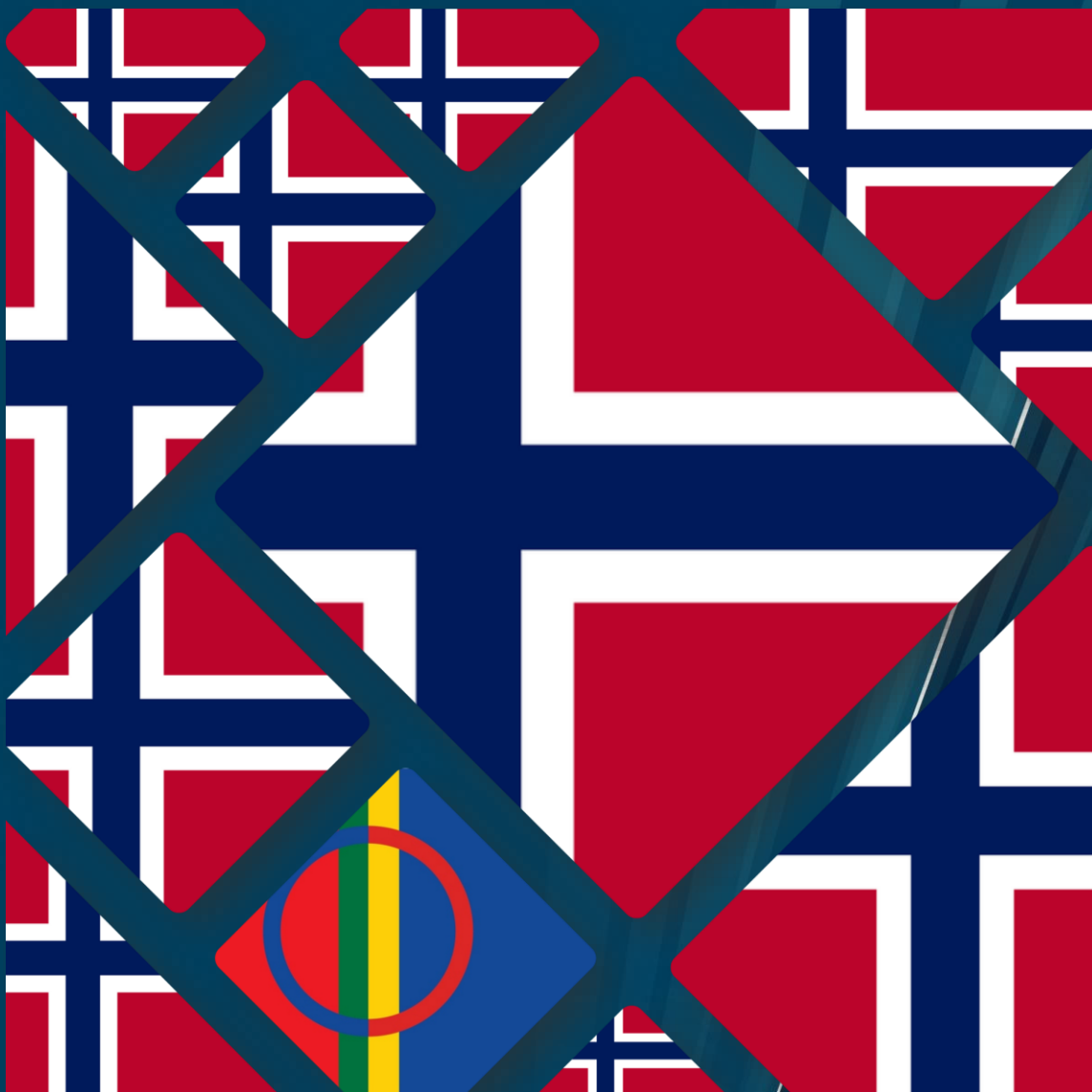
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Presenting the Sámi when learning Norwegian

An analysis of the representation of the Sámi in Norwegian as a Foreign and Second Language textbooks

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Abstract

This thesis explores the representation of Sámi people in the textbooks used by foreigners to learn Norwegian from the 1940s until the late 2010s. To do so, this research also describes the emergence and the evolution of the field of Norwegian as a Foreign and Second Language (NFSL) and references the evolution of NFSL textbooks.

Most of the immigrants in Norway need to learn Norwegian to integrate into the work market and to become active members of Norwegian society. For a number of them, it is even mandatory. To learn Norwegian, foreigners usually need to follow classes where they use textbooks to support their learning process. Those textbooks provide immigrants with not only the tools to learn the language, but also the cultural information they are supposed to need to better integrate into Norwegian society. This learning process is, for many immigrants, one of the few opportunities they will receive to explore the particularities of Norwegian society, and the lasting impact of these textbooks' cultural content on the vision that immigrants have of Norway is not to be underestimated.

This master's thesis is relevant not only for the immigrants, but also for the Sámi themselves. The immigrants represent, in the early 21st century, a significant part of the population in Norway, and the Sámi are entitled to know how they are presented to them.

This research aims at identifying the different approaches used to introduce the Sámi in NFSL textbooks and the factors determining their presentation through a historical and sociocultural perspective.

Key words: Curriculum, cultural representation, immigrants, language learning, multiculturalism, Norwegian as a Foreign Language / Norwegian as a Second Language, Sámi, textbook.

Abbreviations

CEFR = Common European Framework of Reference (For Languages)

ELP = European Language Portfolio

ISS = International Summer School

NFL = Norwegian as a Foreign Language

NFSL = Norwegian as a Foreign and Second Language

UiT = Universitet i Tromsø (University in Tromsø)

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Chapter 1

Introduction¹

En same, en reinsdyrflokk. Og så var det mange samer, med de svære reinsdyrflokkene sine.

Lapp*, reindeer herd. And then there were lots of Lapps, with their huge reindeer herds.

*Mongolian people living in arctic parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia; formerly called in Norway too

Spoken Norwegian (p.513), 1947

Men det er fortsatt mange bestemmelser vi så avskaffet. Det er f.eks forbudt å joike i sangtimene [...] Joiken er imidlertid en viktig del av den samiske kultur.

But there are still many things we need to abolish. It is for example forbidden to sing the joik during the singing lessons [...] The joik is nevertheless an important part of the Sámi culture

På'n igjen! (p.104), 1975

Samene er et fredelig folk. De satte ikke opp gjerder rundt beiteområder sine, de sa ikke «dette er mitt»

The Sámi are peaceful people. They do not put fences around their grazing areas, they do not say “this is mine”.

Norsk for utlendinger 2 (p.94), 1980

Det er ikke bare utenlandske innflyttere som har møtt kravet om å bli «helt norske». Dette gjelder også den eldste minoritetsgruppa her i Norden.

The foreign immigrants are not the only ones who have met the requirement to become “completely Norwegians”. It also applies to the oldest minority group here in the Nordic countries.

Her på Berget (pp.40-41), 1990

¹ Except for the first quote, all the translations are made by me

Det tar lang tid for et samfunn å rette opp igjen en slik skammelig urett, selv om samene i dag formelt sett har de samme rettigheter som andre i Norge.

It takes a long time for a society to rectify such a shameful injustice, even though today the Sámi have formally the same rights as others in Norway.

Klar for Norge 3 (p.145), 1999

I likhet med europeere som dro ut for å kolonisere for eksempel Amerika og Afrika, tok nordmennene med seg sin religion og sørget for å innføre denne.

Like the Europeans that for example went colonizing America and Africa, the Norwegians brought with them their religion and looked after introducing it to the Sámi.

Det går bra! (p.126), 2009

[...] de mest konsentrerte samiske bosettingsområdene finnes i den nordlige delen av landet. Samene har status som urfolk i Norge

[...] the most concentrated Sámi areas are in the northern part of the country. The Sámi have the status of indigenous people in Norway.

Her på Berget (p.37), 2015

1.1 The research questions

Those excerpts from different textbooks and different periods of time give a glimpse at the evolution of Sámi representation in the NFSL field. Biased or true, those citations are representatives of what an immigrant can learn about the Sámi. This master's thesis explores the evolution of Sámi representation in Norwegian as a Foreign and Second Language textbooks.

Prior to the elaboration of my research questions, I had to determine if the Sámi were represented at all in NFSL textbooks. It was after a pre-analysis of a few textbooks that I was able to answer positively and that I started to narrow down the topics I wanted to research. It was during the mapping of the main themes of my research topic that I found out that there was little information available on the NFSL discipline and its textbooks. Consequently, in order to proceed with my research, I had to research the field of NFSL and I dedicated a part of this thesis to the description of the NFSL discipline from its beginnings until the time of the thesis. It was after describing the NFSL discipline that I could examine most of the textbooks that the discipline has ever produced, and it led to the creation of a list of textbooks exhaustive enough to study the trends and patterns of the representations of the Sámi people. It was after that preliminary work that I could lay out my two main research questions.

My first research question aims at assessing the form and the content of Sámi representation from the first NFSL textbooks published in the 1940s until the most recent ones in the 2010s.

- *How are the Sámi represented in NFSL textbooks?*

My second research question aims at identifying the reasons why the Sámi are presented in some NFSL textbook and not in some others.

- *What are the factors influencing the representation of Sámi people in NFSL textbooks?*

To answer those two research questions, I explore and analyze the evolution of the representation of the Sámi decade by decade and I discuss the main trends and patterns in their socio-historic context.

1.2 Researcher position, ethics, relevance of the topic

“I did not know there were Sámi people in Umeå. Everybody says Umeå is not Sámi”

Swedish man born in Djibouti and living in Umeå, Sweden. Alta, Summer 2017

“Finnish people arguing with Finnish people LOL”

A Facebook post commenting on an article about the Sámi parliament disagreeing with the Finnish Supreme court of justice. October 2015

“There are more Sámi people in Oslo than in the entire North of Norway, so why should they care about the train coming to Tromsø”

Heard during a Norwegian class for foreigners. Tromsø, February 2020

I am a 40-year-old French man who spent the past 10 years living in between the North of Finland and the North of Norway by making a living in both education and tourism. Prior to that, I was a French teacher for foreigners, specializing in creating pedagogical materials for in-class activities. I came to have an interest in NFSL textbooks because, as a foreigner, they are addressed to me. As a former teacher, I also wanted to learn more about their approach to cultural content.

In Indigenous studies, it is important for researchers to introduce themselves in their writing and to explain the motivation of their work, because “researchers need to know their personal motives for undertaking their research” (Kovach, 2009: 115-116). I became interested in the representation of the Sámi people through personal experience, by working with Sámi people and researching their culture in the scope of my work and studies. Five years ago, I began to study again with a focus on Arctic and Indigenous issues, before eventually narrowing it down to the European Nordic space and its different ethnic groups. This master’s thesis is the conclusion of this studying period. The choice of my research question came from the realization that many immigrants in the Nordic countries that I encountered did not know who the Sámi were, or what the differences were between a minority and an indigenous group. The quotes at the beginning of this section are from foreigners who have lived in the Nordic countries for an extended period. In my thesis, I tried to evaluate my role as a researcher and to reflect on the critical questions raised in contemporary indigenous contexts, such as “whose

interests my research serve, who will benefit from it” and what my place is in all that (Smith, 2012: 10). I hope that my research will encourage reflections on the future of Sámi representations in textbooks and give immigrants an accurate vision of the Sámi people.

As an immigrant living in Northern Norway, I experienced, by keeping company with other foreigners, that we are often directly informed on the new society we live in by the dominant population, personified by colleagues, friends or partners who provide us immigrants with their own insights on some parts of the society. While in the process of integrating a new society, it becomes difficult for immigrants to verify what its members present as being ‘the truth’ because the knowledge is “tied to the interests and perceived purposes of knowledge of different interest groups” (Chilisa, 2020: 220). Meanwhile, people work, have a family life and do not necessarily have the time or the interest to keep learning about the particularities of their new society, and this is why the classes and the materials to learn Norwegian play an important role. In the case of Norway, an immigrant would have to learn Norwegian to get a better job, pass a language proficiency certification, apply for Norwegian citizenship, or simply expand his/her social environment. In a way, the society represented in those classes and their textbooks becomes, at least for a time, the society that many immigrants consider Norway to be.

In this research, I will use different words for the presentation of the Sámi: presentation, mention, representation, and introduction. The term *presentation* is used when the Sámi appear in the textbook (even briefly), and the term *mention* when they are just named. The term *representation* refers to the way they are presented while the term *introduction* is used to describe how the Sámi presentation is inserted into the textbook.

1.3 Literature review

The literature review for this research consists of two parts: one part on the NFSL discipline and one part on the Sámi representation in the NFSL textbooks.

The literature for the NFSL discipline essentially comes from articles and works on the Norwegian language and the teaching of the language in class. Academic research on the field is rather thin when it comes to the textbooks used in class. About the history of the NFSL discipline, the article by Else Ryen, entitled *Norwegian as a Language of World Interest* (1996) is one of the most important sources I could find. It gives an overview of the Norwegian

language teaching at the International Summer School in Oslo and provides the readers with a list of textbooks used from 1947 until 1991. A second important piece of research was carried out by Tore Berntsen (2006) on the type of Norwegian language taught in class and in which she establishes a list of NFSL textbooks. She also looks back on the teaching of NFSL from the time when she became a teacher in the 1970s. Finally, the book *Andrespråksundervisning - Teori of praksis*² (1999) gathers several articles on different aspects on NFSL teaching, with the articles of Else Ryen³ and Karen Margrete Dregelid⁴ being the most relevant in the comprehension of NFSL textbooks. They provide insights on NFSL didactics and on the history of its curriculum until 1999. Apart from these sources, I could not find literature that was both recent and relevant enough for my research. There is also a lack of referencing in connection with the NFSL discipline online and in the libraries, which makes research on the field even more problematic. For example, the category *Norwegian as a Foreign Language* does not exist in the UiT library.

The other type of literature review needed for this research was on cultural representation in textbooks and on Sámi representation. Even though there is an abundance of literature worldwide on the content of textbooks, it is more limited when it comes to the specific cultural content of Foreign Language textbooks. Relevant for this research, Claire Kramsch highlighted the importance of an intercultural context in her work (1993) along with the researcher Michael Byram (1997), who both participated in the coming of the communicative and intercultural revolution in Europe at the end of the 20th century. Their theories illustrate the changes that transformed the way NFSL was taught and how the presentation of cultural content evolved. More specifically, the work of Karen Risager (2006, 2007, 2011) place the cultural dimensions of language teaching in an international perspective and argues that foreign language textbooks are “windows on the world” for the students (2021). Closer to NFSL, Carol A. Chapelle in her book *Teaching Culture in Introductory Foreign Language Textbooks* (2016) explores the cultural representations in the French as a Foreign Language textbooks produced in Quebec from 1960 to 2010.

² *Second language teaching – Theory and practice*

³ *Didaktiske perpektiver i norsk som andrespråk*, pp.15-55

⁴ *Norskopplæring for voksne innvandrere*, pp.150-168

The literature we can find on the representation of minorities and indigenous representation in foreign/second language textbooks usually focuses on social studies and history textbooks, rarely on foreign language textbooks. Outside of Europe, the recent work of Yann-Ru Ho (2018) about the portrayals of Indigenous culture in Taiwan's language textbooks was one of the closest I could find to my research.

In Norway, the literature I found focused on the place of the Sámi in the national curriculum (Gjerpe, 2017; Lile, 2011; Olsen, 2017 and 2019) and on specific types of textbooks (Eriksen, 2018; Ekeland, 2017; Kolpus, 2015; Mortensen-Buan, 2016) but not on NFSL textbooks. In her work on the representation of the Sámi at primary school levels, the findings of the researcher Kristin Eriksen concluded that the Sámi were mostly essentialized and presented as a homogenous 'Other' partly excluded from the national narratives (2018). It confirmed a pattern in Norwegian textbooks that was also a finding of the researcher Torun Ekeland in her work on the Sámi past in school textbooks, where she concluded that the Sámi were placed "in another time, place, and almost in another stage of development" (Ekeland, 2016: 330). Agreeing on a tendency of the textbooks to depict the Sámi as the 'Other', the researcher Mortensen-Buan in her analysis of the visual representation of the Sámi in a selection of social studies textbooks brought some nuances and wondered when an identity marker starts to be an essentializing stereotype (2016). The original intentions of the national curriculums are, however, different, and in the Early Childhood Education curriculum that the researchers Torjer Olsen and Bengt-Ove Andreassen examined, the Sámi have been given a "central place" as indigenous people since 1995 (Olsen and Andreassen, 2016: 261). They showed that the general tendency in Norway in the different school curriculums is to represent the Sámi as an indigenous people within a society marked by cultural diversity (Olsen and Andreassen, 2018). Despite those objectives however, the researcher Kajsa Gjerpe demonstrated that the introduction of the Sámi curriculum in 1997 significantly reduced the Sámi content of the national curriculum (Gjerpe, 2017). In the work of the researcher Lile on what children learn about the Sámi in the school system, he also argues that the intentions of the curriculum are not translated properly in the textbooks and are not understood in the way it was intended to be in the classrooms (2011).

In the field of minority representations in language textbooks in Norway, I need to mention the work of Natela Chokheli-Losnegård (2019) who explores the visual representations of Norwegian language learners in NSFL textbooks, and the work of Paul Thomas (2017) who

researched the portrayals of non-westerners in EFL textbooks. The research of Habegger-Conti and Brown on the Visual Representations of Indigenous Cultures in Norwegian EFL Textbooks (2017) was also a source of inspiration for analyzing the visuals of the textbooks.

1.4 Theoretical framework

Theoretical frameworks help the researcher to formulate hypotheses that eventually lead to a set of pertinent questions in connection to the study (Miller, 2007). They consist of concepts that are used for particular studies and provide references and definitions connected to academic literature (Corvellec, 2013). The main theoretical frameworks I chose in my research are based on the theories of cultural representations from Stuart Hall and on textbook research theories. For the latter, I use the concepts of absence, inclusion and indigenization developed by the Norwegian researcher in indigenous studies, Torjer A. Olsen, for the representation of indigenous people in textbooks (2017).

1.4.1 Cultural representations and stereotypes

The concept of Culture is difficult to define in the context of social and human sciences. In this research, *culture* will be described as the “shared values” of a group or a society and as a set of practices with “shared meanings” (Hall, 2002: 2). Teaching culture in this thesis will correspond to teaching “the systems of meanings and the symbols, both linguistic and non-linguistic which carry the meanings” (Byram, 1989: 43).

Stuart Hall, a cultural theorist, developed a constructional theory establishing two systems of representation based on creating categories and codes intelligible by everyone from the same culture. For Hall, the first system of representation is like “a set of concepts in the mind of peoples” which navigates through a “conceptual map of signs”, the second system of representation (2013: 18). The categories created in our minds are made of signs and symbols, and the codes we use to give them meanings depends on our culture. Therefore, the meaning of a reindeer for a Sámi would be associated with the concepts of tradition, livelihood or food, whereas it would most likely summon mental pictures of snow, Christmas and Santa Claus to a British person. Not only do the codes change from one culture to another, but also the classifications we use to make “sense of the world” and to create meaning (Hall, 2013: 247).

According to Hall, we make sense of the world using *types*, as we create categories of things with common characteristics and from which we build information based on previous experience. *Stereotyping* however, even though it is classified in a similar manner, reduces a thing or a person to a number of static characteristics that are simplified and presented as natural (Hall, 2013: 247). A group of individuals that do not fit into the *types* of a society can be excluded by associating them to a set of stereotypes that construct their ‘otherness’ (Hall, 2013: 247). Edward Said described, in his book *Orientalism*⁵ (1994), how the representation of the Orient in the West constituted a form of stereotyping that served Western nations who colonized the East.

1.4.2 Textbooks and representations

A textbook as a “curriculum artefact” is one of the many domains of discourse in the field of education that is involved in the representation of culture, and it is because of its “pivotal role” in language learning that the analysis of cultural representation in textbooks is essential (Canale, 2016: 239). A textbook discourse is also expected to be normative, grounded in social norms (Kramsch, 1987: 98) and usually reflects the types and stereotypes of the society it originates from. A textbook passes on knowledge that intends to convey the political and social norms of a certain society, through a “global understanding of history, and of the rules of society as well as the norms of living with other people” (Schissler⁶ in Pingel, 2010: 7).

A textbook is a book used in the study of a specific subject in any branch and used by both the students and the educators. While the students use a textbook to learn about a specific subject, the educators use the textbook as a reference for teaching about this specific subject. We use textbooks for many different goals and in various contexts, as the concept of *textbook* is not static and constitutes a dynamic category that evolves with the sociocultural practices surrounding it (Hansen, 2018: 369). Consequently, a textbook is an artefact that plays a fundamental role in the way culture is taught, as it selects through its pages the knowledge it will socially legitimized (Apple, 2013).

⁵ First published in 1978

⁶ Anna SCHISLER: Limitations and Priorities for International Social Studies Textbook Re-search. In: The International Journal of Social Education, 4 (1989–90), pp. 81–89

Even though the teachers play an important role, a textbook usually determines the way in which some selected topics and ideas are introduced to the students (Stern and Roseman, 2004: 539, in Yvonne Behnke, 2018). Textbooks are never completely neutral, since they are the finished process of many different involved parties and the result of “political, economic and cultural activities, battles and compromises” (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991: 2).

1.4.3 Absence, inclusion, indigenization

T.A. Olsen identifies three different approaches in identifying the representations of indigenous people in textbooks: an absence, an inclusion, and an indigenization (2017:72). *Absence* means that the indigenous people are not mentioned at all; *inclusion* means that they can be presented at different levels, but from a majority perspective; *indigenization* means that they are presented from an indigenous perspective. The inclusion of indigenous people can take different forms when it is on the terms of the majority and can easily generalize and present them in an exotic way (Gjerpe, 2017: 153). The indigenous people can be presented as ‘the others’ and be reduced to a set of positive or negative stereotypes. Other times, indigenous people are not even ‘othered’, as they are altogether absent from the textbooks. In the third approach, however, indigenization uses different strategies and implies a perspective “where the voices of the indigenous are seen as important and as something to listen to” (Olsen, 2017: 84). In this research, I will look at my data by using the concepts attached to those three approaches to identify the strategies of representation that the textbooks adopted.

1.4.4 Foreign language textbooks

“Language is a signifying practice” (Hall, 2002: 5) and language textbooks nowadays offer different representations of the world, organizing the culture of the language studied in “topics, scenarios and storylines” that provide input for the “intercultural learning and citizenship educations” of its readers (Risager, 2021: 119). The two systems of cultural representation of Hall fit here the double goals of a foreign language textbook, as culture and language are codependent and build on one another. In the case of immigrants, second language teaching is like a foreign language taught in school and aims not only at communicating in different situations and contexts but also at “developing insights into cultural and social conditions” (Risager, 2021: 121). As it ultimately serves immigrants to integrate into Norwegian society and the employment market, NFSL textbooks have a social impact that makes them more than

windows into Norwegian society. The people learning through a foreign language textbook consider it a source of legitimized and authorized knowledge; they do not only decode its pre-established meanings as individuals, but also become agents “in the process of reinforcing, appropriating, or contesting the representations that the textbooks (re)produce” (Canale, 2016: 226). That is what motivated me to start this research, since the representation of the Sámi for immigrants in Norway mostly relies on what they learned in NFSL textbooks. Foreign and Second language textbooks guide immigrants through the social reality of the country where they settle (Canale, 2016: 227).

1.5 Immigrants, indigenous people, national minorities

There is no universal definition of *minority* in international law, but the European Commission describes a minority as a “non-dominant group which is usually numerically less than the majority population of a State or region regarding their ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics and who (if only implicitly) maintain solidarity with their own culture, traditions, religion or language” (Migration and Home Affairs, European Union, 2021). The concept of minority has come to refer to particular groups or communities that differ from the dominant group within the State and has developed into three main types: indigenous populations, national minorities and immigrants. Norway hosts these three main types of minorities.

The Sámi population are indigenous people, a unique category (see section p.21), while immigrants are any individuals who immigrated to Norway (see section p.26). In the case of national minorities, Norway officially recognizes five national minorities within its borders since 1999⁷: the Jews, the Kven/Norwegian Finns, the Roma, the Romani people and the Forest Finn. There is no clear definition of what a national minority is, but the Norwegian authorities recognize them as “groups with long-term ties with Norway”⁸ (Nasjonale minoriteter Tema, Norwegian government website, 2021). The term ‘minority’ in Norway (*minoritet* in Norwegian) usually refers to the national minorities in a formal setting, even though it can sometimes also refer to other minority groups, depending on the context.

⁷ Norway ratified the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities drawn up by the Council of Europe in 1995

⁸ *Grupper med langvarig tilknytning til landet defineres som nasjonale minoriteter.*

One particularity of this thesis is that it researches the representation of an indigenous people in a textbook addressed to immigrants, or when rephrased from a broader perspective, the representation of a minority towards another minority. In the context of NFSL textbook research, *immigrants* are a category constituted of a wide range of ethnicities and nationalities who came relatively recently to Norway. They are the recipients of the NFSL textbooks. The Sámi, on the other hand, are an indigenous group with a legal status that places them in a category of their own that implies different political treatment and a history preceding the Norwegian state (see p.21).

National minorities, immigrants and the Sámi have in common belonging to a part of the population that can be stereotyped and constructed as the ‘Others’ within Norwegian society. People against immigration often focus on the perceived cultural ‘otherness’ of immigrants (Hylland Eriksen, 2013:7), whereas the Sámi are traditionally constructed as the ‘others’ in Norwegian narratives (Mathisen, 2001). In an NFSL textbook, however, who is the other? The immigrant? The Norwegian? The Sámi? All of them? Where is the line between *typing* and *stereotyping* in a foreign language textbook?

1.6 Methodology and methods

In the field of cultural analysis in language textbooks, researchers essentially use three methodological approaches: critical discourse analysis (CDA), semiotic analysis (or multimodal approach) and content analysis (Wellinger and Kiss, 2004). This research used a content analysis method.

1.6.1 Content analysis in textbooks

Content analysis is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff, 2013: 24). A content analysis is carried out quantitatively and/or qualitatively and establishes *replicability* and *validity* as core concepts. In my research, since I examine the contents of a textbook in isolation before comparing it to other textbooks, I combined both quantitative and qualitative analysis. For example, it could help me to determine when the term ‘indigenous’ or the visual of the Sámi flag started to be used, and how it spread from one decade to another.

In addition to a quantitative method, I also used a qualitative method because it provided me with a “formulation of a set of topics prior to the textbook analyses, and the ‘provisional analysis of a sample of textbooks upon which to formulate a set of topics’” (Jaan Mikk, 2000, in Nicholls, 2003: 8). It was after a first read-through of my data that I selected a list of topics and concepts that I included in my analysis frameworks. I focused on the meanings and interpretations considered as inductive, and which helped me developing an understanding from my empirical data (Järvinen, 2020: 23). In this type of analysis, the interpretation of data content starts with a “systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes and patterns” (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 3) in order to locate the texts and the visuals within a socio-historic context. Therefore, I used a hermeneutic viewpoint in my content analysis because it is an approach that focuses on the interpretation of cultural expression (Gilje, 2020: 114). A hermeneutic approach uses “unique principles and procedures to interpret and understand social phenomena” in a methodological setting (Gilje, 2020: 137), and insists on the fact that the different aspects of a phenomenon can “only be understood with reference to the whole” (Hope and LeCoure, 2010: 436, in Gilje, 2020: 140). In my research, I tried to locate the analysis of the Sámi representation in the socio-historic context of the textbooks to identify the factors influencing the Sámi representation. A hermeneutic approach appeared to fit well for my

approach. Nonetheless, there is no flawless method, and a hermeneutic approach runs the risk of relying too heavily on the categories created by the researcher, thus questioning the reliability and the validity of the findings. Consequently, I tried to reduce my own subjectivity by applying a critical self-reflexivity (Ricoeur, 1981). I checked and rechecked “the appropriateness” of my analysis through the “evolving meaning” that came from my data analysis (Pollard, 2007: 40). I tried to acknowledge my prejudices by questioning my ideas and the conclusions emerging from the data (Butler, 1998 in Pollard, 2007: 41). To be humble and keep an open mind is an essential part of a hermeneutic approach.

I created several framework tables for my content analysis. First, I used the qualitative method that I described earlier to create categories to identify the elements of Sámi representation, organized by themes. Secondly, I used the quantitative approach to reference how frequently those topics came back - or not - in the sections presenting the Sámi by grouping my results by decade. When this part of the analysis was completed, I had results decade-by-decade from 1947 until 2020 that I could compare and analyze. I used the same methods for the visual analysis, this time using the images and photos as text data, applying a summative approach that identifies and quantifies the visuals represented (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 1263-1264).

An issue with these frameworks was that even though it can identify both the context in which the Sámi were represented and the nature of their representation, it could not identify why the Sámi were absent in other textbooks. This is why I created a comparative framework to identify the factors of representation influencing the representation of the Sámi, and I used a comparative analysis table to examine the tables of contents and forewords of two samples of textbooks, with one sample presenting the Sámi and one sample not presenting the Sámi. I paired them by decade of publication and, each time I could, by level of proficiency, using the same qualitative and quantitative methods described earlier. In the following section, after describing some particularities of language textbook analysis, I detail the categories I chose for my frameworks.

1.6.2 Data and data collection

The data for this research consists of around 141 books related to the NFSL discipline. It includes exercise books, textbooks, teacher editions and a few grammar manuals at all levels, spanning from the year 1937 until the year 2021. 37 books introduced the Sámi people and culture in one way or another, with an introduction to the Sámi in the chapters of those books taking sometimes as much as four pages, and other times just a paragraph; in a few cases only a picture. The definition of a textbook in my research meant that it needed to introduce the learners to the Norwegian language and culture layered out in lessons and arranged under different topics that progressively built the learners' language and cultural knowledge. A textbook is labelled in Norwegian under different names: textbook (*tekstbok*), reading book (*lesebok*) or 'base book' (*grunnbok*). Some publishers even have textbook series, like Cappelen Damm, with *På Vei* (A1/A2), *Stein på Stein* (A2/B1) and *Her på Berget* (B1/B2)⁹, written by the same authors and which follow a progression curve. Even though I did not include the exercise books for an in-depth analysis, I consulted them, and I refer to a few of them in the data results section. To collect my data, I used resources from on-site libraries, such as the Tromsø public library and the UiT libraries, and consulted the online catalogue of the Norwegian National Library. In some cases, I used the bibliography included in the textbooks themselves to retrace older textbooks.

In my research, I found that the teaching of Norwegian to foreigners was referred to as the *Norwegian as a Foreign Language* or *Norwegian as a Second Language* discipline (*Norsk som fremmedspråk* and *Norsk som andrespråk*). For this master's thesis, I merged the two expressions in *Norwegian as a Foreign and Second Language* (NFSL) because it is the same discipline as I am focusing on in the use of the textbooks in Norway. The difference between a foreign language textbook and a second language textbook is that a language learned in the society where it is spoken is considered to be done in a "second language setting", whereas a "foreign language setting" is done outside of the society where the language is spoken (Yule, 2017: 356). In practice however, for a language like Norwegian with a limited reach beyond the borders of the Norwegian state, the same books are used, for both practical and economic

⁹ A1/A2/B1/B2/C1/C2 are classification of language proficiency introduced by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). See section 2.3.1

reasons. During my research, an editor for the NFSL section of the publishing house Cappelen Damm confirmed that the part of textbooks sold abroad was marginal in the global figure.

The last part of my data collection was to send questionnaires to some authors of textbooks. After I filed an application to the Norwegian Data Center for Research Data and received their approbation, I sent out questionnaires to the authors of the textbooks that I thought could bring some insights to my research. I will present this aspect of the thesis later on.

1.6.3 Frameworks for analysis

The creation of several frameworks for analysis was more complex than initially planned, because the risk of failing to explain the research structure in relation to the theoretical frameworks is high in textbook research (Wellinger and Kiss, 2014: 4). Consequently, I created five different frameworks based on pre-analytical research and on some of the specificities of the Sámi indigenous status that I considered central. In those frameworks, I partly re-used some sociocultural feature categories of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (see p.29). The CEFR is an essential guideline in language learning. It divides language competences into levels and describes the cultural competences needed during the language learning process.

Each of my frameworks has a different purpose but they do not have the same importance in my data analysis, as two of the frameworks are secondary and were only designed to avoid overlooking important details. The articulation of the frameworks might look complex for a master's thesis, but since my goal was to give an overview of Sámi representation, I created those frameworks for the identification of general patterns and not for an in-depth analysis. The frameworks are in the appendix of the thesis. I will detail them briefly in the rest of the section.

The factors influencing the Sámi (re)presentation framework

In order to identify the factors that brought textbooks to present the Sámi, I carried out a cross-textbook analysis by comparing the table of contents and the authors'/publishers' forewords of the textbooks presenting the Sámi with the same elements of the textbooks not presenting the Sámi. I paired them by decade and by proficiency levels before extending to other textbooks not presenting the Sámi and complement the overall data. I used four comparative criteria and selected 41 textbooks, from the year 1966 until the year 2021.

The big 'C' culture framework

The categories I selected for this framework correspond to the main elements of big 'C' culture from the work of Paige et al. (1999) and Lee (2009). The concept of big 'C' culture refers to the most visible elements of culture, and are usually what we learn first in language textbooks because they are the easiest to identify (Tomalin and Stempleski, 1993). I established eight categories for this framework, with three of them created because of the indigenous status of the Sámi.

The visuals framework

This framework examines the visuals associated with the Sámi sections through a categorization inspired by the work of Habegger-Conti and Brown (2017). I established 12 criteria partly based on the visual translation of the elements of the big 'C' culture frameworks. It could be photos, drawings, maps or symbols.

The small 'c' culture framework

This framework is a secondary framework created to supplement the big 'C' culture framework. I used it when I came across information related to 'c' culture, but not as an analytical point of entry. The small 'c' culture elements are harder to represent in textbooks because they are associated with verbal and non-verbal symbols that are often invisible to outsiders. The traditional Sámi clothing is for example not only a visible cultural marker for both outside and inside the community but also a process and a statement unknown to an outsider (Hernes, 2017; Guttorm, 2000). I created five categories for analysis in this framework based off the sociocultural features detailed in the CEFR (2001: 102).

The activities framework

This framework is also a secondary framework with six classifications designed to reference the ways textbooks engage the learners with the Sámi through language activities. A language activity “involves the exercise of one’s communicative language competence in a specific domain in processing one or more texts in order to carry out a task” (CEFR, 2001: 10).

1.6.4 The approach of the authors

In the early stage of this research, the publishers and the authors of the most important NFSL textbooks were contacted to answer a few routine questions about their discipline and on their representations of the Sámi. I contacted seven authors and since they answered positively to my request for information, I sent them a personalized questionnaire. Even though the sample of authors is too limited to draw out generalities, I decided to include their answers in a dedicated section because, since the cultural content of the NFSL curriculum is open for interpretation, the authors are ultimately the ones deciding the mode and content of Sámi representation. There are two other reasons for including their perspectives on their representations in the Sámi in the NFSL textbooks.

The first reason for including the perspective of the authors is that I wanted to document their work. There are not many sources documenting the practices of the NFSL discipline, and it is because of that scarcity of academic writing that I decided to include the approach of the authors in my research. For example, one of the authors I contacted presented the Sámi in 1979 in a way that was several decades ahead when compared with the other textbooks. I believe that what she had to say about it was not only relevant for my thesis but also important enough to be academically referenced elsewhere.

The second reason for contacting the authors has to do with the decolonial approach to knowledge that is promoted in my master’s program, which places ethics and respect at the core of any academic research. As the indigenous researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith wrote, “research exists within a system of power, and getting the story right by ‘telling the story well’ is essential” (2012: 226). I wanted to avoid formulating hypotheses about some aspects of Sámi representation, and the answers I received from my questions to the authors helped me to have a clearer picture of practices within the NFSL field. In parallel, I contacted the people in charge

of the education issues of the Sámi parliament to know if they were ever consulted on their representation in NFSL textbooks, and I also included their answers in the same section.

1.7 Thesis structure

In chapter 1, I presented my research questions and gave a literature review of the thesis' main topics. I positioned myself as a person and a researcher and I explained why I believe my research is relevant. I laid out a theoretical framework referring to cultural representations and language textbooks, and I explained the differences between three different types of people: immigrants, minorities, and indigenous people. The last part of the chapter presented the methodology I applied and the methods I used to collect my data.

Chapter 2 is the background of my research. In the first part, I present the past and present situation of the Sámi people and their representation in the Norwegian education system. The second part centers on the evolution of immigration in Norway and how it impacted the teaching of Norwegian as a Foreign Language. The third part focuses on Norwegian as a foreign language, listing the different curricula and describing the NFSL sector in 2021. This chapter concludes with an account on the birth of Norwegian as a Foreign and Second Language.

In chapter 3, I present my data results on the representation of the Sámi from the period before 1970 until 2020. I give an account decade by decade of the main tendencies and I present the evolution of the representation of the Sámi artist and activist Mari Boine. I conclude this chapter by presenting the reflections of the authors in their representations of the Sámi.

Chapter 4 presents a discussion of the main findings that emerged from the data results. It is centered around the main research questions and goes through the main findings point by point using the theoretical concepts presented in chapter 2.

In the last chapter, I state my final remarks and formulate hypotheses on the evolution of Sámi representation in NFSL textbooks.

Chapter 2

The background of the research

2.1 The Sámi people

2.1.1 Past and present

The Sámi are a transnational indigenous people who live in Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. Norway officially recognized the Sámi as indigenous people in 1990, after the ratification of the ILO convention No. 169¹⁰ (Falch, Selle, Strømnes, 2016). There is no international definition of the term ‘indigenous’ but the ILO convention recognizes them to have the following main characteristics: a historical occupation of the land, a minority status different from the dominant society and the determination to “preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their particular ethnic identity” (Martinez-Cobo UN report, 1982). The Sámi people have all the characteristics of an indigenous group (Paine, 2003).

The Norwegian language uses two words for ‘indigenous’, *Urbefolkning* and *urfolk*, both based on the stem *folk* (people). Whereas *Urbefolkning* can be translated to ‘indigenous population’, *Urfolk* is translated in English to ‘indigenous people’ (Wæhle and Schackt, Store Norske Leksikon: 2019). The term *urbefolkning* was first in use before being gradually replaced by *Urfolk* through international laws and conventions (Gjerpe, 2017: 160-161).

The majority of the Sámi people live on a territory that they call *Sápmi*. They have had their own flag since 1986 and, in Norway, their own parliament since 1989. There are at present nine Sámi languages, of which four are spoken in Norway: Skott Sámi, Lule Sámi, South Sámi and North Sámi. While they all have the status of endangered language, North Sámi is the most spoken with the number of speakers considered to be as high as 25,000 (*Fakta om samiske språk*, Norwegian government website, 2018). In my research, I use the Northern Sámi words when referring to particular cultural Sámi elements. Likewise, I used the Northern Sámi word *Sápmi* to refer to the Sámi land, but I could have used *Sábme*, *Sábmie*, *Saepmie*, *Säämi* or *Sää'mjânnam*.

¹⁰ ILO Convention No.169 is a legally binding international instrument, which was ratified by 23 countries at the time of this thesis. The convention deals with rights of indigenous and tribal peoples.

It is difficult to know how many Sámi there are, since each country counts the Sámi population differently, but the overall population is estimated to be over 75,000 (Finnish Sámi Parliament, 2021). Norway is the country with the largest Sámi population, with an estimated 40,000 individuals living essentially in the province of Troms and Finnmark (Pettersen, 2019). By comparison, the population of Norway almost reached 5,300,000 in 2018 (Statistics Norway, 2021). The only official figure available is the number of people registered at the Sámi parliament for voting during the Sámi representative elections, which was 18,103 in 2019 (Norwegian Sámi Parliament, 2019). Over 3000 Sámi had reindeer herding as their main livelihood in 2019, which means that the livelihood of most of the Sámi is the same as the rest of Norwegian society (Norwegian Ministry of Agriculture, 2021).

The Sámi have lived on their ancestral territory for at least the past 3000 years and used to be a hunter-gatherer nomadic society who were organised in small units and also relied on fishing. For reasons still unknown to researchers, the part of the Sámi population who hunted reindeer transformed into a reindeer herding nomadic group in the 16th century, whereas coastal Sámi communities kept relying on sea resources. Once animist, the gradual colonization of the North of Norway that started in the 16th and 17th centuries made them Christians by the mid-19th century (Hansen and Olsen, 2014: 229-311). The emergence of the Norwegian nation-state throughout the 19th century led to the implementation of strict assimilation policies referred to as the Norwegianization process, and those policies had an important impact on Sámi society. They aimed at forcing the Norwegian language and culture on the Sámi and on the Kven¹¹ via educational and economic measures. Those measures implied, for example, that people who did not speak Norwegian could not enjoy the same rights as the people who did. Sámi children were forced to go to boarding schools and were forbidden to speak their native language. The Norwegianization policies were repealed in the 1950s/1960s, but they remained active in some areas until the 1980s (Minde, 2003).

It was after WW2 that the attitude towards the Sámi started to change, thanks to a context of international decolonization and to the emergence of international minority movements. In Norway, the turning point spanned from 1968 until 1982, during the events known as the Alta

¹¹ One of the five national minority, see p. 11

protests. During that period, the construction of a hydroelectric dam in the region of Alta was met with strong opposition by local ecological groups, as the building of the dam could have damaged the salmon resources of the local river. The protests gradually escalated and were led by Sámi groups who opposed the construction of the dam because it was supposed to flood the Sámi village of Máze and to hinder the traditional Sámi livelihood in the entire area. The protests also transported to Oslo and had a strong impact on public opinion (Minde, 2003). The dam was eventually built, but the village of Máze was preserved. Following the events, a commission appointed by the government gave, a few years later, a series of recommendations that opened a new chapter in the history of the Sámi in Norway. From those recommendations, the Sámi Act was adopted in 1987 and led to the creation of the Sámi parliament and the ratification of the ILO convention in 1990. The adoption by the Norwegian parliament of the Finnmark Act in 2005 recognised the Sámi people's fight for their rights by transferring the ownership and management of most of the land in Finnmark to a mixed comity of Norwegian and Sámi representatives (Falch, Selle, Strømnes, 2016).

2.1.2 The representation of the Sámi in the Norwegian education system

National education systems and school curricula are sensitive issues when associated with indigenous representations for two main reasons, both connected to the emergence of the nation-state model in the 19th century. The first reason is that the nation-states used their education system to force their indigenous population and ethnic minorities to assimilate into the dominant society, like the Norwegianization process, leaving generations of people permanently traumatized. The second reason is that the nation-states needed to create a sense of belonging to a greater community within the population, and the national curriculum was used to construct a national narrative that enhanced the sense of superiority of the dominant population over the others. In Norway, the building of the nation-state needed to legitimize the colonization and the assimilation of the Sámi (Jensen, 2005: 44-51).

In the representation of the Sámi in Norwegian education, the Sámi went from being presented as the first settlers of their original territories to being 'separated from the national narratives' during the beginning of the 20th century, before becoming once more an important part of the history of Norway a century later (Ekeland, 2017: 321). The 1939 national curriculum (*Normalplan*) referred to the Sámi as 'nature people', until the 1974-1987 *Mønsterplan* (model

curriculum) started to highlight the characteristics of Sámi culture and history. The plan that followed for primary schools contained mandatory basic principles about the Sámi, and after the ratification of the ILO in 1990, the knowledge of Sámi culture was incorporated in other subjects in the new 1997 national curriculum. Since 2006 there are competency goals in Sámi subjects that are integrated into the national curriculum of the Knowledge Promotion (Ekeland, 2017: 321). While it is easy to see the absence of Sámi representation in the *Normalplan* and the inclusion of the Sámi that started with the *Mønsterplan*, an indigenization of the curriculum is more complicated to identify in the curriculum that followed. An indigenization approach functions on different levels and implies a better integration of indigenous representation under indigenous terms (Gjerpe, 2017). For example, the new curriculum of 1997 implemented a curriculum specifically for the Sámi that was followed in 2006 by a Sámi Curriculum in Primary and Secondary Education and Training (Gjerpe, 2018:8). Both were direct adaptations for the Sámi of the National curriculum. However, Gjerpe demonstrated, after examining the Sámi content of both the Sámi curriculum and the national curriculum, that the implementation of the Sámi curriculum in 1997 participated in adding less content to the national curriculum, even though it was considered a turning point for Sámi education.

This difference between the commitment of the education authorities and its application in the curriculum is reflected in the introduction of Sámi history into textbooks in 1974, which embedded it in simple and stereotypical characteristics existing alongside or outside Norwegian history rather than being part of it. For Ekeland, it created a dichotomy between the history of Norway and the history of the Sámi that is still visible in the way textbook units are laid out as it marks the Sámi as the ‘other’ in the textbooks (2017: 330). The fact that the Sámi people are depicted as the others tends to reinforce an image of ‘Norwegian exceptionalism’ according to Eriksen, another researcher (2018: 58).

The recent national curriculum for Knowledge in Primary Education and Training released in 2020 (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2021) intends to reduce this gap by giving more opportunities to include the Sámi in the teaching process. In the category “Identity and cultural diversity”¹², it states that *insights into our history and culture are important for the*

¹² Identitet og kulturelt mangfold

*development of students' identity and create a sense of belonging to society. (...) The Sámi cultural heritage is part of the cultural heritage in Norway. Our common cultural heritage has developed throughout history and will be managed by present and future generations*¹³. The statement is followed by another section that adds new content to the new intentions of the curriculum: *through training, the pupils will gain insight into the history, culture, social life and rights of the Sámi indigenous people. The pupils will learn about diversity and variation within Sámi culture and social life*¹⁴. The researcher and teacher Helen M. Murray highlighted the evolution and argues that the new curriculum introduces important changes in the way the Sámi and indigenous people in general are included in the teaching (Murray, 2020). However, the series of recommendations and advice she gives her fellow teachers to facilitate the inclusion demonstrates that the teachers are the ones translating the intentions of the curriculum into the classrooms. It seems that there is a gap between the objectives of the curriculum and the knowledge that both the students and the teachers have about the Sámi (Lile, 2011). I give an overview of the representation of the Sámi in the NFSL curriculum at the end of this chapter.

¹³ Innsikt i vår historie og kultur er viktig for utvikling av elevenes identitet og skaper tilhørighet til samfunnet. (...) Den samiske kulturarven er en del av kulturarven i Norge. Vår felles kulturarv har utviklet seg gjennom historien og skal forvaltes av nålevende og kommende generasjoner.

¹⁴ Gjennom opplæringen skal elevene få innsikt i det samiske urfolkets historie, kultur, samfunnsliv og rettigheter. Elevene skal lære om mangfold og variasjon innenfor samisk kultur og samfunnsliv.

2.2 The immigrants in Norway

The statistical overview published annually by the government as part of the national budget defines an immigrant as “an individual who was born abroad to two foreign-born parents, and who at some time has immigrated to Norway” (*Regjeringens mål for integrering*, Norwegian Government Website, 2017). Norwegian-born-to-immigrant-parents, on the other hand, are people who “were born in Norway from their immigrant parents”.

In 2021, the immigrant population in Norway consists of 800,094 people and the Norwegian-born-to-immigrant-parents’ population is 197,848. Put together, these two categories account for 18.5 per cent of the Norwegian population (Statistics Norway, 2021). The five largest groups of immigrants in 2021 are from Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Syria, and Somalia, while, when we also include the Norwegian-born-to-immigrant-parents, the five largest countries are Poland, Lithuania, Somalia, Pakistan, and Sweden (Statistics Norway, 2021). Altogether, more than 221 different nationalities resided in Norway in 2017 and 48.1 per cent of them were from Europe. Labor, family, refuge, and education are in that order the four main reasons to move to Norway (Statistics Norway, 2021).

The history of immigration in Norway during the 20th century is divided into four phases (Sandnes, 2017). The first phase came from the demand for a labor force for the secondary market in industries and service industries and consisted of mostly young men from Turkey and Pakistan. This phase started in the 1960s and ended in 1975, when the 1973 oil shock led to an “immigration stop”. The second phase lasted from the end of the 1970s until the mid-1980s and essentially consisted of family reunification with the workers from the first phase. The third phase, on the other hand, consisted at the beginning of asylum seekers from Iran, Chile, Vietnam, and Sri Lanka, before it switched over to a population from the ex-Yugoslavia countries. The last and most important phase happened in 2004, with the enlargement of the European Union from 15 countries to 25. As Norway has been part of the European Economic Area since 1994, which enables free movement within the European Single Market of goods, services, capital and persons, a new immigration trend based on the labor market started, with countries such as Poland and Lithuania becoming the main providers of labor (Topic: The European Economic Area Agreement, Norwegian Government website, 2021). The last important event in the recent history of immigration in Norway is the Syrian conflict, which

from the year 2015 onwards has brought immigrants from Syria to seek refuge in Norway. 73 per cent of the immigrants for the period 1990-2016 were still living in Norway in 2016, which means that the majority of the immigrants stays permanently in Norway.

2.2.1 The introduction of Norwegian culture and language to immigrants

To integrate the labor market and Norwegian society, immigrants in Norway need to learn Norwegian. The Introduction law, adopted in 2003, stated the rights and obligations for immigrants to participate in an introduction program and in Norwegian language training (LOV-2003-07-04-80, 2003). The Introduction Law does not include Nordic citizens and foreign nationals covered by the Agreement on the European Economic Area, but it makes the teaching of Norwegian language and culture mandatory for asylum seekers and their families under different criteria (section 2 of the Introduction law). The Introduction Law also creates the responsibility for Norwegian municipalities to provide introduction programs for newcomers and aims to provide “basic Norwegian language skills, basic insight into Norwegian social conditions and prepare for participation in working life” (Chp.2 Section 4). The program needs to run for at least a full-time year on a full-time basis and includes “Norwegian language training, social studies and measures that prepare the participant for further education or access to working life” (Ch.2 Section 4). The people get a payment for attendance and receive a certificate of participation at the end of the course. Between 2014 and 2019, there were on average between 33,000 and 44,000 people who followed the program every year (Statistics Norway, 2021). I talk more about the modalities of the introduction program in the section dedicated to the birth of NFSL at the end of this chapter. The Introduction Act was amended through the years to accommodate different situations and extended the amount of time allocated to the study of Norwegian.

2.2.2 Why learning Norwegian?

The level of proficiency in Norwegian proves essential to integrate into Norwegian society. There are four levels of integration for an immigrant to the new society he/she lives in: social integration, psychological-cultural integration, political integration, and structural integration. The resources and limits to all of these levels of integration comprises “indicators of Norwegian language skills, health and discrimination” (Barstad and Molstad, 2020:48-55). A good level of proficiency in Norwegian is crucial for an immigrant to get a job, create social contacts and

develop a feeling of belonging to Norwegian society. It is the level of language skills in Norwegian and the knowledge of Norwegian culture that condition the possibility to apply for a permanent residence permit and Norwegian citizenship. An equivalent level of proficiency in Sámi can also be used to apply.

Since 2005, and every year since then, between 10,000 and 20,000 people are granted Norwegian citizenship (Statistics Norway, 2021). One of the requirements in 2021 for applying for citizenship is to have passed the Introduction program and the Norwegian language training (LOV-2008-05-15-35, section 7). The same applies for a residence permit, with an “adequate knowledge in Sámi or Norwegian” required. If the candidates are not asylum seekers and did not follow the course, they need to provide proof that they passed a Norwegian exam in four parts (oral, listening, reading, and written) with an A2 level as a minimum. For access to a university or to particular skilled jobs, the level of proficiency required is higher and starts at a B2¹⁵ level. The institutions organizing the tests must be recognized by the Norwegian authorities.

The teaching and learning of the Norwegian language and culture is fundamental for the integration of foreigners on an economic, institutional, and social level. Since 1998, the official framework for the contents of the Norwegian proficiency levels and cultural themes is the *Læringplan i norskspråk og samfunn* (curriculum in Norwegian language and culture), which relies on the European Framework of Reference for Language and Culture (CEFR).

2.3 Norwegian as a Foreign and Second language

I begin this section by presenting the language and institutional frameworks used for teaching Norwegian as a Foreign and Second Language in Norway. The rest of the chapter retraces the birth of NFSL as a discipline and gives an overview of the first NFSL textbooks published in Norway. I conclude with a presentation of the main publishers in 2021. When I refer to the Norwegian language in this thesis, I refer to the Norwegian Bokmål¹⁶.

¹⁵A2 is the second beginner level and B2 is the second intermediate level, see page 41

¹⁶ There are two main language standards in Norwegian: the Norwegian Bokmål, spoken by 75-85 per cent of the population and derived from the Danish written language, and the Nynorsk, created in 1850 and based on a variety of regional dialects spoken mostly in West

2.3.1 The CEFR

The teaching of foreign languages in Norway are based on the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* that resulted from the gradual transformation of the practices of language teaching. It was in the 1990s that those evolutions developed into new practices, based on a communicative perspective that merged the teaching of both culture and language. It led to the creation of the concept of *intercultural communicative competence*, defined in the Routledge Encyclopedia of Language Teaching and Learning as “the ability to interact effectively with people from cultures that we recognize as being different from our own” (Guilherme 2000: 297). Attitudes, knowledge, and intercultural skills are part of the intercultural communicative competence and influence the design of curriculums and teaching materials (Byram, 1997; Hoff, 2020). It seems logical in 2021, but the concept of intercultural communicative competence was a long process to hatch.

It was in the 1970s/1980s that the European Community¹⁷ decided that the facilitation of the mobility of people in Europe was a goal to reach, and they started to explore language-specific guidelines with different proficiency levels in situations of communication. As different assessment language tests were implemented in several countries, it became necessary to evaluate and harmonize the competences needed for those tests, and it was in 1991 that the decision was taken to create a common framework of reference (Historical overview of the development of the CEFR, Council of Europe, 2019). That common framework had three aims: to establish a levels scale describing the competences reached, to define the frameworks of reference and to set up a system of self-assessment. The final version of this common framework was put together by the Council of Europe and published in 2001 as the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*. The main objectives of the CEFR were to harmonize the national frameworks to help people to have their language levels recognized by employers and institutions in the European space. In 2020, over 40 countries use the CEFR in their school system and in their language certifications.

Norway (Papazian, 2002). It emerged from data collection that the few Nynorsk textbooks were essentially textbooks directly translated from the Bokmål NFSL textbooks.

¹⁷ The European Community is the former name of the European Union

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) is now an international standard used as a guideline to describe the level of abilities of a learner in a foreign language (CEFR – Companion Volume, Council of Europe, 2021). It is organized in a six-level scale around three categories: A1-A2 as Basic User, B1-B2 as Independent User and C1-C2 as Proficient User. Each level has specific descriptors for four competences: listening, reading, speaking, and writing. The main goal of the CEFR is to provide a method of learning, teaching, and assessing that can be applied to all languages. B2 is the threshold level, when the learner is seen as independent enough to achieve most communicative goals and talk about a range of topics. The CEFR introduced three competences: a linguistic competence (to know the language and its components), a pragmatic competence (to know the language structure and its semantic articulation) and a sociolinguistic competence (to use the language in context). Each competence is applied to the six-level scale of the CEFR, and all levels have a self-assessment grid depending on different criteria per competence. Developed by the Council of Europe, the European Language Portfolio (ELP) includes several checklists of descriptors for the learner to identify the learning targets and to assess the learning results. The checklists are arranged according to the proficiency levels of the CEFR in the form of *I can* descriptors. The six-levels scale of the CEFR and the *I can* descriptors of the ELP are also used in Norway in the teaching of foreign languages. The language curriculum in NFSL is built upon the CEFR (Andersen, 2013)

2.3.2 Læreplan i norsk og samfunnskunnskap for voksne innvandrere¹⁸

Whereas in the CEFR the description of different levels of proficiency can be applied to all languages, the cultural descriptors cannot be as easily divided into small descriptive units. They are chosen on a national level, for each proficiency level, and aim at facilitating the integration of immigrants and the creation of official language and culture certifications. In Norway, the Curriculum in Norwegian and Norwegian society for adult immigrants¹⁹ was created in 1998. The curriculum consists of a minimum of 300 hours of teaching (in some cases 600 hours, with a maximum of 2400 hours for a five-year period (Norskopplæring for voksne innvandrere, Språkrådet, 2015) of which 50 hours are put aside for the studying of Norwegian society. In addition to the CEFR descriptors, the Norwegian curriculum introduced three different classifications based on the level of education received in the learners' homeland, *Spor 1*, 2 and 3 (FOR-2012-04-19-358, Del 2a, 2012). *Spor 1* is for people who did not go to school or did not attend long. *Spor 2* is for people who received a basic education and can write/read in their mother tongue; and *Spor 3* is for learners who received a complete education. In the textbooks that I consulted, *Spor 2* and 3 are usually merged while *Spor 1* has its own textbook.

The teaching of the 50 hours of Norwegian society class are divided into seven subjects: **1. New immigrants to Norway** **2. History, geography, and lifestyle** **3. Children and family** **4. Health** **5. Education, training and competences** **6. Working life** **7. Democracy and Welfare society.** The Sámi people did not come up in the general curriculum that I consulted but they do in another NFSL curriculum. There is a second curriculum for those 50 hours, specifically aimed at asylum seekers and named Norwegian Culture and Norwegian Values – training for asylum seekers²⁰. It functions as a supplement to the curriculum in social studies and has nine themes instead of seven: **1. Everyday themes and social interaction** **2. Family patterns and forms of cohabitation, ceremonies, and holidays** **3. Equality and protection against discrimination** **4. Health, with particular emphasis on sexual health and drug abuse** **5. Children's right and role of the parents** **6. Violence in close surroundings** **7. Sexual harassment and rape** **8. Democracy**

¹⁸ *The Curriculum in Norwegian with social studies for adult immigrants*

¹⁹ My own translation from *Opplæring i norsk med samfunnskunnskap for voksne innvandrere*

²⁰ My translation of *Norsk kultur og norske verdier – opplæring for asylsøkere*

and values 9. Threats against democracy. Unlike the general curriculum, the curriculum for asylum seekers has its own learning materials (available online) and introduces the Sámi in the chapter entitled *Democracy and values*. In the online material, the Sámi are presented in one PowerPoint slide as a transnational indigenous group with their own parliament and with their own culture and language. There are four visuals in the slide: the Sámi flag, a married couple in traditional costume, the Sámi parliament, and some reindeer. The comments included for the teachers remind them of the institutional indigenous status of the Sámi both inside and outside Norway.

The curriculum in Norwegian and Norwegian society for adult immigrants is supervised by *Kompetans Norge*, an agency under the authority of the Ministry of Education and Research as it is planned in the *Introduction law* of 2003. For immigrants under 17 years-old in the basic education system, it is the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (UDIR) who are in charge of the curriculum. In July of 2021, *Kompetans Norge* will merge with *Diku*, the Norwegian Agency for International Cooperation and Quality Enhancement in Higher Education, and will become the Agency for Higher Education and Competence. The language curriculum will be supplemented by new CEFR descriptors and the social studies part of the curriculum will merge the regular curriculum and the supplement curriculum for asylum seekers. The new curriculum will consist of three main parts, according to the consultation draft: **1. Training, competence, and work life**, **2. Family, health, and everyday life**, **3. Norway before and now**. The Sámi will be presented in the third part, as an example of diversity in Norway. It states, in Norwegian, that the participants will need “to give examples of diversity in Norway with emphasis on different family forms, lifestyles, forms of housing and ethnic groups, including the Sami indigenous people”²¹ (Læreplan i samfunnskap for voksne innvandrere etter integreringsloven – Høringsutkast, 2021:7). The publishers of NFSL textbooks will have to adapt their contents to the new curriculums.

²¹ * gi eksempler på mangfold i Norge med vekt på ulike familieformer, levesett, boformer og folkegrupper, inkludert det samiske urfolket

2.3.3 Publishers and NFSL textbooks in 2021

The three most important publishers of NFSL textbooks in 2021 are Fagbokforlaget, Cappelen Damm and Aschehoug and Co. From my own counting, Fagbokforlaget and Cappelen Damm represent at least 70 per cent of the overall NFSL markets, while Aschehoug and Co are more specialized in online teaching thanks to their e-learning platform Lokus (which will become Aschehoug Univers during the summer 2021). It was not possible to find the market shares of each publisher for the overall sales of NFSL materials, and the publishers did not want to communicate the percentage of NFSL sales in the overall education textbooks' turnout. NFSL materials and textbooks used to be edited by a greater variety of publishers, but during the past 30 years the biggest Norwegian publishers gradually absorbed them. Apart from the very first NFSL textbooks published (see the next section), the publishers of NFSL textbooks are all Norwegians. Kompetans Norge lists on its website more than 200 teaching materials for adult immigrants to learn Norwegian and to become familiar with Norwegian society. The materials are books (grammar books, exercise books and textbooks) and online learning platforms.

The next section is the last part of this chapter and details the emergence and the development of the NFSL discipline. The description of the evolution of the NFSL discipline was an important stage for establishing the list of textbooks that was used to answer my research question.

2.3.4 The birth of NFSL

Norwegian as a Foreign and Second Language is a discipline born outside of Norway during the early 20th century. The first people to analyze the Norwegian language were the first Norwegian linguists: Hans Vogt, Carl Hjalmar Borgstrøm, Knut Bergsland and Alf Sommerfelt (Hagemann, 2019). However, the first NFSL book for foreigners was not published in Norway, but in the United States, written by the son of Norwegian immigrants, Einar Haugen. *Beginning Norwegian, a Grammar and Reader* in 1937 and *Reading Norwegian* in 1940 were the first NFL²² grammar books for foreigners. The textbooks as we know them today did not exist yet, but the Second World War initiated a change in the teaching of modern languages, since the American troops needed to learn the basics of the country where they were serving. The two first NFL textbooks were therefore in both English and Norwegian, but it is possible that the German forces also developed their own NFL textbooks.

In Europe, inspired by Einar Haugen's work, Alf Sommerfelt wrote in 1943 with Ingvald Marm the textbook *Teach yourself Norwegian* while they were in London during the German occupation of Norway. On the other side of the Atlantic, Einar Haugen was requested, in 1943, to give Norwegian lessons to American soldiers in the event of a liberation of Norway. From his experience during those courses, he wrote a textbook based on the new behavioral methods²³ in language teaching. First published in 1944, *Spoken Norwegian* was re-edited with some changes in 1947 and was revolutionary at the time (Bronner, 1947: 233-236). *Spoken Norwegian* was a reference book that was still used in Norway many years after the war.

The post war era

After WW2, Norway established good relations with the US and the idea of expressing gratitude to the country that liberated them was discussed in Norwegian academic circles. As American universities and colleges had welcome over 500 Norwegian students by 1946 due a lack of places and resources following the liberation, the establishment of a summer school for American students was decided, and the Summer school for American students was opened in 1947. The goal of the summer school, an annex of the University of Oslo, was to offer grants

²² I use *Norwegian as Foreign Language* because at this stage of history the Norwegian taught was not a second language

²³ Author's forewords – *Spoken Norwegian*, 1947

to American students to study Norwegian and to follow courses on every aspect of Norwegian society. The Summer School became such a popular institution that it eventually opened to non-US participants and changed its name and status in 1958. It was renamed the International Summer School of the University of Oslo and its birth is well documented in a book released for the school's 50th anniversary in 1996, *Fifty years of Academic Achievement and International Good Will*.

The International Summer School (ISS) can be considered the birthplace of the NFSL discipline in Norway. According to the staff repertoires, most of the authors of the first NFSL textbooks were at some point teaching there and the first NFSL textbooks in Norway were designed through the Norwegian courses they gave at the school. The first textbooks used in the Norwegian courses at the summer school were *Spoken Norwegian* by Einar Haugen (Ryen, 1996), and possibly *Teach yourself Norwegian*, since its author, Alf Sommerfelt, was one of the teachers during the first years. *Spoken Norwegian* was then based on a grammar-translation method, with an emphasis on Norwegian phonetics that included some conversational parts. *Spoken Norwegian* was completely revised in 1961 to fit a linguaphone course (in which students listen and repeat the recordings).

Bjarne Berulfsen was one of the professors of the linguaphone course, and wrote in 1961 the first stenciled edition of the textbook *Elementary Norwegian*. Seven years later, he published it as a textbook with the collaboration of another teacher, Philip Boardman²⁴. This first stenciled edition of *Elementary Norwegian* might be the first NFL textbook written and published in Norway. It was based on an audio-lingual method and on the experience of professors teaching at the ISS (Ryen, 1996). Sverre Klouman was another ISS teacher who also published a first stenciled edition of an early textbook in 1967, and his *Learn Norwegian* was re-edited for the last time in 2002. Many textbooks used in language courses and universities in Norway and abroad originated from the experience of the teachers at the International Summer School and they often covered several decades of language teaching approaches (Ryen, 1996).

²⁴Also managing director of the school for the period 1947-1977

Outside of the International Summer School, it was at the end of the 1960s and early 1970s that free Norwegian courses started to be offered to immigrants. The economic situation in Norway was favorable and it was an easy period to obtain a residence permit due to the need for a work force (Dregelid, 1999:150). A maximum framework of 150 hours in a Norwegian course was introduced in 1970 for foreign workers, and the organizations that already used to give Norwegian courses like *Friundervisning* and *AOF studieforbundet* received the task of organizing the classes after working hours. Five years later, in 1975, the Norwegian courses were extended to the family members of the foreign work force and the classes extended to 240 hours, of which 40 hours consisted of Norwegian social studies²⁵. In the conventional Norwegian school system, it was one year prior, in 1974, when Norway created its first official and national curriculum, in which the covering of the Sámi issues was limited to the situations of the Sámi students at school (Olsen, 1999: 130). Many of the NFSL courses used textbooks that originated from the ISS. However, since immigrants did not all speak English (rendering the use of the textbooks with English instruction/texts hard to operate) they needed to be taught a Norwegian language that was ready to be used in a professional environment. That is why NFL textbooks started to become NSL textbooks (Norwegian as a Second Language).

The textbook series *Norsk for utlendinger*, published at the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, took a new approach by embracing the new pedagogical trends of its time. The textbooks series *Norsk for utlendinger* consisted of four parts in which spoken language was the focus. The two first books of the series were filled with dialogues and based on an inductive approach to language learning, in which the grammar is implicit rather than explicit (Ryen, 1996). The textbook series was also only in Norwegian, as most foreign language textbooks for adults started to be at the end of the 1970s. *På'n igjen*, published in 1975 and *Ny i Norge* in 1977 were also monolingual. The authors of *Norsk for utlendinger*, Åse-Berit and Rolf Strandskogen were well aware of the revolutionary approach of their textbooks as Elisabeth Selje, who wrote the cultural content of the Sámi section, declared when I asked her. The textbooks *Snakker du Norsk?* by Anne Hvenekilde and Inger Helene Arenestad (1980) and *Si det på Norsk* by Edvard Baro (1980) were also among the first ones to center on daily life situations of communication.

²⁵ In Norwegian *Samfunnsfag*

The establishment of NFSL

The next revolution came in 1987 with the release of *Bo i Norge* by Gerd Manne and designed to be the sequel of *Ny i Norge*. The innovation with *Bo i Norge* was that it was the first time that a NFSL textbook used language functions as a starting point for learning (Ryen, 1999). It seems logical nowadays, with the prescriptors of the CEFR, but in the late 1980s it was a pedagogical revolution. Under the supervision of the European Council, a group of experts in the 1970s had started to work on a model of adult language learning for everyday life situations, from where originated the concept of “threshold level” (Ryen, 1999). This new framework placed the learners in real life situations and laid emphasis on the fact that because a language was culturally situated, the teaching of culture and language needed to be on an equal footing.

It was also in 1987 that a new curriculum was adopted in the Norwegian school system, which reflected on the changes in society and planned to promote a “pluralist integration”. The curriculum added a chapter on Sámi issues and the terms “ethnic minorities” (including indigenous people, national and cultural minorities) were used, announcing the upcoming concept of a multicultural society (Olsen, 2019:132).

It was the new approaches to teaching language and the promotion of what would become the multicultural society that led to the creation, in 1975, of the *Plans for Norwegian language teaching with a social orientation for adult refugees and immigrants*²⁶. The plan was revised twice before 1998 and introduced new methods for teaching Norwegian to people with little to no school background, and set up certain numbers of hours for the teaching (Dregelig, 1999). Different timeframes for the studying of Norwegian were implemented according to the category the students belonged to²⁷, and both adult refugees and asylum seekers saw their Norwegian courses reach the amount of 500 hours²⁸. The consolidation and establishment of the NFSL discipline happened in the 1990s, when most of the major publishing houses started

²⁶ My translation of *Ramneplaner for norskopplæring med samfunnsorientering for voksne flyktninger og innvandrere*

²⁷ Prior to 1975, refugees did not receive a different treatment from the foreign workers coming to Norway, but between 1975 and 1982 it became the task of the Norske Flyktningeråd to organize courses for them. After 1982, it was the local municipalities that needed to organize the courses, and in bigger cities it became a prerogative of the municipal learning centers (The center Rosenhof in Oslo was for example created in 1984, while a center was created in Bergen in 1985). As the number of refugees rose in the 1980s (from 150 in 1983, to 8600 in 1987), the need to accommodate different type of learners slowly made its way through the NFL textbooks (Dregelig, 1999).

²⁸ with a possibility to extend it to 750 hours

to publish textbook series covering different proficiency levels. With a regular rise in immigration and an official NFSL framework, Norwegian courses were guaranteed by law and it created financial opportunities for the publishers.

A new teaching framework for schools was implemented in 1997 (L97) that led to a new Norwegian as a Second Language curriculum for high schools²⁹ (R94) and for the *Grunnskole*³⁰ one year after. The Curriculum in Norwegian with social studies for adult immigrants³¹ was also adopted in 1998 and replaced the previous framework. That same year, the CEFR started to be printed and distributed before its official launch in 2001. The new NFSL curriculum for adults established that the learners needed to assess their progress through tests and exams in order to establish national standards needed for particular studies, schools and certain professional areas (Berge, 1999). Language tests for intermediate and high levels such as the Bergen test already existed, but it was rare to have special tests for a specific job area (Ryen, 1999).

In 2003, the NFSL curriculum for adults became an official regulation as a part of the Introduction Law (in short *Introduksjonloven*, or in full *Lov om introduksjonsordning og norskopplæring for nyankomne innvandrere*³²) that stated the rights and duties of immigrants in learning Norwegian to integrate into Norwegian society. It gave a legal frame to the teaching of Norwegian language and culture and consolidated the establishment of Norwegian as a Foreign and Second Language as a discipline and a textbook category.

²⁹ *Læreplan i norsk som andrespråk, for videregående skole*

³⁰ Schools for children between 6-16 years old; *Læreplan i norsk som andrespråk i grunnskole*

³¹ *Opplæringsplan i norsk med samfunnskunnskap for voksne innvandrere*

³² My translation: *Law on introductory schemes and Norwegian language training for newly arrived immigrants*

Chapter 3 The representation of the Sámi in NFSL textbooks

3.1 Textbooks consulted for the data collection

For this research, I consulted approximately 141 textbooks and exercise books in which 37 textbooks presented or mentioned the Sámi people in one way or another. Out of those 37 textbooks, I selected 24 textbooks with enough content for a closer examination through the different analytical frameworks I created.

The comparative analysis of the tables of contents and the authors/publishers' forewords of both textbooks presenting and not presenting the Sámi account to 24 textbooks not presenting the Sámi and 17 textbooks presenting the Sámi. After comparing an equal number of textbooks presenting and not presenting the Sámi, I decided to examine a larger number of textbooks not presenting the Sámi. This is because both the Sámi representation and NFSL textbooks' production were so scarce before the 1990s that I decided to go beyond a strict comparative analysis to identify patterns of non-representation.

When I could find them, I included the different editions of the same textbooks because the content often changed from one edition to another. As it proved difficult to identify and consult all editions of a textbook, I cannot pretend that I consulted every edition of the same textbooks. I believe, however, that the large sample of selected textbooks decade by decade mitigate that possible lack of data.

The lists of textbooks used for the comparative analysis is in appendix no.3.

3.2 The Sámi in NFSL textbooks before the 1970s

The textbooks from before the 1970s contain little cultural content, as they concentrate on the language itself, with an audio-lingual method supported in class. The emphasis is on the grammar, with many exercises associated to a text or a dialogue. In the textbooks used at the American International Summer School, and later ISS, Norwegian culture and literature were taught separately. With the exceptions of the textbooks *Spoken Norwegian* published in 1947³³

³³ I was not able to consult the 1944 first edition

and *Norsk for Utlendinger* in 1966, there is no mention of the Sámi in the textbooks before the 1970s. Back then, the NSL textbook production was very limited. However, the fact that in *Spoken Norwegian* the Sámi are referred to as *Samene* and not *Lapper*, with a foot note stating that *Lapper* was no longer in use, seems to have been advanced compared with other textbooks in production in Norway³⁴. The term *Samene* did not become systematic until the early 1960s, even though it was already in use in State organizations and institutions (Simonsen, 2008). The fact that the author, Einar Haugen, lived in the US and edited the book there might partly explain why it was ahead of its time. In a footnote, however, Haugen also added that the Sámi were ‘people of Mongolian origin’. The Sámi in *Spoken Norwegian* are introduced in the geography section, when the narrator travels to Northern Norway. It is in the same section that Harry Persson mentioned them in 1966 *Norsk for Utlendinger*, when a French journalist travels to Northern Norway and declares, referring to the Sámi, that he did not like that people were used as tourist attraction. The fact that both textbooks only mention the Sámi in the travel/geography section of the textbooks locate them in a special area of Norway and exclude them *de facto* from the national agenda in a time when the Norwegianization policies were still in place.

As explained earlier in this master’s thesis, culture and language were separated concepts in the teaching of foreign languages until the mid-1990s. The notion of culture served the language acquisition process rather than standing as a learning object integrated in the language learning process. Consequently, it seems that before the 1970s (and even later) the south of Norway and the urban areas were the only places brought forward in the textbooks. It might be due to the textbooks’ intent to stay focused on the social and physical reality of the learners, or to the origins of the authors/professors. We are before the discovery of oil and gas in the 1970s, and it is possible that the north of Norway (i.e. the traditional Sámi areas) was not popular enough to be introduced, since traveling up north was more expensive and time consuming than it is today. Another possibility is that the textbooks were targeting a particular audience during this period, at a time when immigrating to Norway was not systematized and still limited to the urban areas of southern Norway. A last hypothesis could be that a presentation of the Sámi did not fit the vision of Norway that the NFL textbooks wanted to show. Even though the

³⁴ *Lapp* was in Norwegian a pejorative way to call a Sámi and is now considered a racist term

Norwegianization policies were slowly coming to an end, those policies were still in place and the official stand was still to turn the Sámi into ‘decent’ Norwegian citizens.

3.3 The recent end of Norwegianization: 1970 – 1980

By the early 1970s, Norway had become wealthier and, from being a land of emigration, it had become a land of immigration (Vassenden, 1999). It was during this decade that a national production of NFL textbooks started to emerge, even though the choices were rather limited, with most of the authors originating from the International Summer School in Oslo. I found four textbooks for this period, three being for beginners and one for higher levels. It is important to note that it was during that decade that the oldest textbook series was published in 1977. *Ny i Norge* is still running in 2021 after several re-editions³⁵.

It is a European cultural frame rather than a Norwegian one that is used in the beginner’s textbooks, but as the level of language becomes more complex, it becomes more Norwegian oriented. They all have dialogue sequences, followed by exercises and grammatical points, and some authentic texts³⁶ adapted from newspaper articles or stories can be found in two of the textbooks. The Sámi are only introduced in the textbook for higher levels, while the three other textbooks do not mention them.

The textbooks for higher levels *På’n igjen*³⁷ (1979) is made of newspaper articles, followed by a series of questions on the text with activities/exercises on the main text themes. After a first edition in 1975 in which the Sámi only had one article dedicated to them, the second edition of the textbook included two articles presenting the Sámi. The first article describes the will of a Sámi music band to have its music recognized as being Norwegian, because it meant that they would be broadcasted on the air of a famous national radio program. The second article (added in the 1979 edition) presents the consequences of the Norwegianization policies at school on the use of the Sámi language. The underlying themes of both press articles are the discriminations that the Sámi suffered and still experienced in the Norway of the 1970s.

³⁵ *New in Norway*

³⁶ An authentic text in language learning is a non-adapted text in the language learned directly taken from a newspaper, a book or any other written source.

³⁷ *On it again*

The activities/exercises of the first press article feature an excerpt of the UN Declaration of Human Rights and lays emphasis on the obligation of non-discrimination of all the members of society. Worldwide, indigenous and minority movements were struggling for recognition during the 70s, and the reference to the UN Declaration of Human Rights reflects the increased attention given to the Sámi in Norway. The second article, entitled *Samebarn og bøker: Nøden har vart lenge nok* (“The need for books for Sámi children is long overdue”) published in the 1979 edition confirms the attention given to the Sámi by focusing on the education part of the Norwegianization process. The exercise section that follows has a short excerpt in Northern Sámi of a Children’s book of the story *Nilas ja su siida* (“Niels and his siida”³⁸) with a drawing of a Sámi woman crossing a small river with her child and two reindeer. It is the first time a NFSL textbooks published a text in Sámi.

Even though the Norwegianization policies were only lifted in 1959, assimilation policies were still in place in some areas until the 1970s. The reasons why the authors of *På’n igjen*, Inger Helene Arnestad and Anne Hvenekilde, decided to add the second article in the second edition of the textbook are most likely to be found in what was happening in Norway at the time. Mirroring the international events involving minorities and indigenous rights, it was the project of a dam in the municipality of Alta in Northern Norway that triggered a change of attitude towards the Sámi in the 1970s (see the section about the Sámi p.21). The consequences of the Alta protests in the recognition of their rights as an indigenous people were fundamental and marked a change of paradigm in the way that Norwegian society considered the Sámi.

3.4 Where are the Sámi? 1980 – 1990

The early 1980s was also marked by the Alta protests, and it is reflected in the textbook *Norsk for utlendinger*³⁹ 2 published in 1980. The level of the textbook is A2/B1, and unlike the textbooks from the previous decade, each chapter focuses on one aspect of Norwegian society, which was revolutionary at the time (see p.36). An entire chapter is dedicated to the Sámi in this textbook, and the chapter can be considered the first lesson clearly presenting and explaining who the Sámi are to an audience learning Norwegian. Along with where they live and what they do, they are presented for the first time as an indigenous group (*urbefolkning*)

³⁸ A siida is a local Sámi community.

³⁹ *Norwegian for foreigners 2*

and described as people who did not have the same sense of property rights as the Norwegians did, hence hinting at the colonization process (though not using the word). The loss of the language because of the Norwegianization process is explained, and the international cooperation between Sámi and other indigenous groups mentioned at the end. The visual introducing the chapter is a drawing of an old Sámi couple in front of a Sámi tent on what one can assume to be the Finnmark plateau. *Norsk for utlendinger* was written by Åse-Berit and Rolf Strandskogen, who called in a third author for the Sámi chapter, Elisabeth Selj. The chapter is in sharp contrast with the rest of the NFL production back then, as it adopted both in form and content the socio-historic findings of the time and the emerging pedagogic trends of language teaching.

A new list of themes in the presentation of the Sámi reflects the emergence of a new approach to indigenous/minority issues in NFL textbooks. The presentation of the Sámi in *Norsk for utlendinger 2* was unusual for the time, and even for today's standards there is still a certain 'modernity' attached to it. No other NFL textbooks that I consulted from that period mentioned the Sámi, and the other textbooks I found and examined were mostly the sequels or a re-organization of the textbooks published during the previous decade. The level of proficiency goes up to A2-B1 and the chapters are the natural follow-ups of their predecessors, with some aspects of Norwegian society and culture becoming more prominent. Although the third book of the series *Snakker du Norsk?*⁴⁰ (B1, 1981) introduces newspaper headlines as authentic materials, political topics seem to be avoided on purpose, even though it uses the title *Knapt flertall for utbygging i Alta* in one chapter (*Tight majority for the construction in Alta*). It is a clear reference to the Alta protests but there is no information provided.

It is difficult to identify patterns and differences in the presentation of the Sámi for this decade, since the number of textbooks used as samples is limited, with less than 15 NFL textbooks being published. However, *Norsk for utlendinger 2* grounded for the first time an NFL textbook in the social reality of Norway. The reasons why the Sámi are mostly absent from the publications of this decade might be due to three main factors: The "immigration stop" of 1975 could have marked a slow-down in the publication of NFL textbooks (see p.26); the emergence of new pedagogical approaches could have required the authors to reassess their teaching

⁴⁰ *Do you speak Norwegian?*

practices; and the presentation of the Sámi might have been more sensitive because the period 1980-1990 was a turning point in the recognition of the Sámi rights and status. It is also possible that a new generation of authors needed to emerge and integrate the two last main factors in NFSL textbooks.

3.5 A new era: 1990 – 2000

It is during this period that the Sámi political agenda accelerates and that the Sámi struggles for rights recognition produce major political outcomes. Following the Alta protests, a commission was formed that led to the adoption, in 1987, of the Sámi Act and the creation of the Sámi parliament in 1989. Internationally, the ILO convention 169 was ratified by Norway in 1990, and the Sámi acquired a political legitimacy both nationally and internationally (see p.21-23).

The new political settings and the formal recognition of the indigenous status of the Sámi had a strong influence on Sámi representation in NFSL⁴¹ textbooks, and it is during this decade that the Sámi are present the most in the overall NFSL production. The NFSL textbook production really takes off during that decade, with a doubling of the number of NFSL textbooks published compared with the previous decade. It can partly be explained with the increase of incoming immigrants. The decade 1980-1990 saw the number of incoming immigrants reach almost 260,000 (it was 190,000 for the period 1970-1980), with an overall number of immigrants for the decade 1990-2000 almost topping 337,000 (Statistics Norway, 2021). This population required being taught Norwegian and becoming acquainted with the cultural codes of Norwegian society. It also meant economic opportunities for the most important Norwegian publishers.

As new textbook series emerged, their young authors were influenced by the new political situations of the Sámi and the change of paradigm in the teaching of foreign languages, establishing the culture as inseparable from the language it reflects. The capacity to understand and to navigate through the cultural codes of the language studied became a central component of language learning. The adoption in 1998 of the *Curriculum in Norwegian language and*

⁴¹ Norwegian as a Second Language starts to be used during this decade

society for adult immigrant inspired by the CEFR is the direct result of this change of paradigm (see p.29-32).

It is in this context that the publishers Cappelen and Fagbokforlaget emerged as two major NFSL actors during this decade. Cappelen launched three associated textbook series that are still running in 2020, namely *På Vei*⁴² (1999, A1-A2), *Stein på Stein*⁴³ (1998 and 2000, B1) and *Her på Berget*⁴⁴ (1990 and 1995, B2). The series *Klar for Norge*⁴⁵, consisting of four different textbooks from A1 to B1 levels, was launched by Fagbokforlaget, but this series was discontinued in the following decade. The approach in presenting the particularities of Norwegian society differed between the two publishers in their respective textbook series.

While the Cappelen textbook series strictly divided the cultural information into categories and sub-categories (especially for the A2/B1 and B1/B2 levels), Fagbokforlaget operated per themes regrouping cultural and linguistic content. The Sámi are, for example, presented for the first time in *Klar for Norge 1* (A1) in the chapter covering the weather lexicon, while the Cappelen series only mention the Sámi in the A2/B1 *Stein på Stein* in the section *Languages in the North*⁴⁶. In its 2000 edition, *Stein på Stein* introduces the Sámi in the Chapter *Settlement and migration*⁴⁷. The Sámi are presented again in the third book of the series *Klar for Norge* in the chapter *Language(s) and literature*⁴⁸ within the section *Minority language*⁴⁹, while the first edition of *Her på Berget* in 1990 inserts the Sámi in the chapter *People in Society*⁵⁰ in the section *The Sámi, the oldest population in the European North*⁵¹. Five years later, the 1995 edition of *Her på Berget* would rename the chapter *Similarities and differences in the society*⁵².

There are clearly two different approaches to Sámi presentation when we compare the publishers' series: an inclusion of the Sámi all along the learning process from a beginner to an

⁴² *On the way*

⁴³ *Stone by stone*

⁴⁴ *Here on the mountain*

⁴⁵ *Ready for Norway*

⁴⁶ *Språkene i Norden*

⁴⁷ *Bosetting og migrasjon*

⁴⁸ *Språk og litteratur*

⁴⁹ *Minoritetspråk*

⁵⁰ *Meneske i Samfunnet*

⁵¹ *Samene, nordens eldste befolkningsgruppe*

⁵² *Noen likheter og forskjeller i samfunnet*

intermediate level (Fagbokforlaget), and a more segmented and complex presentation of the Sámi from an intermediate level up (Cappelen). In term of content when presenting the Sámi in the overall NFSL production, the Norwegianization process (with a focus on the situation at school) is the most recurrent theme after a brief presentation of who they are. The transnationality of the Sámi is often mentioned, and there is a great emphasis on the Sámi language and Sámi arts, with presentations of poems, joik (a traditional Sámi singing), songs and paintings. *Her på Berget* and *Klar for Norge 3* go as far as to include a poem in Northern Sámi and even include them in their audio CD. The Sámi term *duodji* for the traditional Sámi handicraft is even used, along with *Sameland*⁵³ in the high level textbook *Ikke bare ord*⁵⁴ (1992, Cappelen). On the other hand, the Sámi flag, adopted in 1986, only appears once, and just a few textbooks include a map of the Sámi territories. The introduction of Sámi politics in NFSL textbooks follows the social and political events triggered in the previous decade, and the existence of the Sámi parliament is mentioned in most of the textbooks. The 1995 edition of *Her på Berget*, with an interview of Ole Henrik Magga, the first Sámi parliament president, illustrates the trend. For this period, the textbooks *Her på Berget* are the most comprehensive in presenting the Sámi. It is also the oldest NFSL textbook series representing the Sámi, still running in 2021.

In term of visuals, the photos present the Sámi people in traditional clothes (mostly with the Kautokeino or Karasjok clothing). The age of the people in the pictures ranges from 40 to 70+, apart from a father and his baby in the *Klar for Norge* textbooks (it is the same picture for both KFN 1 and 3). As a background, an outside winter landscape plateau usually dominates, even though one photo shows the 1979 Sámi protests from the Alta conflict in Oslo, and one other an old Sámi woman trying to read the Sámi indications of the information panel of a hospital (illustrating the end of the Norwegianization policies). It is also during this decade that activities and exercises start to be separated from the textbook and included in a separate exercise book. The remaining textbook activities will usually require the learners to reflect about the minorities and indigenous groups in their own country, before writing or presenting it to the class.

⁵³ *The land of the Sámi in Norwegian, referring to their traditional territories*

⁵⁴ *Not just words*

In the table of contents and the authors'/publishers' forewords of all NFL textbooks, the target audience starts to be designated as *for adult foreign speakers*⁵⁵ and the word *Kultur* is finally used, even though it usually refers to foreign groups coming from outside the Norwegian society rather than to the Norwegian culture itself. In a few cases, the name of a section or a chapter can include the term *culture* (*My culture, your culture*⁵⁶; *A multicultural society*⁵⁷) with a textbook specifically aiming at giving the students the 'cultural codes'⁵⁸ needed to understand Norwegian society (*Klar for Norge 1*). The concept of 'culture' seems to be applied to the 'others' and the concept of Norwegian culture substituted by the more institutionalized 'Norwegian society' with Norwegian concepts difficult to translate into English (such as *norske samfunnshold, norske forhold, or samfunnskunskap*). It reflects the inclusion of the concept of a multicultural society in the educational program during the 1990s.

Initiated in 1993, the new curriculum for primary school in 1997 changed. The term *immigrants* is substituted for "Norwegians with a different cultural background" (Olsen, 2019: 134-135), while the 1995 curriculum for Early Childhood Education stated that Norway had a special responsibility for its "own indigenous group of people". The Sámi schools and their curriculum were also established in 1997 (Keskitalo and Olsen, 2019: 109). This representation of immigrants and indigenous people as members of a multicultural society in textbooks and the curriculum correspond to the approach of inclusion argued by the researcher Torjer A. Olsen (2017). Even though they are presented, the representations of minorities are from the majority perspective, still establishing them as the 'Others'. I write more on this topic in the discussion chapter.

A particular pattern is emerging during this decade. The textbooks not presenting the Sámi tend to promote a quicker integration into Norwegian society, whereas textbooks presenting the Sámi tend to promote a deeper comprehension of Norwegian society and culture.

⁵⁵ *For voksne fremmedspråklige*

⁵⁶ *Min kultur, din kultur*

⁵⁷ *Et flerkulturell samsfunn*

⁵⁸ *kulturelle kodene*

3.6 A decade of transition: 2000 – 2010

This decade was a period of transition for the NFSL industry. The overall production of NFSL grows slowly but slightly, and many of the NFSL textbooks start to specialize in different areas for different audiences. As Norway welcomes more immigrants from outside Europe, more textbooks cover the fundamentals of European Culture over Norwegian particularities (especially at beginner level). As the textbooks favor a quick integration to the Norwegian labor market, they require only basic oral and written communication skills, thus focusing on the fundamentals of communication⁵⁹. With the establishment of language certifications recognized by the Norwegian state during the previous decade, mandatory language levels are introduced for applying for a residence permit, for Norwegian citizenship or for particular working positions. Many textbooks in this decade refer not only to the Curriculum in Norwegian with social studies for adult immigrants (revised in 2005), but also state that they fulfill the requirements for the preparation of the language exams and official levels such as *Trinn 3, Språkpermen, Norskprøve 1 and 2* and the *Bergen test*.

On the political stage, the Sámi parliament has been located in a custom-made building since 2000, and the Finnmark Act was adopted by the Norwegian state in 2005, thus strengthening the Sámi rights over the land. The picture of the Sámi parliament begins to appear during this period, but the use of maps depicting the Sámi areas is not widespread. The Sámi flag, officially approved by the Norwegian state in 2003 (making it mandatory for Norwegian municipalities to fly the flag on the Sámi National Day) is also absent from most of the NFSL textbooks. On the other hand, there are more textbooks referring to the Sámi as indigenous people, and the concept and word ‘culture’ is more widely spread, though appearing more in the NFSL textbooks presenting the Sámi.

As during the previous decades, most of the textbooks presenting the Sámi are for higher levels (from A2+ to C1). The Sámi are usually presented as a cultural element and not as a specific new source of lexical content. In the few textbooks introducing the Sámi at a beginner’s level, the textbook *Norsk nå*⁶⁰ (2009) mentions them in the chapter *On a crisscross*⁶¹ where they are

⁵⁹ With the introduction of *Spor 1-2-3*

⁶⁰ *Norway now*

⁶¹ *På kryss og tvers*

introduced through the eyes of a tourist going to Northern Norway, thus repeating the earlier patterns of representations.

The Norwegianization process still occupies an important place (though now omitting historic dates, unlike during the previous decade), with a focus on the 19th century for the higher levels, and with one high-level textbook referring to the responsibility of the Christian church in the forced assimilation of the Sámi into Norwegian society (*Det går bra!*⁶² 1, 2009). It is an important shift compared with the way the Norwegianization policies were talked about in the 1970s and 1980s, when the effects of the Norwegianization policies were still recent. The Sámi protests from the 1970/1980s are barely talked about (except in *Her på Berget*, 2008) and the transnational nature of the Sámi people is not as systematically mentioned as before. Even though the textbooks emphasize the traditional economic activities of the Sámi (especially reindeer herding), they also add that the modern-day Sámi, like all Norwegians, work in all kinds of sectors.

Presentation of Sámi arts is less developed than before and is usually reduced to three topics: joik⁶³ (with the artist Mari Boine as a reference), handicraft (not referred to by its Sámi name *duodji*) and the Sámi-directed film, which was nominated for an Oscar in 1988, *Pathfinder* (*Veiviseren* in Norwegian, *Ofelaš* in Sami). Sámi words such as *lavvo*⁶⁴, *Sápmi* or *Sameland* are rare and only appear in a few A1-A2 level textbooks.

In term of visual content, a winter setting with a reindeer (or a herd) is the most common image associated with the Sámi, who almost always wear the traditional costume. The majority of the Sámi in the pictures are in the age range 40/50 to 70+, but they appear in more active positions than in the previous decade. The Sámi youth are still almost completely absent.

⁶² *It is going good!*

⁶³ Traditional Sámi singings

⁶⁴ A Sámi tent, traditionally a summer dwelling

3.7 Sámi, indigenous people: 2010-2020

Even though the non-specialized NFSL production rose at least 30 per cent compared with the previous decade, the number of textbooks presenting the Sámi paradoxically decreased for the period 2010-2020, even though the general quality content appears to have been fleshed out. In the overall NFSL textbook production, there is a greater focus on the integration to the job market in the main themes and chapters (confirming the trend from the previous decade) with the mention of the textbook levels matching the requirements of an official certification. The reason for this could be a major influx of immigrants during the first half of that period, from a total of 450,000 in 2010 to almost 670,000 in 2015 (Østby, 2016, and NOU 2017: 2).

In the textbooks presenting the Sámi, the Norwegianization process and its consequences are still a recurrent subject, but the introduction of modern Sámi symbols is a new trend. Most of the textbooks introduce now a small map of the Sámi territory and they always mention the transnational nature of the Sámi people. The Sámi flag and the official Sámi day are also presented and often inserted with the most important dates and symbols of Norway (in the textbooks for beginners). The Sámi arts, dominant a couple of decades ago (literature, songs, or paintings), mostly disappear in favor of the Sámi political engagement. For example, in the 2015 edition of the textbook *Her på Berget*, it is the president of the Sámi Parliament Aili Keskitalo who is presented in a one-page portrait, instead of the artist Mari Boine, who had been portrayed since the 2002 edition. The terms *Sápmi* and *Sameland* are now widely used. Most importantly, the term *urfolk* is becoming more widely used when referring to the indigenous status of the Sámi. For this decade, the Sámi are more systematically associated with the elements listed in this paragraph.

It is during this decade that the longest and oldest running NFSL textbook *Ny I Norge* (A1-A2), first published in 1977, eventually introduces a presentation of the Sámi in its 2013 revised edition. Its publisher, Fagbokforlaget, also re-edited another textbook (A1 and A2, *Norsk nå*) that gave more room to the Sámi. The differences with the other publishers is that those textbooks include Sámi topics within something else, and at an early stage of the language learning process, while other textbooks usually have a special section or chapter setting the Sámi topic apart from other subjects. It might mark the beginning of a new trend if the publishers adopted, for the next proficiency levels, the same inclusive strategy.

About the visuals, the age range of the Sámi people on the pictures has widened and includes all categories, even though the Sámi youth is still underrepresented. While all the Sámi are represented in traditional costumes, the biggest photo in *Her på Berget* (2015) shows, for the first time, some Sámi men at work during a reindeer round-up but not wearing a traditional costume or hat. However, there are no textbooks showing Sámi people in casual clothes in ‘modern’ settings, and the four recurrent elements in the visuals of the Sámi sections remain the same as during the previous decades: reindeer, winter landscapes, traditional clothing.

3.8 The image of Mari Boine in the NFSL textbooks

Among some of the Sámi symbols that mark the evolution of Sámi representation over almost 20 years is the presentation of Mari Boine, a popular Sámi artist and an advocate for the recognition of Sámi rights. During this time, Mari Boine is presented as an example of the vitality of the Sámi identity and Sámi art in Norway and is brought forward as a Sámi personality in a few NFSL textbooks. *Her på Berget*, for instance, always cited or presented Mari Boine in its Sámi section, with the exception of its last edition in 2015.

In the two first editions of *Her på Berget* (1990 and 1995), a psalm written by Mari Boine in 1981 and entitled in Norwegian *Sånn ble jeg overbevist (om at samiske var mindreverdige)*⁶⁵ is presented in the Sámi art section (in both Norwegian and Northern Sámi). The psalm intertwines both the effect of Norwegianization at school and the question of Sámi identity. Mari Boine is mentioned with her full Norwegian name, Mari Boine Persen, but is not introduced as a Sámi advocate. In the 1995 edition, it is the presentation of Ole Henrik Magga, the first president of the Sámi parliament, who plays that role. It is interesting to point out that the original Sámi lyric for the Norwegian psalm title ...*om at det samiske var mindreverdige* (that the Sámi are inferior) is not exactly the same in Northern Sámi, with ...*ahte sápmi lei heittot* (that Sápmi is inferior). Even though the translation is by Magnar Mikkelsen and Mari Boine herself (skuvla.info, 2013) it reflects well a time when the concept of a Sámi nation had yet to emerge in the public sphere, with a traditional Sámi territory not understood as such. Published in 1990, it is possibly the first time that the word *Sápmi* appeared in a NFSL textbook. Mari Boine also appeared in the textbook *Klar for Norge 3* in 1999, where she is presented as

⁶⁵ That's how I became convinced (that the Sámi was inferiors)

a Sámi artist and a spokesperson for the Sami. A short Danish psalm written in Sámi, unrelated to Sámi rights and that she interpreted, follows her short portrait (*Dan stuorra, vilges joavkku*, in English *the big white flock*).

The 2002 edition of *Her på Berget* gave more political substance to Mari Boine, presenting her background with more details and highlighting her involvement in the Norwegian public scene (she sang in a church for the 2001 wedding of the Norwegian prince). A whole page is even dedicated to her political activism and her pride to be a Sámi; a half-page picture of her looking up at the horizon, in a reflexive and passive state, illustrates the section. The visual drastically changed in the 2008 edition, with a full picture of her on stage in an active position, singing and standing up straight with one hand on the microphone while the other is raised in a fist. The text is divided into three parts: her origins, the music she does and her pride and responsibility as a Sámi. While the 2002 page dedicated to her activism was removed, new sentences dedicated to Sámi activism were added in the general Sámi section, with the addition of a visual from the Alta protest events and the appearance of the term Sápmi.

Politically more in the background in 2008, Mari Boine completely disappears in the 2015 edition of *Her på Berget* and is replaced by a full-page portrait of Aili Keskitalo, the president of the Norwegian Sami parliament at the time. The Sámi are also identified for the first time as indigenous (*urfolk*) in this later edition. The last time Mari Boine is presented in the decade 2010-2020 is in 2018 in the first edition of *God I Norsk*, where she is described as a famous Sámi singer who sang at the royal wedding in 2001. The picture illustrating the short text shows her in traditional clothing and singing at the royal wedding, surrounded by the wedding guests.

3.9 Summary of the data results

It was during WW2 that the first Norwegian linguists wrote the first books for foreigners to learn Norwegian. After the war, the Sámi people were introduced in a few lines in 1947 and 1966, but a real presentation of the Sámi to the learners did not occur before 1975 and 1979, when a high-level textbook introduced them through two different press articles. The first comprehensive presentation of the Sámi occurred in 1980, in a textbook that was pedagogically ahead of its time compared with the other NFSL textbooks. During the following decade, in 1980-1990, NFSL textbook production was low and did not introduce the Sámi. In the late 80s and through the 90s however, NFSL textbook production began to become a category of its own and different publishing houses started to launch their own textbooks series. The 1990s was a crucial decade for the NFSL discipline and for the representation of the Sámi in textbooks.

The historical and sociological context in Norway through the 1990s brought the main Norwegian publishers to create more NFSL content in a political context that had become more favorable to the representation of minorities and indigenous peoples. The pedagogical revolution in modern language teaching had reached Norway and gradually established that a language needed to be learnt alongside its culture. Combined with the growing presence of a permanent population of immigrants, the authors and publishers were encouraged to give a vision of Norway that was more representative of its society. The creation of the *Curriculum in Norwegian Language and Society for adult immigrants*⁶⁶ in 1998 was a consequence of the need for institutionalization and provided official guidelines for the learning process of the language and culture in the NFSL field. The Sámi were not directly included in the curriculum but could be associated with some of the categories that the curriculum presented. The following decade, 2000-2010, confirmed the presence of the Sámi in NFSL textbooks as becoming more systematic and gave them more political agency. Finally, the last decade 2010-2020 followed the trend and associated the Sámi with recognizable symbols such as the flag or Sámi day, but not in the majority of the newly published NFSL textbooks.

Before discussing the findings that emerged from the data results section, the next section will put in perspective the trends that took shape from the textbook analysis, with the thoughts of a

⁶⁶ Læreplan i norsk og samfunnskunnskap for voksne innvandrere

few authors. After a pre-analysis of the overall production of textbooks, I contacted seven authors that I chose for their representation of the Sámi people in their textbooks. They provided me with information about their work and accepted to answer specific questions on the way they decided to represent the Sámi, and I decided to include their perspective as a transition between the data results and the discussion of the findings. Their thoughts show some of the process at work when elaborating on the content of a language textbook and illustrate the limitation of presenting a minority group of people in a book whose main aim is to teach the language of the majority. As I wrote earlier, although the sample of authors contacted is too limited to draw generalities, their reflections on their work is, in my opinion, valuable to see the differences between what the author wants to present and what emerges from the finished textbook. I also believe that asking the authors of the textbooks is in line with the decolonial perspective that I tried to adopt in my research, where I consider that the differences in subjectivities, narratives, identities and beliefs participate in the production of knowledge (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018).

3.10 The thoughts of the authors

A textbook is never completely neutral and is the interplay of different actors (Canale, 2016). Publishers, authors, designers, editors, and photographers are some of the many actors who need to find a compromise in order to come up with a finished textbook. A textbook does not exist in a vacuum and we saw that the NFSL textbooks needed to respect the guidelines of both the CEFR and the Curriculum in Norwegian Language and Society. In Norway, it is the task of the editors to assemble a textbook under the authority of the publishers. The publishers have their own pool of editors specialized in different fields, and they are the ones who work closely with the authors. The publisher commission the authors to create the contents of the textbook and they work under the supervision of an editor. The number of authors working on NFSL is usually between two to three people, each of them in charge of a specific aspect of the learning (grammar, cultural content, text etc.). The authors meet several times and discuss the overall progress of the textbook with the approval or suggestions of the editor. From the answers of the questionnaires I sent, it seems that the publishers place a great deal of trust in the authors in Norway and do not interfere much in their work. Nonetheless, the authors need to work with a constraint of space and the general textbook layout that their editor supervises.

For the most part, the authors have an academic background that combines language and cultural studies. Even though the publishers can consult experts on some particular topics to provide the authors with accurate and updated information, the authors mostly rely on their own knowledge, specialized publications and the internet. “The fact and information in those textbooks is meant to be general knowledge, not a specialized professional knowledge” explained Hildegunn Klippen, one of the author of the B1 level textbooks *God i Norsk 2*, “and the goal remains to learn Norwegian”. There is no legal requirement to consult experts in the representation of the Sámi in the NFSL. “It is the publisher responsibility to make sure that their publications are accurate” stated Berit Sara S. Buljo, adviser at the Sámi parliament, when asked if there was a collaboration between the parliament and the publishers. “If we were contacted by the publishers” she followed, “we can gladly put them in contact with experts”.

In the NFSL textbooks for adults, the Sámi are indirectly a part of the main curriculum. Introducing the Sámi in that context belongs to the authors and the publishers. Before the existence of the 1998 curriculum, it was, for example, the will of the authors E. Ellingsen and K. MacDonald to introduce the Sámi in the 1990 first edition of *Her på Berget*. According to Ellingsen, they presented the Sámi because they believe that the “Sámi have a natural and important place in Norwegian history, no matter the trends of the times”.

“An author always needs to keep in mind the different possible outcomes of an introduction as it can be tendentious, and not desirable at all costs” insisted Gølin Kaurin Nilsen, one of the authors of the publisher Fagbokforlaget. “When introducing the Sámi” she says, “I try to do it in a way that does not alienate the Sámi language and traditions, in a respectful and dignified manner”. In her textbooks, the introduction of the Sámi is implicit and part of a larger informative context. However, she added that if she were to revise some of her previous work she would prefer to make a statement and have a section on the traditions and especially the languages of the Sámi, an “especially interesting topic in a language textbook”.

Representing culture brings about the question of the pertinence of presentation if it cannot be done properly. In my research, I came across some visuals of Sámi people that were out of context and not explained. For example, while the Sámi are not introduced in the A1/A2 textbook *God i Norsk*, the accompanying exercise book uses the visual of a sketched Sámi man in a Northern Sámi costume to symbolize the cold on the map of Norway. “It is meant as a

simple illustration for a particular place” explains Hildegunn Klippen, who only participated in the elaboration of the B1 sequel, “We could illustrate in the same way the region of Sørlandet with a boat or Oslo with a castle”. About the absence of Sámi presentation in many NFSL textbooks with an A1/A2 level, she points out that “ethnic groups and minorities do not have their own theme in the curriculum” and that a beginner level could make it difficult to present them”. Gølin Kaurin Nilsen, on the other hand, does not think that the proficiency level is an obstacle in presenting the Sámi, as she introduced them in her textbooks for beginners.

In the NFSL textbooks, the authors can decide to present the Sámi in an implicit way or in an explicit/semi-explicit way (see p.59). The proficiency level can be a factor of implicit presentation, but not only, according to Nilsen, “it could also be a result of cultural myopia”, which is a form of ethnocentrism used when people cannot objectively analyze something close to them because they consider that their own culture is relevant and applicable to all situations and to all people. “I always saw the Sámi as a part of the Norwegian society, not as a question of us and them” she says, but she admits that “the legal grounds achieved by the Sámi over the past 40 years can make some authors more easily overlook the past and present Sámi situation”. She added that “this lack of consciousness could be a result of oneself being a part of the systematic oppression of the Sámi”. Adept of an explicit/semi-explicit approach since her first textbooks, Elisabeth Ellingsen insisted, on the other hand, on the long struggle that the Sámi had to go through during the Alta protests, paralleling the struggles of many other international minority movements during that period. “My academic field is history” she said, before adding that the Sámi struggles of the 1970s had a strong impact on her since she is from Northern Norway. It made me wonder if the personal background of the authors and where they came from in Norway influenced their views when presenting Norwegian culture in their textbooks.

Elisabeth Selj, who wrote the Sámi section of *Norsk for Utlendinger* in 1979 is from Oslo and believes that the origin of the authors has nothing to do with their representation of Norwegian society. “It is the academic and professional background of the authors that play the major part” she says. Mette Horn Elieson, one of the authors of *Klar for Norge 3* (1999), also thinks that the origin of the authors does not play a role in the representation of the Sámi and brings up another point when it comes to the professional background of the authors. In her case, when she wrote *Klar for Norge* along with two other authors, all of them had a “long experience” in

the teaching of Norwegian language and culture to minorities. “It definitely influenced us to present a Norwegian society as wide and diverse as possible, since we were already aware of the cultural diversity of Norway thanks to our jobs” she remembers. The fact however that the author of *Her på Berget* is from Northern Norway and the only author who presented the Sámi since her first textbooks and even the Kven, a minority virtually absent from all other NFSL textbooks, is in my opinion not incidental. “It is possible” says Hildegunn Klipen when asked about the influence in the textbooks of the authors’ origin, “that even though we [the authors of *God i Norsk*] consider the Sámi as an important part of the Norwegian society, an author from Northern Norway might be more conscious of that relation, but it is difficult to say” she concluded.

The *raison d’être* of this section was to show that the authors of textbooks were not a homogenous community and that the making of a textbook is the result of a social process. However, it also shows that there are contradictions between discourses and practices in the representation of the Sámi in NFSL textbooks. The authors highlight the fact that the Sámi are part of Norwegian society and history, but one of the main findings of this research shows that the Sámi are rarely a part of the chapters about the history of Norway. It also shows that some authors of NFSL, even when they have good intentions, can rely too heavily on the epistemology of the majority they belong to when they present the Sámi. The representation of a stereotyped Sámi man to symbolize the cold should not be placed on the same level as a stereotyped Norwegian in a textbook when we know that the Norwegianization process used schools and education as the main vectors for assimilating the Sámi (Jensen, 2005: 53-74). As it was written earlier in this thesis, a textbook follows a curriculum that passes on the political and social norms of the society it comes from (Pingel, 2010: 7). It also corresponds to the strategy of inclusion presented earlier in which the indigenous culture is presented on the terms of the majority (Olsen, 2017).

Chapter 4

Discussion of the main findings

In this chapter, I present the answers to my research questions. I discuss how the Sámi are generally represented in the NFSL textbooks and I list a series of factors that explain when and why the Sámi are introduced in the NFSL textbooks.

4.1 How are the Sámi represented in NFSL textbooks?

To answer this question, I examined the way the Sámi were inserted in the general layout of the textbooks and the contents and regularities of the Sámi presentations.

4.1.1 An implicit and explicit presentation

The concepts of *implicit* and *explicit* presentation in the field of languages originally referred to the learning of grammar. Arthur S. Reber, a cognitive psychologist, was one of the first to propose the concept of implicit and explicit learning in grammar in 1967. While the implicit learning means that the learners acquire the knowledge unconsciously, unaware of the grammar structure, the explicit learning involves an effort and a studying strategy. Those concepts extended later to any form of learning and they continue to set off debates over which approach is the most beneficial to a learning process (Straka, 2009). In the field of language textbooks, an implicit approach (also referred to by the authors as an *en passant* approach) is used when an element is inserted in a succession of other elements, while an explicit approach sets aside an element from the others, with a large section or a chapter of its own. In the NFSL textbooks, the presentation of the Sámi can be implicit, semi-explicit and explicit, depending on the proficiency level. The form in which the Sámi are introduced is always a declarative text, never a dialogue.

When the Sámi are presented in an implicit way, the textbooks are usually labelled for learners with an A1/A2 level. With this approach, the theme of the weather and Northern Norway are the most common entry points for a presentation of the Sámi. The weather connects cold temperatures to the Sámi, tightening them to Northern Norway. In other textbooks, Northern Norway can be used to present the Sámi as one of the particularities of the region and sometimes through the eyes of a tourist. That means that the textbook adopts a “tourist viewpoint”, which occurs when a society is depicted in a positive and appealing way, with an emphasis on landmarks and domestic travels (Hilliard, 2014: 244). A tourist viewpoint derives from the

concept of “tourist gaze” developed in tourism research and refers to ‘gazing at the other’ from the perspective of a tourist (Kramsch and Vinall, 2015).

Textbooks from B1 to C1+ adopt on the other hand either an explicit or a semi-explicit approach, where the Sámi can have a long section or a chapter, from one to three pages. I call semi-explicit a long section that could also qualify as being implicit, since it is a part of a greater theme. However, I consider it as semi-explicit in this research because it is too different from the implicit approach adopted in many other NFSL textbooks. When the presentation is semi-explicit, the Sámi are usually a part of a chapter about the multiculturalism in Norway, in which the immigrant population, and sometimes the five national minorities, are also introduced. The semi-explicit and explicit approaches almost always describe the situation of the Sámi from the past to the present and talk about the Norwegianization process. A portrayal of, or a reference to, a famous Sámi can accompany the presentation.

Those approaches have positive and negative points. The advantage of an implicit approach is that it associates the Sámi from an early stage of the language/culture learning and makes them part of Norwegian society. The shortcoming is that it can become somehow artificial and take the characteristics of a photo album. Nevertheless, it can be argued that a foreign language textbook for beginners has to induce a tourist gaze, since the learners need to feel like continuing to learn the language and culture of the textbook, hence transforming it into the “panoptic vision of the National Geographic” (Kramsch, 2018: 23). The explicit approach on the other hand can take the learner more in-depth, providing nuances and avoiding generalizations, but it usually fails to associate the Sámi to the Norwegian national narratives. The fact that the Sámi are often introduced in the chapter about the cultural diversity in Norway rather than in chapters focusing on history exclude them *de facto* from the national history. If the Sámi are somehow included in those chapters, it is for the most advanced levels of proficiency, but it remains marginal all along the timeline of the Sámi representation in NFSL textbooks. Another section of this chapter offers more perspective on the matter.

4.1.2 The general representation of the Sámi

When the presentation of the Sámi occurs in early proficiency levels, it remains factual and focuses on features that follow the development of the Sámi rights through time. Those main features are the indigenous status of the Sámi, their transnationality, their distinct language/culture, and the fact that they have their own flag and parliament (as described in the basic curriculum for asylum seekers). The discriminations suffered by the Sámi during the Norwegianization process can be mentioned at a beginner level, but it is not automatic. In the more advanced levels, those features are more developed, with the addition of the Sámi arts and politics. They provide more details on the Norwegianization process and focus particularly on the consequences for the Sámi children in schools. A recent trend lays more emphasis on the early phase of the Norwegianization process than on the last period, and the Alta protests, viewed as opening a new chapter for the rights of the Sámi, is often not developed. In parallel, the place of Sámi politics in the textbooks has increased since the late 1990s and slowly phased out some of the space previously given to the Sámi arts. This replacement shows a politicization of the Sámi sections. The three following sections cover the most general tendencies in the NFSL textbooks.

4.1.3 From a group to an indigenous people

The use and evolution of the two Norwegian terms to refer to indigenous people emerged as lagging behind the trends in the national curriculum (see p.21). In the NFSL textbooks, *urbefolkning* was used for the first time in 1980 and the term *urfolk* in 1999, nine years after it was introduced by the ILO convention 169. The use of the terms, however, did not become widespread in the NFSL textbooks right away, as more than 10 years was necessary for both terms to be used a second time. Many of the textbooks since the 1990s refer to the Sámi as *urbefolkning*, but some still describe them as a minority population or decide altogether not to define their status. Since the early 2010s, the term *Urfolk* has been more used but it did not overcome *urbefolkning* in 2020. The situation is most likely to change with the upcoming NFSL curriculum, since it directly presents the Sámi as *urfolk* in its draft (the current curriculum for asylum seekers refer to the Sámi in its teaching material as *urbefolkning*). The current national school curriculum refers to the Sámi as *Urfolk* since it was revised in 2017 (*Overordnet del – verdier og prinsipper for grunnopplæringen*, Royal Resolution, § 1-5).

4.1.4 Otherness(es)

The concept of otherness is a ‘discursive process by which a dominant in-group (‘Us’) constructs one or many dominated out-groups (‘them’)’ (Staszak, 2008: 2). ‘Otherness’ is not to be confused with the concept of ‘othering’, which involves an attribution of negative characteristics to the out-groups to set them even further apart. ‘Othering’ shifts the dichotomy of ‘*Us and Them*’ to ‘*Us Versus Them*’ (Powell, 2017). In some countries with a colonial past, some indigenous population are not even ‘othered’ and can be ignored altogether (Olsen, 2017: 72). In the NFSL textbooks, despite a few exceptions, the general trend shows an ‘otherness’ of the Sámi from Norwegian society.

It is not surprising to establish a degree of ‘otherness’ for the Sámi in a foreign language textbook, since it needs to explain that the Sámi have a language, culture and political institutions different from the rest of the population. The ‘otherness’ of indigenous people is an element that they had to claim to be considered human and to enjoy indigenous rights (Smith, 2012). I would refer to that type of ‘otherness’ as an ‘inclusive otherness’. However, I would use the expression ‘exclusive otherness’ when the Sámi are not presented in the chapters dedicated to the Norwegian history, or when the Norwegianization process is only talked about in the Sámi section, without replacing them in the national historical context. While the inclusive otherness is based on their own specificities, not excluding them from the Norwegian narratives, the exclusive otherness, on the other hand, is marked by their absence from the national narratives by not incorporating them in the Norwegian chronology. It mirrors the findings of Mathisen on the Sámi being constructed as the others (2001) and the findings of Eriksen on the image of the Sámi in Norwegian textbooks (2018). The fact that the Sámi are usually placed in the same chapter presenting the minorities and the immigration in Norway reinforces this ‘otherness’ and goes as far as indirectly presenting them as an example of successful integration. I go through that characteristic of Sámi representation later in the chapter.

4.1.5 The homogeneity

The Sámi society in the NFSL textbooks is usually presented as homogenous, even though a significant part of the recent NFSL publications recently began to highlight the differences within. We observe the same trends in other textbooks when they present Sámi and indigenous

issues, where “diversity and complexity tend to disappear or at least downplay” (Olsen, 2017:84). The diversity and complexity of culture are, however, not the primary purpose of a language textbook, which remains to use a language correctly (Pingel, 2010: 76).

In those homogeneous representations, the traditional livelihood based on reindeer-herding embodies all the Sámi traditional livelihoods, as the mountain/reindeer Sámi culture is implied as ‘the’ traditional Sámi way of life. The other Sámi communities such as the Sea Sámi are virtually not mentioned. The Sámi languages are in majority described as ‘one’ and their diversities overlooked, although some textbooks start to differentiate the different Sámi languages. Eriksen identified a “conceptual hegemony of the Northern Sámi” in her research (Eriksen, 2017: 61) and I observed the same phenomenon in the NFSL textbooks. Finally, the homogeneity based on the Northern Sámi culture is reflected the most in the visuals accompanying the texts. The Sámi traditional clothing on the pictures is mostly a different variant of the ‘Kautokeino’ Northern Sámi costume, while there is a great diversity of colors and style in the *gákti*, the Northern Sámi name for the traditional costume. Eriksen encountered the same patterns of representation in her research, arguing that the textbooks she examined “failed to recognize the Sámi as an heterogenous category” (Eriksen, 2017: 61).

4.1.6 The visuals

Virtually all the Sámi people in the textbooks are represented in their *gákti*, the traditional Sámi costume. While it is true that the *gákti* is an important identity marker of material culture that means more than a *bunad*⁶⁷ to a Norwegian, the Sámi do not wear it every day (Hernes, 2017). In most of the textbooks, the Sámi are usually posing in Sámi costume, in a passive position and from a tourist’s viewpoint. The only exception is in the 2015 edition of *Her på Berget*, which uses a picture of three Sámi men not wearing the *gákti* while working in a reindeer enclosure. Confirming the tourist viewpoint trend is the fact that the same picture is sold in souvenir shops as a postcard with the title *Arctic Norway*⁶⁸. According to the publishers, the pictures in NFSL textbooks are usually taken from a common pool of photographs, and not ordered specifically for the textbooks. It is in line with the general trend in textbooks, where in

⁶⁷ The traditional Norwegian costume

⁶⁸ Author: Trym Ivar Bergsmo

the case of minority groups, they are often “neglected” even though illustrations can foster rooted prejudices. (Pingel, 2010: 48).

The most common elements associated with the Sámi in the visuals are always located outside. The wilderness, the snow, the reindeer, and the snowmobile are the recurring elements. The introduction of symbolic visuals, such as the Sámi parliament, the Sámi flag, and a map of Sápmi became common only in the late 2000s. The average age range of the Sámi in the photos for the entire NSFL production is between 40 and 70+, and when young people are depicted, they are usually a part of a larger family and do not often exist as individuals. There are also no visuals of Sámi people living in an urban setting, which does not reflect the fact that many Sámi also live outside of Sápmi and in cities (Nyseth and Pedersen, 2014; Gjerpe, 2013).

The NFSL textbooks do not use texts essentializing the Sámi culture, but they apply a visual that does. The pictures tend to freeze the Sámi in time and present them in situations out of the ordinary for the learners and often for the Sámi themselves. For example, the only visuals of the textbook series *Stein på Stein* for the period 2000-2014 show a large group of Sámi people in front of a church and wearing their ‘Sunday’ traditional gákti for a wedding or a religious ceremony. In other textbooks, Sámi people pose in a traditional costume, in front of a *lávvo* (the traditional Sámi tent), in a friendly and passive manner. Otherwise, and more generally, it is the image of a rural Sámi man in the setting of a traditional activity, usually involving reindeer herding, that dominates the overall production of NFSL textbooks.

4.2 What are the factors influencing the representation of Sámi people in NFSL textbooks?

This research identified five main factors influencing Sámi representation in NFSL textbooks: the proficiency level, the curriculum, the promotion of multiculturalism, the social objective of the textbooks and the presentation of Northern Norway. A section on the presentation of Northern Norway would have been too short to present it separately. Presenting Northern Norway was the first point of entry to introduce the Sámi in the first NFSL textbooks and it is still the case in some textbooks today. The association of Sámi and Northern Norway is logical, since the majority of the Sámi live in the region of Troms and Finnmark, and it illustrates the tourist viewpoint seen on p.60, in which the Sámi can be represented through a touristic and folkloric perspective.

4.2.1 The proficiency level

The proficiency level is presented first because it is a characteristic that usually determines the introduction of the other factors. Many textbooks from a B1 to a C1 level introduce the Sámi, but they tend to be overlooked in the levels for beginner. One of the reasons might be that the authors/publishers believe that an A1/A2 level is too insufficient to introduce the Sámi and that they would rather not mention them than presenting them poorly. The preparation for a language certification could also explain why the Sámi are presented more frequently at more advanced levels, since the national exams in Norwegian language and culture start at an A2+/B1 level. In that case, learning who the Sámi are in a B1+ textbook is strategically more relevant than in an A1/A2 textbook. Since there is no national exam at those levels, a citizenship application, a residence permit, or a work permit are not at stake.

The analysis of the textbooks based on the three different levels of literacy created in 2012 (*Spor 1-2-3*, see p.31) confirms that the proficiency level is a factor of non-representation. Even though there are exceptions, the Sámi are almost never mentioned in the *Spor 1* and the few *Spor 2* only textbooks. The cultural contents of the textbooks labelled *Spor 1* are especially limited since their goal is to give the learners rapid access to the basics of Norwegian language and values. The section about the objective of the textbooks elaborates more on the matter.

4.2.2 The curriculum

In the NFSL field, the main curriculum does not directly refer to the Sámi but implies that they should be included in a larger theme (see p.31-32). In the complement curriculum for asylum seekers, they are included in the chapter *Democracy and Welfare society*⁶⁹. The draft of the revised curriculum that will be launched in the summer 2021 is based on the asylum seeker plan and directly refers to the Sámi in the module *Norway before and now*⁷⁰. Several authors mentioned the curriculum as one of the reasons why the Sámi are introduced in their textbooks and not in some others. Since the language certifications in Norway are based on the curriculum, the publishers and the authors need to adapt in their textbooks the themes of the curriculum into cultural learning units while respecting the guidelines of the language proficiency curriculum. Textbooks are commercially situated, and if they do not follow the curriculum, they will not sell (Chapelle, 2016).

After cross-checking the data analysis and the authors' questionnaires, the curriculum appears to play an important part in the representation of the Sámi. However, the curriculum provides little guidance in term of Sámi presentation and it is ultimately the decision of the authors and publishers to decide on the way they are introduced. Some authors formally stick to the curriculum by only presenting the minimum required for the official language certification, while some other set their own criteria and go beyond the curriculum for the levels B1 and B2. A few authors write a Sámi presentation past the level B2 that could also be used in the textbooks following the national curricula.

⁶⁹ In Norwegian, *Demokrati og verdier*

⁷⁰ *Norge før og nå*

4.2.3 The promotion of multiculturalism in Norway

It is usually at a B1/B2 level that the Sámi are presented through a main theme presenting multiculturalism in Norway. Norwegian nationalism is historically based on ethnicity (Hylland Eriksen, 2013: 4) and the general trend was to present the Sámi as a part of a multiethnic Norwegian society. In the early 1990s however, the concept of a multiethnic society developed into a multicultural society because of an increasing number of immigrants, which made Norway much more complex to divide according to ethnic criteria. The formal recognition of the Sámi as indigenous people with the ILO 169 and the recognition of national minorities in the 1990s also participated in the building of the concept of a multicultural Norway.

A multicultural society refers to a society where different cultures co-exist, and where “culture should be regarded as a set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group [...] and art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs” (Unesco, 2001). A multiethnic society, on the other hand, refers to a society made of different population groups composed of people with a shared descent or cultural background (Chandra, 2012). The concept of a multicultural society was reflected in the 1995 curriculum of the Early Childhood Education, which stated that Norway had a special responsibility for its “own indigenous group of people”. The new curriculum for primary school in 1997 also changed the term “immigrants” to “Norwegians with a different cultural background” (Olsen, 2019: 134-135). The same year, the Sámi schools and their curricula were established (Keskitalo and Olsen, 2019: 109). In the political discourse of the late 2000s, however, the concept of a multicultural society became less used and was substituted by the word *diverse* to describe the population’s composition. The term *multiculturalism* is now even avoided for ‘connoting segregation and misguided tolerance’ (Hylland Eriksen, 2013: 7).

The consequences of the concept of a multicultural society (especially in the textbook series) is that the Sámi were ‘moved’ in some textbooks to a chapter presenting the cultural diversity of the new Norwegian society. Presented alongside the immigrants’ population and sometimes the five national minorities, the laying-out of those associations has two implications. The first implication is that the Sámi are presented as being different from the Norwegians, which we saw is partly true with the concept of inclusive otherness. The second implication brings forward the Sámi as proof that Norway has always been a multicultural society, indirectly

setting up the Sámi as an example of successful integration even though the Norwegianization process is not eluded. When combined with the essentializing Sámi visuals, it leaves the impression that a successful integration into Norwegian society does not mean abandoning their own traditions/values to become a part of Norwegian society. The theme of multiculturalism and its promotion is a factor of Sámi representation that started in the 1990s and is still found in NFSL textbooks at the time of this research, even though the national curriculum partly moved away from it, substituting it with the concept of diversity (Olsen and Andreassen, 2018).

In NFSL textbooks, the Sámi are inserted in a liberal type of multiculturalism that is based on treating the people from different cultural groups equally and by respecting their elementary rights. Popular in the 1990s and early 2000s, this approach to multiculturalism intends to transform the way “dominant majorities have treated minorities within their boundaries” (Iverson, 2015:3). A critical approach to liberal multiculturalism is that the culture of the people that meet the requirements for elementary rights are assumed to be ‘homogenous and bounded’ (Iverson, 2015:4). It means that the different cultural minorities are not expected “to challenge the basic legitimacy of the state” but need to be the “good migrant” or “indigenous person” that the dominant society expect them to be (Iverson, 2015:4). When the Sámi are presented in a chapter about multiculturalism in Norway, alongside the immigrant populations and the national minorities, it indirectly negates them their rights as indigenous people, the most fundamental of them being their right to self-determination. In that case, multiculturalism “erases the specific and unique location of Aboriginal people as indigenous to the land by equating them with multicultural and immigrants’ groups” (St. Denis, 2011: 311). The fact that multiculturalism would “diminish the importance and need for Aboriginal content and perspectives” (St. Denis, 2011: 313) is a position that have been defended by many researchers in indigenous studies (Curthoys, 2000). The promotion of multiculturalism as a factor of Sámi representation that indirectly negates them their indigenous rights is one of the key findings of my research.

4.2.4 The textbook objectives: integration or comprehension?

The researcher Torjer A. Olsen stated that “education and the educational systems have historically been part of a state strategy and practice of colonization and assimilation” (2020: 28). Even though the situation has changed in Norway, an official curriculum could still reflect such an assimilationist strategy in a hidden curriculum. In the case of the curriculum for a Second Language textbook, however, it explicitly and specifically aims at assimilating the learner of the second language into the society he/she now lives in. Nowadays, the term and concept of ‘integration’ is preferred over the term ‘assimilation’, as it entails an equal incorporation into the society. The term ‘assimilation’ implies an abandonment of one’s cultural values rather than the adoption of the majority’s values, and for indigenous people, assimilation means settlement (Sissons 2005: 88).

One of the recurrent factors influencing the presentation of the Sámi in the NFSL textbooks seems to be the targeted level of integration into Norwegian society. Generalized during the 1990s, the table of contents and the forewords of the authors/publishers list and describe the objectives of the textbook for their audience. Two main trends emerge when we compare the tables of contents and the forewords of the textbooks presenting and not presenting the Sámi. The Sámi tend to be more present when the main objective of the textbooks is to make the learners *comprehend* Norwegian society, whereas they are underrepresented in the textbooks whose aim is the *integration* of the learners into Norwegian society. The textbooks for the categories *Spor 1* and *2* aimed, for example, at quickly integrating the immigrants to the work market of Norwegian society.

We can observe those patterns in most of the textbooks published during the past 30 years, with a regularity emerging during the 2000s, probably due to the revised versions of the curriculum and the adoption of the 2003 introduction law. Whereas textbooks presenting the Sámi tend to promote a deeper comprehension of Norwegian society and culture, the textbooks not presenting the Sámi favor a quicker integration into Norwegian society, focusing on the fundamentals of the language over the particularities of Norwegian society. Consequently, the textbooks presenting the Sámi have a tendency to promote a cultural-psychological integration over a structural integration, i.e. linked to employment and income (Barstad and Molstad, 2020: 42-48).

Chapter 5

Final remarks

In this thesis, I researched the representation of the Sámi in the NFSL language textbooks in Norway. To do so, I also explored the emergence and the beginnings of the Norwegian as a Foreign and Second language discipline in Norway. I conducted research looking at the overall NFSL production since the 1940s until the late 2010s, and I presented the general state of Sámi representation and the main factors leading NFSL textbooks to present the Sámi in their editions. I analyzed the evolution of the representation of the Sámi decade by decade and identified the main trends that I examined and discussed in their socio-historic context.

I determined that the Sámi representation in the NFSL textbooks' production was marginal until the 1990s, when the combined meeting of new pedagogical trends in language teaching, indigenous rights recognition and the emergence of a multicultural society led to a greater representation of the Sámi in NFSL textbooks.

I argue in this research that there are five main factors of Sámi representation in the NFSL textbooks. The first one is the level of proficiency; as the language level becomes more complex it becomes more likely that the Sámi are presented. The second one is the curriculum; if the Sámi are presented beyond an A2 level, it is because they are partly introduced in the curriculum for asylum seekers, otherwise it seems that it is the decision of the authors and publishers to include them or not. The third factor is the promotion of multiculturalism; when a textbook has a chapter or a section about multiculturalism in Norway, the Sámi are presented as an example of cultural diversity (I will come back to the promotion of multiculturalism in the next paragraph). The fourth factor is the social objective of the textbook; while the Sámi tend to be represented in the textbooks promoting an overall comprehension of Norwegian society, they are usually underrepresented in the textbook promoting a rapid integration. The last factor is the presentation of Northern Norway, which is used as a point of entry to present the Sámi. The will of the publishers and the authors to represent the Sámi might also be a factor of representation but there is a lack of data to support this view, even though the power of decision of the authors came out through the research as more important than initially thought. The NFSL cultural curriculum between 1998 and June 2021 is in fact vague enough about the Sámi for the authors to interpret it in different ways. However, while an inclusion of the representation of the Sámi also emerged in some NFSL textbooks, this research did not come

across a textbook adopting an *indigenization* approach, in which the representation is made on indigenous terms. It might change in July 2021, when the NFSL curriculum should be revised and lead to the emergence of strategies of *indigenization* in NFSL textbooks in the decade to come (see p.32).

One of the key findings of this thesis was the promotion of multiculturalism as a factor of Sámi (re)presentation. The increase of NFSL textbook production in the late 1980s and early 1990s is concomitant with the advent of the concept of ‘multicultural society’ in Norway (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli, 2014:389-428). The inclusion of this multiculturalism in the NFSL publications at that time reflected the purpose of the textbooks to facilitate the integration of the immigrants to that new Norwegian society. Based on the equality of rights, the concept of multicultural society became criticized in the early 2000s, “driven by fear amongst the majority group that the accommodation of diversity has ‘gone too far’ and was threatening their way of life” (Kymlicka, 2010:32). It was a series of events through the 2000s, symbolized by the 9/11 attacks in the United States, that initiated the backlash against multiculturalism in many European countries (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010:4-5). In Norway, the change of political discourse was illustrated by the adoption of the Introduction Law in 2003, which created, not only rights, but duties to the newcomers. The recognition of the national minorities in 1999 and the acknowledgment of specific Sámi rights, such as the Finnmark Act in 2005, were also the contributing factors in using the term ‘diversity’ over the concept of multiculturalism (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli, 2014: 401-405). On the opposite side of the general political discourse, it seems that most of the NFSL publications kept using the narratives connected to the concept of multiculturalism. It might be related to the fact that the NFSL discipline emerged as a discipline of its own at the same time as the concept of a multicultural society did, and that it had become an important component of many of the textbooks’ cultural frameworks. Combined with other socio-historic factors, it was the advent of a multicultural Norwegian society that allowed the Sámi to be better (re)presented in NFSL textbooks, but the permanence of that concept in the NFSL textbooks might be, paradoxically, the reason why they are not explicitly (re)presented as a people with their own rights. It is possible that a future change of narrative articulated around the concept of diversity rather than multiculturalism is needed for the NFSL textbooks to switch over an indigenization approach to Sámi representation.

Towards the end of my research, I contacted an author of advanced level textbooks, Cecilie Lønn, to enquire about her thoughts on the representation of the Sámi, and she eventually sent me an excerpt concerning the Sámi from her upcoming textbook. In her new textbook, she introduces the Norwegianization process through the eyes of a Sámi child who is experiencing the beginning of the assimilation policies and the birth of the Norwegian nation narrative. The text is entitled *Enough is enough*⁷¹ and is partly a dialogue. This representation of the Sámi through the field of emotions integrated in the nation history brings an indigenous perspective that I would qualify as fitting an indigenization strategy. This change of viewpoint is important since I argue in my master's thesis that the Sámi are usually separated from the national narrative by an 'excluded otherness'.

In this research, I also argue that the Sámi are presented in most of the textbooks as being an indigenous *population* rather than an indigenous *people*, even though it started to change in the late 2010s. In that respect, the reference to indigenous people in the national curriculum is in advance on the NFSL curriculum. As I wrote earlier, it is likely to change in the next decade with the new revised curriculum explicitly referring to the Sámi as *urfolk* (indigenous people).

Overall, Sámi society is presented as rather homogenous in the NFSL textbooks, and the visuals chosen to illustrate the Sámi sections tend to essentialize them, underrepresenting some age categories and reducing the Sámi traditional livelihoods uniquely to reindeer herding. The visuals represent only the Sámi living on the traditional Sámi areas and do not reflect the fact that many Sámi also live in urban settings.

When I was following Norwegian classes at university, I was surprised that some teachers who were from the county of Troms did not know what a *gákti* was and why they were different. Due to the pandemic and because of the lock-down⁷², the section presenting the Sámi was also skipped altogether in some A2/B1 courses to keep up with the language requirements of the curriculum. It is a paradox because the learners are interested in the Sámi topics. For example, after an informal and anonymous online survey on the representation of the Sámi in the NFSL textbooks, 22 of the 23 people who answered declared that they would have wanted to know

⁷¹ *Nok er nok*

⁷² This thesis was written in the midst of the 2020/2021 world pandemic due to the covid 19

more about them. Even though this survey has no scientific value and was only carried out in international students' groups on Facebook, it shows an interest of the learners towards the Sámi. This interest is also corroborated in some of the NFSL materials edited for the teachers, like in the teacher edition of *Klar for Norge 1*, which states that “many of the course participants find it interesting to hear about the Sámi”⁷³ (*Klar for Norge - Norsk med samfunnskunnskap for voksne innvandrere*. Module 1 Lærerveiledning, 2000: 86).

Future research on the representation of Sámi people in the NFSL discipline should focus on three central elements: the teachers, the learners, and the Sámi themselves. The textbooks presented in this research are learning materials created for a use in a classroom, where the teacher is supposed to be an interface between the knowledge of the textbooks and the learner of Norwegian language and culture. The role of the teacher as a knowledge-broker is not to be underestimated and it would be relevant to research what the teachers actually know about the Sámi. The interpretation of the learners would deserve to be explored and compared with the initial intentions of the authors. Despite lacking empirical data, the research of Hadi Strømmen Lile (2011) on what the Norwegian children and their teachers knew about the Sámi shows discrepancies between the curriculum, the content of the textbooks and the interpretations in the classroom. Finally, a third axis of research should focus on the way the Sámi would like to be represented. It could lead to the establishment of a canal of communication between the authors, the publishers, and the Sámi representatives.

⁷³ *Mange Kursdeltakere synes det er interessant å høre om samene*

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Appendix 1

I. Comparative framework between the textbooks presenting the Sámi and not-presenting Sámi

The textbooks were paired up by decades of publication.

	Textbook presenting Sámi culture	Textbook non-presenting Sámi culture
language proficiency targets		
cultural knowledge targets		
communicative skills targets		

II. Framework for analyzing the Sámi representation of the NFL textbooks

a. General information

Art/literature	History and present	Economy	Geography and territory
Transnationality	Rights and legal status	Political institutions	Language

b. Sociocultural dimension

Everyday living	
Interpersonal relations	
Transnationality	
Values, belief and attitudes	
Ritual behavior	

c. Visuals framework

Gender	Age	Active /Passive	Eye level
Social distance	Place and time	Clothes	Eye contact
Symbols	Map	Information highlighted	Image type

d. Activities framework

	Activities
Active	
Passive	
Individual	
Collective	
Oral	
Written	

Appendix 2

This list of categories and what they entail stems from the Common European Frame of Reference (2001: 102). I kept five of the seven features of a particular European society and its culture:

1. **Everyday living**
 - food and drink, meal times, table manners
 - public holidays
 - working hours and practices
 - leisure activities (hobbies, sports, reading habits, media).
2. **Interpersonal relations** (including relations of power and solidarity)
 - class structure of society and relations between classes
 - relations between sexes (gender, intimacy)
 - family structures and relations
 - relations between generations
 - relations in work situations
 - relations between public and police, officials, etc
 - race and community relations
 - relations among political and religious groupings.
3. **Values, beliefs and attitudes**
 - social class
 - occupational groups (academic, management, public service, skilled and manual workforces)
 - wealth (income and inherited)
 - regional cultures
 - security
 - institutions
 - tradition and social change
 - history, especially iconic historical personages and events
 - minorities (ethnic, religious)
 - national identity
 - foreign countries, states, peoples
 - politics

- arts (music, visual arts, literature, drama, popular music and song)
 - religion
 - humour.
4. **Social conventions**, e.g. with regard to giving and receiving hospitality
- punctuality
 - presents
 - dress
 - refreshments, drinks, meals
 - behavioral and conversational conventions and taboos
 - length of stay
 - leave-taking
5. **Ritual behavior**
- religious observances and rites
 - birth, marriage, death
 - audience and spectator behavior at public performances and ceremonies
 - celebrations, festivals, dances, discos, etc.

Appendix 3

List of textbooks for the comparative analysis

The underlined titles are the textbooks presenting the Sámi used for a comparative analysis. I listed the textbooks by year of publication

Textbooks presenting the Sámi

Her på Berget. Samfunnsfag og norsk som fremmedspråklige elever. Grunnbok. Elisabeth Ellingsen and Kirsti MacDonald. JW Cappelens forlag, 1990.

Her på Berget, Samfunnsfag og norsk som fremmedspråklige elever. Grunnbok. Elisabeth Ellingsen and Kirsti MacDonald. JW Cappelens forlag, 2. Utgave. 1995

Her på Berget. Tekstbok. Elisabeth Ellingsen and Kirsti MacDonald. 3. Utgave. Cappelen, 2002.

Her på Berget. Tekstbok. Elisabeth Ellingsen and Kirsti MacDonald. 4. Utgave. Cappelen, 2008.

Her på Berget. Tekstbok. Elisabeth Ellingsen and Kirsti MacDonald. 5. Utgave. Cappelen Damm, 2015.

Klar for Norge 1. Tekstbok 1. Aud Jahren, Helga Solstad and Eva Hogberg. Forlaget fag og kultur AS, 1999.

Klar for Norge 3. Mette Horn Elieson, Eva Hogberg, Elsa Rinholm Wulff. 1 Utgave. Forlaget Fag og Kultur 1999

Norsk for utlendinger, Harry Persson, studentsamfunnet, fri undervisning forlag, Oslo 1966

Norsk nå A2. Tekstbok. Gølin Kaurin Nilsen and Jorunn Fjeld 1. Utgave. Fagbokforlaget, 2009.

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Appendix 5

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