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THE ARCTIC  
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The Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education

# Revitalisation through Sami language education

*A critical discourse analysis of the curricula from kindergarten  
to upper secondary school in Norway*

**Paulette Birgitte van der Voet**

*Thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies  
May 2019*





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## Abstract

This thesis aims to examine the different language education policies Sami children in Norway are exposed to through their educational career, from kindergarten to upper secondary school. The education system plays a crucial role in the revitalisation of the Indigenous Sami languages and revitalisation efforts are reflected in the current curricula.

By using critical discourse analysis, the policy documents relevant for Sami language education are analysed. More specified, the data consists of the parts relevant to the Sami languages of the framework plan for kindergartens, the Norwegian national curriculum and the Sami curriculum. This is done on the basis of two research questions. The first question is how the possibilities to learn and use Sami in kindergarten and school are regulated. The second question is which language ideologies about the Sami languages are reflected in these documents.

Three factors played an important role in the regulation of the possibilities to learn and use Sami in kindergarten and school. The first factor is the geographical dimension of the administrative area for the Sami language which on one hand contributes to strengthening the Sami languages inside it, but on the other hand, gives less opportunities to learn and use Sami in kindergarten and school to children living outside of the area. The second factor are different discourses about the importance of Sami language education in the framework plan and the curricula. Where the framework plan approaches Sami language education from the interest of the child, the curricula focus on the importance for the revitalisation of the languages. The third factor functional bilingualism representing both a means and a goal for Sami language revitalisation in the curricula. Functional bilingualism is not further defined in the curricula, which allow teachers to adjust their teaching to the individual child. Summarising, children potentially following Sami language education in Norway are a diverse group in many different ways and it is important that the curricula leave space for adjusting language education to this diversity.

**Keywords:** Sami, Indigenous languages, language policy and planning, language revitalisation, cultural interface, curriculum analysis, critical discourse analysis

## Abstrákta (North Sami)

*Translated by Berit Merete Nystad Eskonsipo*

Dán masterčállosa ulbmil lea iskat iešguđetge giellaoahpahuspolitihkaid mat váikkuhit sámi mánáid oahppomannolahkii Norggas, mánáidgárddis gitta joatkaskuvlii. Oahpahusvuogádagas lea mearrideaddji rolla sámegiela ealáskahttimis, ja dát ealáskahttindoaima vuhtto dálá oahppoplánain.

Geavahettiin kritihkalaš diskursaanalysa analyserejuvvojit politihkalaš dokumeanttat mat leat relevánttat sámegiela oahpahussii. Eanet spesifihkka gullet dáhtaide dálá Mánáidgárddi rámmaplána, Máhttoloktema oahppoplánabuktosa ja Máhttolokten – Sámi oahppoplánabuktosa oasis mat leat relevánttat sámegiela oahpahussii. Analysa vuodđun leat guokte dutkangažaldaga. Vuosttaš gažaldat lea mo vejolašvuodát oahppat ja geavahit sámegiela mánáidgárddis ja skuvllas leat regulerejuvvon. Nubbi gažaldat lea makkár giellaideologat sámegielaid hárrái bohtet oidnosii dáin dokumeanttain.

Golmma fáktoris lea dehálaš rolla reguleret vejolašvuodaid oahppat ja geavahit sámegiela mánáidgárddis ja skuvllas. Vuosttaš fáktor lea sámegielaid hálddašanguovllu geográfalaš dimenšuvdna, mii nuppe dáfus lea mielde nanneme sámegielaid dan guovllu siskkoabealde, muhto mii fas nuppe dáfus addá mánáide geat orrot dán guovllu olggobealde unnit vejolašvuodaid oahppat ja geavahit sámegiela mánáidgárddis ja skuvllas. Nuppi fáktorii gullet dat iešguđetge diskurssat mat gusket sámegiela oahpahusa dehálašvuhtii rámmaplánas ja oahppoplánain. Rámmaplána lahkona sámegiela oahpahusa máná beroštumiid vuodul, ja oahppoplána fas guovdilastá dehálašvuoda ealáskahttit sámegielaid. Goalmmát fáktor lea doaibmi guovttegielalašvuolta, mii oahppoplánain lea sihke sámegiela oahpahusa gaskaoapmi ja ulbmil. Doaibmi guovttegielalašvuolta ii leat meroštallon lagabut oahppoplánain, ja dat addá oahpaheddjiide vejolašvuoda heivehit oahpahusa ovttaskas oahppái. Čeahkkáigeasedettiin leat mánát geain lea vejolašvuolta čuovvut sámegiela oahpahusa Norggas, mánggabealat joavku mángga iešguđet ládje, ja lea dehálaš ahte oahppoplánat čáhkejit sáji heivehit giellaoahpahusa dán mánggabealatvuhtii.

**Fáddásánit:** sámegiella, eamiálbmotgiella, giellapolitihkka ja -plánen, giellaealáskahttin, cultural interface, oahppoplánaanalysa, kritihkalaš diskursaanalysa



## Abstrakt (Norwegian)

Hensikten med denne oppgaven var å undersøke hvilken språkutdanningspolitikk samiske barn i Norge møter gjennom sitt utdanningsløp, fra barnehage til videregående skole. Utdanningssystemet spiller en avgjørende rolle i samisk språkrevitalisering, og dette revitaliseringsarbeidet reflekteres i dagens læreplaner.

Kritisk diskursanalyse ble benyttet for å analysere de politiske dokumentene som er relevant for samisk språkopplæring. Mer spesifikt består datamaterialet av de delene som er relevante for samisk i den nåværende Rammeplanen for barnehagen, Læreplanverket for kunnskapsløftet og Læreplanverket for kunnskapsløftet – samisk. Det første spørsmålet er hvordan mulighetene for å lære og bruke samisk i barnehage og skole er regulert. Det andre spørsmålet er hvilke språkideologier om de samiske språkene reflekteres i disse dokumentene.

Tre faktorer spiller en viktig rolle i reguleringen av mulighetene for å lære og bruke samisk i barnehage og skole. Den første faktoren er den geografiske dimensjonen av forvaltningsområdet for samisk språk, som på den ene siden bidrar til å styrke samisk språk innenfor forvaltningsområdet, men derimot gir mindre muligheter til å lære og bruke samisk i barnehage og skole til barn som bor utenfor forvaltningsområdet. Den andre faktoren er de forskjellige diskurser om viktigheten med samisk språkutdanning i rammeplanen og læreplanene. Der rammeplanen nærmer seg samisk språkopplæring fra barnets interesse, fokuserer læreplanene mer på viktigheten av å revitalisere språkene. Den tredje faktoren er funksjonell tospråklighet som representerer både et middel og et mål for samisk språkopplæring i læreplanene. Funksjonell tospråklighet er ikke nærmere definert i læreplanene, noe som gjør at lærerne kan tilpasse sin undervisning til det enkelte barn. For å oppsummere, barn som potensielt følger samisk språkutdanning i Norge er en mangfoldig gruppe på mange forskjellige måter, og det er viktig at læreplanene gir plass til å tilpasse språkopplæring til dette mangfoldet.

**Nøkkelord:** samisk, urfolkspråk, språkpolitikk og planlegging, språkrevitalisering, cultural interface, læreplananalyse, kritisk diskursanalyse



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# 1. Introduction

If we were to follow two Sami children throughout the education system in Norway, the possibilities to learn and use Sami in kindergarten and school would depend on both the place they live and their age. If one of these children were to live inside the administrative area for the Sami language (hereinafter the administrative area; see figure 1), the possibilities to learn and use Sami in kindergarten and school would differ from the possibilities of the child living outside the administrative area. In addition, there are different laws and policy documents regulating these possibilities for kindergarten and school.

Both the geographic and institutional differences raise questions about not only the ways in which Sami language education is regulated, but also about the goals and ideologies behind them. The central policy documents used in this thesis are the different national curricula in Norway. For kindergartens, this is the Framework Plan for Kindergartens (*Rammeplan for barnehagen* in Norwegian, hereinafter framework plan) from 2017. For primary school to upper secondary school, there are two parallel and equal curricula which entered into force in 2006, i.e. the National Curriculum for Knowledge Promotion in Primary and Secondary Education and Training (*Læreplanverket for Kunnskapsløftet* in Norwegian, hereinafter Norwegian national curriculum) and the Sami Curriculum for Knowledge Promotion in Primary and Secondary Education and Training (*Máhttolokten – sámi oahppoplánabuvttus in North Sami*, hereinafter Sami curriculum). Using the two hypothetical children previously introduced, I will work throughout this thesis to underline how language education policies influence their and their families' daily lives.

## 1.1 The Sami languages in Norway

The Sami are the Indigenous people of Northern Scandinavia and the Russian Kola Peninsula. In general, there is stated that there are ten Sami language varieties which are not directly mutually intelligible (Knutsen Duolljá & Gaski, 2019; Moseley, 2010). Thereof, three Sami languages are officially recognised in Norway: North-, South- and Lule Sami. When Sami is used in this thesis without mentioning a specific Sami language, it refers to all the Sami languages. None of the Sami languages are in a safe position today, because of the language shift to the dominant language, Norwegian (Moseley, 2010; Simons & Fenning, 2018).

Although, there are variations between the degree to which the different Sami languages are used nowadays. North Sami has the strongest position with most speakers in both Norway and in general. In contrast to South and Lule Sami which are in a more critical situation (Mæhlum, 2019; Todal, 2015).

The language shift preceding the current situation of the Sami languages is the result of Norway's assimilation policy, also called Norwegianisation. The period of assimilation already started with missionaries coming to the north of Norway in the sixteenth and seventeenth Century. It, however, became more outspoken around 1850 when the Norwegian government reserved a budget for education in Norwegian for Sami children. Sami children were not allowed to use their language in school, and they were forced to learn Norwegian there. The idea that it was important to learn Norwegian and become part of the Norwegian society was based on, among other things, nation building. The idea existed that Norway needed one language as a country, and the belief that it would be better for Sami children to be monolingual in Norwegian. Such ideas about Sami were justified by beliefs about the Sami as being less civilised than Norwegians (Jensen, 2005; Minde, 2003).

During the second half of the twentieth Century, these attitudes towards the Sami gradually changed due to introduction of international legislation as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (hereinafter UNDRIP) and Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (hereinafter ILO 169). Nowadays, this international legislation is reflected in Norway's national legislation. The Norwegian Constitution states that "[t]he authorities of the state shall create conditions enabling the Sami people to preserve and develop its language, culture and way of life" (2014, art. 108). According to the Sami Act (*Sameloven* in Norwegian, 1987, §1-5), Sami is recognised as one of the official languages in Norway and is equated to Norwegian within the administrative area (see figure 1). Today, the administrative area consists of twelve municipalities in total, i.e. Kárášjohka-Karasjok, Guovdageaidnu-Kautokeino, Unjárga-Nesseby, Porsanger-Porsáŋgu-Porsanki, Deatnu-Tana, Gáivuotna-Kåfjord-Kaivuono, Loabák-Lavangen, Aarborte-Hattfjelldal, Divtasvuodna-Tysfjord, Røros, Raarvihke-Røyrvik and Snåase-Snåsa. These municipalities are spread across the four northernmost regions of Norway, which are also considered part of the administrative area (Forskrift om område for samisk språk, 2005).

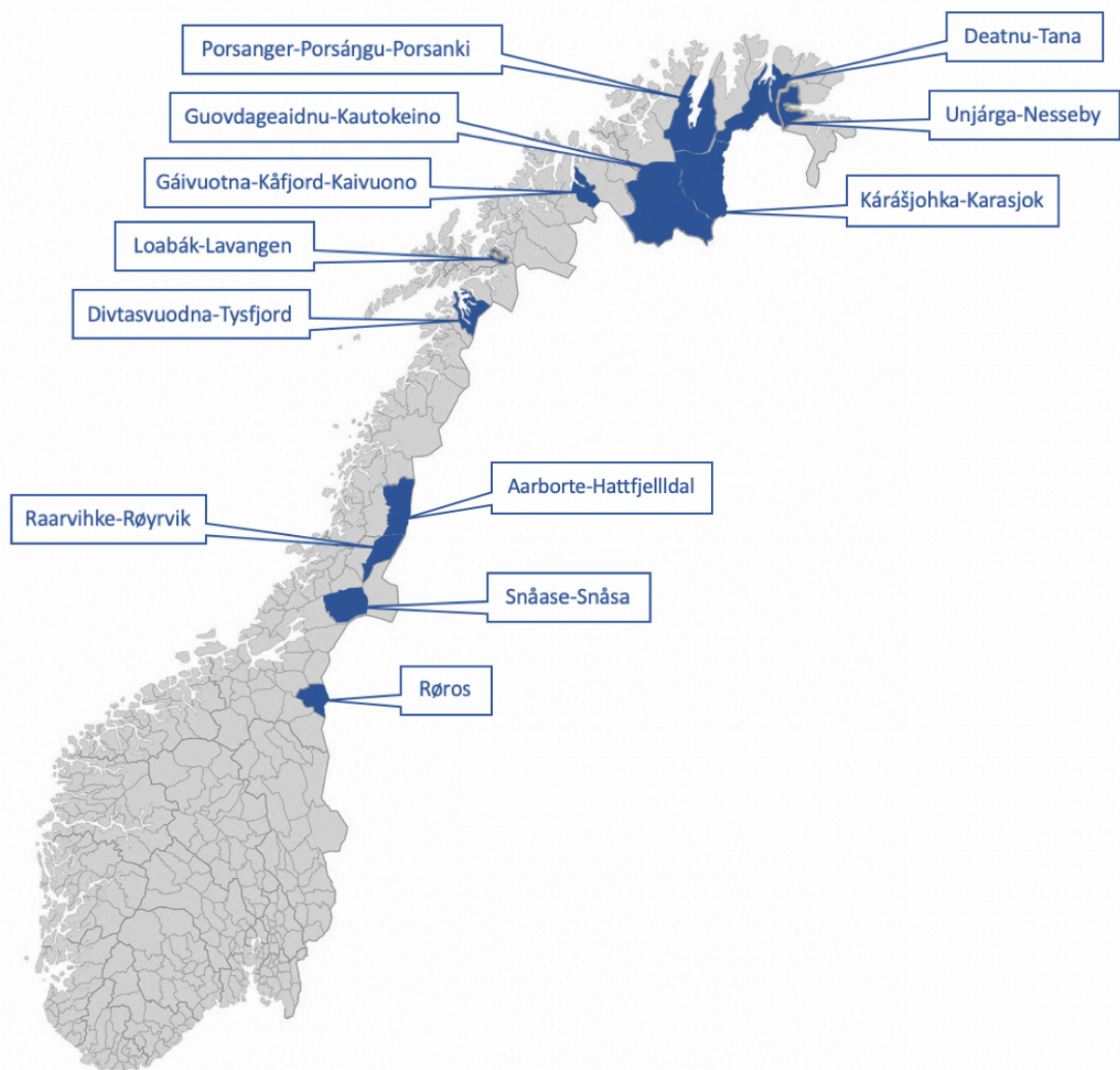


Figure 1 Municipalities part of the administrative area, with official Sami, Kven and Norwegian names (adapted from Geonorge, 2019)

Although many Sami people live within this area, this does not imply that there are only Sami people living there (Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2016; Todal, 2015). As beforementioned, the rights and possibilities to use the language differ between inside and outside the administrative area. Inside the administrative area, speakers of Sami can use their language in contact with public administration. Even more important for the context of this thesis is the fact that speakers of Sami have extensive possibilities to learn and use Sami in kindergarten and school inside of the administrative area.

According to the Norwegian government, becoming part of the administrative area strengthens the language because there are more resources available and the increased visibility of the language. With the administrative area, the Norwegian government wants to establish bilingual communities where the Sami languages can be preserved and developed (Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2019). Norway's goals with the revitalisation of the Sami languages are best summarised in the Official Norwegian Report *Hjertespråket* (Language of the Heart in English, own translation) as:

“[...] turning the language shift, from only being proficient in the majority language to also become functional *in the Sami language*. Language revitalisation requires an increase in the number of *language users*, especially in in that persons with *a connection to the Sami language* take back their Sami languages.” (Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2016, p. 18, own translation, emphasis in original)

## 1.2 The education system in Norway and the Sami languages

Schools and kindergartens are important for the revitalisation of the Sami languages. Especially the kindergartens within the administrative area play an important role in combination with the transmission of the language within the family (Todal, 2015).

Most children in Norway enter the education system when they start kindergarten, but kindergarten is not obligatory in Norway (Statistics Norway, 2018). Kindergarten focuses on both care and education for children up to six years old. The year that a child turns six, the child will start primary and lower secondary school (*grunnskole* in Norwegian). After ten years, a child can continue with three years of upper secondary school (*videregående skole* in Norwegian). The main goal of education in Norway is to get “[a]ll children and young people [...] to share a common foundation of knowledge, culture and values” (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2007, p. 9).

The Ministry of Education and Research is responsible for and develops the national educational policies in Norway. Part of this responsibility is the development of framework plans and the national curricula. The framework plan is a precept to the Kindergarten Act (*Barnehageloven* in Norwegian) and describes in greater detail the responsibilities and tasks of kindergartens. Like the framework plan, both the Norwegian national curriculum and the



Sami curriculum are precepts to the Education Act (*Opplæringslova* in Norwegian). This implies that both kindergartens and schools must adhere to the content of these documents.

When it comes to the possibilities to learn and use Sami in kindergarten and school, the differences between living inside and outside the administrative area are clearly present in the Kindergarten Act and Education Act. If we return to the example of the two children introduced in the beginning of this chapter, we notice that when the Sami child in the administrative area starts kindergarten, this child has the right to go to a Sami kindergarten with Sami speaking staff. The situation differs for a Sami child outside of the administrative area, who does not have this right. This does, however, not mean that Sami kindergartens or Sami departments in mainstream kindergartens do not exist outside of the administrative area. According to the Kindergarten Act and the Education Act, Sami children are the children of parents who can be registered in the Sami Parliament electoral register. Registration for the electoral register is based on two principles. First you need to identify yourself as Sami. Then, you need to either have Sami as a home language, have parents, grandparents or great-grandparents who had Sami as a home language, or be the child of someone who has been part of the electoral register (Sámediggi, 2019).

The situation gets more complicated when the two children transfer from kindergarten to school. All children attending school within the administrative area will automatically follow the Sami curriculum, which gives them the possibility to follow Sami language education and to have Sami as language of instruction. This applies for North-, South-, and Lule Sami. The curricula provide two different options for Sami language education, i.e. Sami as a first language or Sami as a second language. In general, children following Sami as a first language also have Sami as the language of instruction. Outside the administrative area, Sami children have the right to Sami language education. Having Sami as the language of instruction is only possible outside the administrative area when there are more than ten children in a municipality who want to have it. Regarding upper secondary school, the Education Acts states that all Sami students have the right to Sami language education regardless where they live in Norway, even if they have not had any Sami language education before. Further information on the Sami languages in the Norwegian education system is discussed more extensively in chapter 2.

### 1.3 Relevance

Taking as a starting point that the Sami language are not considered to be in a safe position nowadays, and that every language is valuable and important for its speakers, it is essential to undertake action to revitalise the Sami languages. Therefore, it is important to pay attention to supporting speakers in the process of taking back and strengthening their language. Sami language education plays an important role in this process for the Sami languages in Norway. Many Sami people are currently working on taking back their language in addition to the families with Sami as first language. Sami children are especially important in the process of taking back and strengthening the language, because when a language is no longer transferred to the next generation, then this language no longer gains new speakers and will stop being spoken. So, to keep the language, children have to learn it (Fishman, 1991).

And so, schools play an important role in the revitalisation process. During the assimilation era, the education system was a powerful tool for Norwegianisation, but nowadays schools are meant to support the Sami in taking back their language. Schools in Norway can support parents in the process of teaching their children Sami, as they do for Norwegian. Maybe even more important is the role of education when children learn the Sami language in school, when the parents cannot speak the language themselves. The policy documents central in this thesis influence the daily lives of all children and their families in Norway, regardless whether they identify as Sami, or live inside or outside the administrative area. The policy documents do not only influence the children's days inside and outside the classroom today, but also the possibilities they have to teach their children their language later on. Children are the (potential) new speakers of a language, and so the children having Sami language education today are the ones who might decide to speak Sami with their own children in the future.

Oftentimes, Norway is internationally recognised as a good example when it concerns the support of their Indigenous people, and the Sami languages are regularly mentioned as good example of Indigenous language revitalisation (Hornberger, 2008). It is true that efforts have been made in Norway and the Sami curriculum is an important example of this. Although, this does not take away from the need to critically reflect upon Norway's current policies. In the Norwegian Official Report *Hjertespråket* (2016), the chapters focusing on education show that there is room for improvement, both on a legislation and implementation level.

My thesis contributes to knowledge on the level of legislation. Current research on Sami themes in the Norwegian curricula does not focus specifically on the Sami languages and is almost always either about the framework plan (Olsen & Andreassen, 2017) or the curricula (Gjerpe, 2017; Huss, 2017). A series of reports have been published that evaluate the current Sami curriculum by Solstad et al. (2009; 2010; 2012). As far as I know, research focusing on the Norwegian language education policies from kindergarten to upper secondary school does not exist in a Norwegian context.

#### 1.4 Scope of the thesis and research questions

Language policy regarding Sami language education is split up in three parts. For kindergartens, it is regulated in the framework plan. For primary and lower secondary schools, and upper secondary schools it can be found in the Norwegian national curriculum and the Sami curriculum. It is likely that the way Sami language education is regulated, differ for every part of the policy.

To investigate this, I have formulated the following overall research question:

- To which Sami language education policies are Sami children exposed throughout their educational career, from kindergarten to upper secondary school?

On basis of this empirical question, there are two areas that I want to examine:

- How are the possibilities to learn and use Sami in school regulated according to the framework plan, the Norwegian national curriculum and the Sami curriculum?
- Which language ideologies about the Sami languages are reflected in these documents?

These research questions will be explored with the two children introduced in the beginning of this thesis in mind. This means that I during the analysis and discussion will keep returning to the idea of following one child inside the administrative area and one child outside the administrative area from kindergarten to upper secondary school to see how the different possibilities to learn and use Sami in school are regulated.

### 1.5 Data, method and theoretical framework

To answer the research questions, a qualitative analysis consisting of critical discourse analysis is conducted on the parts of the framework plan and the curricula that are relevant regarding the Sami languages. The versions being in use during the school year of 2018-2019 are used. Analysing the framework plan and the curricula helps to get an overview of the possibilities to learn and speak Sami throughout the Norwegian education system, and to better understand the different ideologies reflected in the policy documents.

Critical discourse analysis is relevant for my research because it reveals how discursive practices influence social structures. When looking at the framework plan and the curricula, these documents are official governmental policies influencing the lives of children, their families and teachers in Norway. Especially in a situation with a minoritised language such as Sami, it is interesting to analyse the language use in these documents to see which power structures are (re)created in them.

The theoretical framework is built on theories originating from four areas. These four areas will only shortly be introduced here and discussed in more detail in chapter 3. The first area is research focusing on language revitalisation, since the revitalisation of the Sami languages is an aim of Sami language education in Norway. The second one is language policy and planning, because the parts of the framework plan and the curricula focusing on the Sami languages can be considered as a form of language policy. The third one is language ideologies, to locate the research questions in this field. The last one is the cultural interface, which is a concept coming from Indigenous studies meant to understand the Sami diversity in the curricula. These four areas together provide a theoretical framework that makes it possible to answer and discuss the research questions.

### 1.6 Ethics and the position of the researcher

I am Dutch, which makes me neither Sami, Norwegian nor Indigenous. Doing research in Indigenous studies as a non-Indigenous person is not uncontroversial. The relationship between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous researchers was very unequal in the past and the effects are still visible today. In general, non-Indigenous researchers were conducting research on Indigenous peoples, while only considering their own interests and thus

contributing to research's colonial legacy (Chilisa, 2012; Juutilainen & Heikkilä, 2016; Lawrence & Raitio, 2016; Olsen, 2017; Smith, 2012).

“The word itself, ‘research,’ is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary[,]” as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012, p. 1) states in the introduction of her influential book about decolonising methodologies. Although my research concentrates on policy documents, as beforementioned these documents influence the daily reality of Sami children in schools in Norway. Furthermore, policies based on wrong research negatively influence the lives of Indigenous peoples (Juutilainen & Heikkilä, 2016). There are in Scandinavia, or more specifically in Norway, no specified ethical guidelines for doing research on Sami topics (Juutilainen & Heikkilä, 2016; Kuokkanen, 2008; Olsen, 2016). This means that I have an even greater responsibility as a researcher.

To conduct research relating to Indigenous peoples in a good way, four values are important: respect, reciprocity, relationality, and responsibility (Chilisa, 2012; Olsen, 2016). As a researcher, you are responsible for the effects of your research, you have to put the Indigenous peoples’ interests central and giving back to the community should be part of your research. Your position as a researcher also plays an essential role (Chilisa, 2012; Olsen, 2016, 2017; Smith, 2012) and it is important to be open about it.

Although it is easy to describe myself as a complete outsider, this topic is not completely new to me. I have written about the Sami languages before, e.g. during my first master’s degree in Linguistics. In addition, living, studying, and working in Tromsø results in my being in contact with Sami and the Sami languages on a daily basis. Still, being an outsider means that I will miss certain contextual knowledge only known by insiders. This knowledge can also be relevant for my project and one way to increase the effect of the missing knowledge is by talking as much as possible with insiders about my project. On the other hand, not being Norwegian means that I have not had the same education about the Sami as other people who grew up in Norway. This means that I can look at the current situation in Norway from a more distanced position, noticing things that may be experienced as normal by people who have been living in Norway for a longer period of time.

As among others Bagele Chilisa (2012) and Torjer A. Olsen (2017) argue for, there are no binary oppositions as Indigenous versus non-Indigenous or unprivileged versus privileged. There are many other factors that play a role for your position as a researcher. In relation to conducting research about Indigenous topics, I will always be part of the privileged majority. At the same time, there are many more factors that could play a role in my research. This underlines the importance of the ongoing act of being reflexive on my own position and the influence of it on my research.

This is closely related to what is called the cultural interface by Martin Nakata (2007a, 2007b). He describes the cultural interface as the space where different knowledge systems come together, i.e. Indigenous and Western. This is not a binary opposition, but in this space, these two knowledge systems meet each other, together with other political, economic, historical, and social factors. The way we look at the world is shaped at this cultural interface. To be able to understand how we look at the world, we need to understand both knowledge systems (Nakata, 2007b).

By critically reflecting on my own position and the different factors that influence it, I want to ensure that this thesis can contribute to research and knowledge about Sami language education policies and Sami language revitalisation in a thoughtful way. Therefore, reflecting on my own position has been crucial throughout the process of conducting research and writing this thesis.

## 1.7 Thesis outline

In the second chapter, I will discuss the current situation of the Sami languages in the Norwegian education system and in the curricula in Norway. The third chapter set up the theoretical framework, building on language revitalisation in education, language policy and planning, language ideologies, and a further exploration of the cultural interface. Followed by the fourth chapter, which is about the thesis' methodology, data and methods. Thereafter, the fifth chapter is an analytical chapter presenting the results of the critical discourse analysis of the curricula. The sixth chapter consists of a discussion of the results presented in the previous chapter, explaining and interpreting the results. The last chapter gives both a summary of the findings and ideas for future research.

## 2. The Sami languages in the Norwegian education system

The Sami languages are not in a safe position and it has taken time and effort to overcome the results of the Norwegianisation era. While schools have been the main instrument of assimilation in the past, today they are used to support the revitalisation of the Sami languages. Today there is a separate Sami curriculum, but this has not always been the case. It has been preceded by several other constructions of regulating the use of Sami languages in both kindergarten and school.

To provide context for the analysis later, this chapter consists of an overview of the recent history of the Sami languages in education system in Norway and more specifically in the curricula. The first section focuses on kindergartens, while the second focuses on schools. Both sections start with a short historical context of the Sami languages with respect to the framework plan and the curricula, followed by a brief introduction to the current situation. The current framework plan and curricula will be described in more detail when the data of this thesis is described in chapter 4.

### 2.1 The Sami languages in kindergarten and the framework plan

Especially inside the administrative area, kindergartens are together with a child's family of great importance for the strengthening and development of the Sami languages (Øzerk, 2008). Little research has been conducted on the Sami languages in previous framework plans. The research that has been conducted on the Sami languages in kindergarten often focuses on the daily practices (Kleemann, 2015; Storjord, 2008).

Olsen and Bengt-Ove Andreassen (2016; 2017) have, however, written about Sami and Indigenous issues in the framework plan, when they discuss the history of Sami related topics in the framework plan. They begin with telling that kindergartens have been present in Norway for a long period of time, but that the first Kindergarten Act originated from 1975. According to Olsen and Andreassen, this shows that the position of kindergartens in Norwegian society started to change around that time. In 1995, a new Kindergarten Act came into effect and this led to the development of the first framework plan. This demonstrates how kindergartens became part of the broader education system and that the content of

kindergarten education became more important. Olsen and Andreassen (2016) state that although it is not explicitly expressed in the 1995 framework plan, it becomes clear in the framework plan that the parts regarding the Sami languages and culture are only meant for Sami children in the Sami districts. As a result, the responsibility that Sami children can come in contact with the Sami language and culture in kindergarten is mainly born by Sami kindergartens. In 2006 a new framework plan entered into force, followed by an updated version in 2011. The latter is the predecessor of the current framework plan.

According to Olsen and Andreassen (2016), the 2006 and 2011 framework plan do not differ concerning parts about the Sami languages and cultures. In these two framework plans, the value of multiculturalism has become more important compared to previous framework plans and the Sami are included in this view on multiculturalism. Furthermore, there is a distinction made between Sami kindergartens and kindergartens with Sami children, which still is used in the current framework plan. Like the 1995 framework plan, the 2006 and 2011 framework plans give most of the responsibility for Sami language and culture to the Sami kindergartens. Something else Olsen and Andreassen notice is the fact that there is less text about the Sami languages and cultures in the 2006 and 2011 framework plans. Their explanation is that, besides the new framework plan being more compact than the previous one, this might be due to the fact that a lot of the information about the Sami given in the 1995 framework plan has become general knowledge.

The current framework plan is a regulation of the Kindergarten Act in which states that kindergartens should pay attention to a child's ethnic and cultural background including the language and culture of Sami children. Furthermore, the Kindergarten Act also states that "[t]he municipality is responsible for ensuring that kindergartens for Sami children in Sami districts are based on the Sami language and culture. In other municipalities steps shall be taken to enable Sami children to secure and develop their language and their culture" (Kindergarten Act, §8, original translation). In practice, these Sami districts correspond to the administrative area.

So, according to the Kindergarten Act, it is the responsibility of municipalities to offer kindergartens that are adjusted to the needs of Sami children. Here is also made the division



between inside and outside the administrative area. Within the administrative area, there should be kindergartens based on the Sami language and culture. Sami children in kindergartens outside the administrative area should be ensured that they can develop their language and culture. However, this does not mean that kindergartens outside the administrative area must have Sami speaking employees (Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2016). On the other hand, to make it clear, there are Sami kindergartens or kindergartens with a Sami department outside of the administrative area.

To give an impression about the number of children going to a Sami kindergarten or Sami department, during the school year 2017-2018, there were 716 children enrolled in Sami kindergartens or Sami departments. In addition, there were 109 children in kindergartens which were offered another, not further specified, form of Sami education. During the same school year, there were in total 278,578 children in kindergarten in Norway (Nordic Sámi Institute, 2018b; Statistics Norway, 2019). So, a relatively small group of children attend a Sami kindergarten or Sami department. This research, however, is not only relevant to them, since there are also many Sami children attending mainstream kindergartens.

## 2.2 The Sami languages in school and the curricula

The first Sami curriculum was presented in 1997, but this does not mean that the Sami languages were not part of previous curricula. Already in 1959, the law was amended so that Sami language education was made possible, although to a limited degree. At this time, Sami language education was seen as a means to learn Norwegian. The possibilities for Sami language education were further extended in 1967. In the 1960s and 1970s, the attitudes towards the Sami changed in Norway and the aim became to create a better school suited for the needs of Sami children (Solstad et al., 2009).

The Sami were mentioned for the first time in the core curriculum in 1974. This is related to the new Education Act of 1969 which gave Sami children the right to use Sami in school. Furthermore, when a child's parents had Sami as their daily language, the child could also learn to read in Sami. At that time, in the curriculum of 1974, there was only one curriculum for a subject specially designed for Sami children, which was the subject Norwegian as a foreign language. As Kamil Øzerk (2006) also mentions, this is an interesting designation,

because Norwegian is for Sami children a second language rather than a foreign language. On the other hand, at that time, this terminology was not noticeable, because it was in line with the vocabulary used that time.

In the late 1980s, Norway officially recognised the Sami as an Indigenous people and the discussions preceding these recognitions can be seen in the curriculum from 1987. This curriculum consisted of a chapter with the quality framework meant for Sami children and curricula for the subjects Sami as a second language, Sami as a first language, and Norwegian as second language for children with Sami as a first language. In addition, most curricula for the different subjects were available in a Sami translation. It is interesting to notice that functional bilingualism, being able to communicate in both Sami and Norwegian, became a goal of Sami language education. Instead of treating Sami as a means to learn Norwegian, it became important to focus on the development of both languages simultaneously.

As briefly mentioned before, the first Sami curriculum dated from 1997. This curriculum reflected the political developments in Norway, amongst other things the ratification of ILO 169 in 1990. Vuokko Hirvonen (2011) described this curriculum as the most important development in the field of education for the Sami. According to Kajsa Kemi Gjerpe (2017), this curriculum had a clear and strong political message, and symbolic value. The curriculum was the first curriculum especially designed for the Sami and written in Sami. Functional bilingualism and a focus on communication were again important goals when it came to Sami language education according to this curriculum. Ole Henrik Magga (2004) observed that the Sami curriculum of 1997 was built on the premise that Sami speaking children have the same possibilities and support to use their language outside school as Norwegian speaking children. Since this was, and still is, clearly not the case, Magga identifies this premise as one of the weaknesses of the Sami curriculum from 1997.

Jon Todal (2004) explored the question how the curriculum for Sami as a second language from 1997 has contributed to the revitalisation of the Sami languages. He does not see the curriculum in itself as weak, when it concerns second language education and creating bilingual speakers, but according to him it depends on the methods used in the class room. Although the curriculum opens up for strong methods, this does not necessarily have to be

the case. Furthermore, the fact that the ambitions for Sami as a second language are lower than it has been before, is not positively seen when it concerns revitalisation. Still, as he notes, it might help more children to get at least some education in Sami. Todal is not alone in this view. Hirvonen (2011) also states that the 1997 curriculum for Sami as a second language does not contribute to either the goal of functional bilingualism nor to the revitalisation of the Sami languages. According to her, this is especially problematic because the curriculum does not meet the wishes of the parents.

Nowadays, the possibilities to learn and use Sami in primary and lower secondary school, and upper secondary school are more diverse and complex, compared to the situation for kindergartens. These possibilities are regulated in the Education Act. The Norwegian national curriculum and the Sami curriculum are precepts to the Education Act. These two curricula are parallel curricula with an equal status. According to Øzker (2006), the juridical ground for having a separate Sami curriculum is given in the Norwegian Constitution. The Constitution states that “[t]he authorities of the state shall create conditions enabling the Sami people to preserve and develop its language, culture and way of life” (art. 108, original translation). This part of the Norwegian Constitution is based on international legislation such as ILO 169. In addition, Øzker (2006) mentions two pedagogical grounds for having a Sami curriculum. The first ground is that Sami schools need a curriculum with clear goals pointing towards bilingualism and a policy of language revitalisation. The second pedagogical ground mentioned by Øzker is that the Sami as Indigenous people are better able to take care of their own needs when they have their own curriculum.

According to §6-2 of the Education Act, all children within the administrative area have the right to have Sami as the language of instruction. This differs outside the administrative area, where only Sami children have the right to Sami as the language of instruction when at least ten children in a municipality are demanding it. The children outside the administrative area have the right “[...] to instruction of a Sami language, but not the right to have Sami as the language of instruction” (Nordic Sámi Institute, 2018a, p. 170). Section 6-3 of the Education Act regulates the rights to Sami education in upper secondary school. Regardless where Sami students live, they have the right to Sami language education, but there are no rights to have Sami as the language of instruction. Although county authorities, who own most upper

secondary schools in Norway, can decide to offer instruction in Sami (Nordic Sámi Institute, 2018a).

There are four different possibilities of Sami language education. Sami as a first language is, as the name implies, meant for children with Sami as their first language and children following it often have also Sami as language of instruction in other subjects. Furthermore, there are three different options offered of Sami as a second language. The first, Sami as a second language 2 is meant for children who already have some knowledge of Sami and this subject has functional bilingualism as goal. Sami as a second language 3 is designed for children who do not have previous knowledge of Sami and bilingualism is not necessarily one of its goals. The last possibility is Sami as a second language 4, which creates a possibility for children without previous knowledge of Sami to start learning it in upper secondary school (Nordic Sámi Institute, 2018a).

During the 2017-2018 school year, a total of 633,029 children attended primary school and lower secondary school in Norway. Thereof, 849 children had Sami as the language of instruction. In total, 935 children followed the subject Sami as a first language, of which by far most children followed North Sami, i.e. 870 children. South and Lule Sami respectively were followed by 31 and 34 children. Slightly more children, i.e. 1,333 children, followed Sami as a second language. Again, the group consisting of students following North Sami is considerably larger, i.e. 1,179 children. South and Lule Sami were followed by 70 and 84 children respectively (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2019c).

The same study year, 2017-2018, there were in total 189,657 students attending upper secondary school in Norway, of which 209 followed Sami as a first language. Of the students following Sami as a first language, 205 students followed North Sami, three South Sami and one Lule Sami. In addition, 242 students followed Sami as a second language. Of these students, 219 followed North Sami, 16 South Sami and seven Lule Sami (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2019a, 2019b).

The position of the Sami languages in the Norwegian education system has improved a lot during the last decades, which is visible in the current framework plan and curricula. In order

to analyse these documents from the perspective of language policy and planning, in the next chapter I elaborate on the theoretical aspects. In the next chapter, I place the thesis' research within a theoretical framework consisting of theories coming from the fields of language revitalisation, language policy and planning, language ideologies, and Indigenous studies.

### 3. Theoretical framework

This chapter positions my research in the fields of language revitalisation, language policy and planning, and language ideologies. In order to do this, I start with introducing and discussing different arguments for the importance of the revitalisation of the Sami languages. Thereafter in the second section, a description of the field of language policy and planning follows. The focus of this section is on the role education plays in revitalisation. The fourth section consists of an introduction to research connected to language ideologies. In the last section, I look closer at the concept of the cultural interface, which I already briefly mentioned in the introduction.

#### 3.1 Language revitalisation and education

Language shift occurs as the result of when speakers start speaking the dominant language and stop speaking their own language. This might result in the language coming to a certain point that it can be described as endangered. If this is the case, there are three different reactions possible according to Suzanne Romaine (2008), i.e. doing nothing, documenting the language, or revitalising it. Doing nothing is often considered as the most neutral 'action'. Although, at the same time doing nothing, instead of actively taking measures to save the language, contributes to the further weakening of the position of the Indigenous language. Documenting is also seen as a relatively neutral action to undertake, especially when there is a really small number of speakers left. Documenting, however, is not uncontested and one of the questions it brings, is whether it helps the language community (De Korne & Leonard, 2017).

Revitalisation is actively taking a stance by making the choice to support the community members in the revitalisation of the language (Sallabank, 2013a). Lena Huss (2008, p. 133) underlines the importance of the community members as well by stating that “[r]evitalization can be seen as the emancipation of minorities and their cultures on their own terms rather than on the terms of the larger society as has long been the case.” Bilingual education is one example of the many possible efforts made to reverse language shift and it plays an important role in the revitalisation of the Sami languages.

There are a variety of reasons why the minoritised languages are important. I provide an overview below of the reasons relevant for the Sami languages and for this thesis. First, language plays an important role for one's ethnic identity (García, 2012; Sallabank, 2012). There are several characteristics, or features, that have a meaning for the feeling of belonging to an ethnic group. Ofelia García (2012) argues that language is the most important one. Furthermore, language is an essential culture carrier (Hinton, 2001b; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Sallabank, 2012). So, with the loss of a language, meaningful cultural knowledge embedded in this language will often not be transferred to another language and at least parts of this knowledge will disappear with the loss of a language. In today's society, multilingualism is a common result of linguistic diversity and it is almost impossible to be monolingual in a minoritised language. Where multilingualism in the past was considered to be problematic, nowadays often the positive benefits for the whole society are mentioned (Sallabank, 2012). The last reason, that is regularly mentioned, is the view on linguistic diversity as a human rights issue. Language shift to the dominant language is seen as always involuntary and often as part of oppression by the majority. This involuntariness can be seen in the different reasons for language shift given by Judith Sallabank (2012), i.e. natural catastrophes, war and genocide, overt repression, and cultural/political/economic dominance.

Taking the starting point that language shift is involuntary and influenced by the more powerful majority, makes it also a question about self-determination. Speakers of minoritised languages should have the right to determine if they would like to use their own language or the dominant language (Hinton, 2001b; Sallabank, 2012). The basic idea behind this point of view is that every speaker has the right to use its own language and that speakers of minoritised languages should have the right to learn the dominant language in addition (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas & May, 2017). An argument given by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) is that support for minoritised languages in school often leads to better general achievements in school. According to Skutnabb-Kangas and Stephen May (2017) linguistic human rights can be assigned on an individual or on a collective level, and to a language itself. In the context of this thesis, as mentioned before, these language rights are assigned by different legal frameworks including ILO 169, UNDRIP, and the Sami Act.

According to Gibson Ferguson (2006), there is another category of arguments for language revitalisation beside all these arguments focusing on the importance of the language for the speaker. This second category focuses on what he calls the ecology of the language and consists of among other things arguments for linguistic diversity. However, it is important to focus on the arguments for revitalisation based on the well-being of the individual speaker instead of the importance of linguistic diversity. In arguments for language revitalisation focusing on the importance for linguistic diversity, an undesired responsibility for the revitalisation is put on community members. Instead, it is important that the focus should be on what is best for the community members and they should be able to make the choice themselves whether it is best for them to learn the minoritised language.

Another critical note can be made when it concerns the involuntariness of language shift. Haley De Korne and Wesly Y. Leonard (2017), like Sallabank (2012), state that language shift, and so language endangerment, is produced through power structures. The question is then whether these unequal power structures are challenged in both language revitalisation efforts and research about it, or that these power structures are maintained and reshaped. Therefore, they argue that it is important to keep critically looking at the practice of revitalising languages. Like Huss (2008), De Korne and Leonard also emphasise that it is important to actively support, what they call for, language reclamation on the conditions of the communities.

As briefly mentioned in the previous chapters, education has played a central role in the Norwegianisation of the Sami. If a dominant language is used in schools instead of the minoritised language, the latter will have a harder time surviving (Hornberger & De Korne, 2018; Skutnabb-Kangas & May, 2017). Nancy H. Hornberger and De Korne (2018) argue that if schools can create monolingual norms and hierarchies between languages, they might also be able to create multilingual norms with space for the minoritised languages. In the same way as schools have played a major role in the assimilation, education can be of importance to the revitalisation of the Sami languages and to strengthen the Sami culture today. As stated in the introduction, the goal of Sami language policies is to increase the number of speakers. Language education is one way to achieve this. Children spend a notable amount of their lives at school and schools are an important place for them. With children as potential new



speakers of the language, there is an important role reserved for schools to contribute to the process of revitalisation.

Leanne Hinton (2001b) describes three different types of education that are used for language revitalisation. The first type is to teach the endangered language as a subject. Although this type is the most common one, hence it is easiest to realise, this is not the best possible way to create new speakers. Nonetheless, it does contribute to more positive attitudes towards the endangered language among the children. While these children may not be able to use both languages themselves, the strong positive attitudes of these new generations can contribute to stronger language revitalisation programmes in the future. The second type of education is bilingual education where the endangered language partly is used as the language of instruction. This creates the need to develop the language, but it does not contribute to the creation of domains to use the language outside of the classroom. Hinton notices that bilingual education is better for language maintenance than language revitalisation. The third type are immersion schools and classrooms, where all instruction is given in the minoritised language. This is the best way to actively create new speakers of the language, but as Hinton observes, also here the role of the family is important, because the language must also be used outside of the school.

Like Hinton (2001b), De Korne and Leonard (2017) underline that language education does not always contribute to the intergenerational transmission of the language, which is an important aspect of language revitalisation. According to them, education plays a role in revitalisation by increasing the prestige of a language, creating literacy in the language, and creating new speakers. Hornberger and De Korne argue that there is not one ideal model of teaching a language to contribute to the revitalisation of a language. Although using the language through different subjects will contribute to a higher status of the language. Furthermore, they mention that immersion schools are not always possible, while teaching a language as a subject is often a possibility (Hornberger & De Korne, 2018).

Another critical observation on the goals of language education policies concerning minoritised languages is made by Ferguson (2006) who notices that the goal of these policies is often to revitalise the language rather than to offer bilingual education. In this context,

bilingual education is often seen as an additional way to transfer the language to a new generation, besides how it is done more naturally in a family.

Revitalisation has a certain connotation of crisis; the language is not vital and needs to become so again. Although the Sami languages are not in a safe position today, they are also living languages with first language speakers who use Sami throughout several domains of their daily lives. Critical towards the discourse of revitalisation are Gerald Roche, Åsa Viridi Kroik and Hiroshi Maruyama (2018). They introduce the concept of Indigenous efflorescence as the opposite of crisis. As they argue, Indigenous efflorescence focuses on continuity and is both process-oriented and future-oriented. With regard to Indigenous languages, Roche, Kroik and Maruyama emphasise three elements of Indigenous efflorescence. The first one is the emphasis on the Indigenous languages as flourishing. The second one is the efforts to strengthen the languages being taken by Indigenous communities. The third one is the creation of new forms of language use for the Indigenous languages today. In the light of this discussion, in this thesis is revitalisation interpreted as strengthening the language, by both supporting existing speakers and creating new speakers.

To summarise this section, education can play an important role in the revitalisation of a language, but schools cannot do it by themselves. They need the support of families and there should also be made efforts in other domains (Hornberger, 2008; Hornberger & De Korne, 2018).

### 3.2 Language policy and planning in education

Schools and teachers are not the ones who decide for themselves whether to teach a minoritised language. The daily practice at schools is influenced by politics (Hornberger, 2008). This thesis has the field of language policy and planning as a starting point, because this thesis is about the parts of the framework and the national curricula focusing on the Sami languages. Language policies can be described as regulations for language use. These regulations can be official and provided by an institution or government, or they can be unwritten rules about language use within a certain group.

Language policies exist at different levels and policies at these levels form together a whole. This idea corresponds to the metaphor of the language policy and planning onion as introduced by Thomas Ricento and Hornberger (1996). The metaphor of the layers of an onion is used in order to explain these different dimensions of language policy and planning. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) make the comparison with an onion which consists of three layers of language policy and planning levels. These layers are the different components of language policy and planning research, and form together a whole. The layers interact with and influence each other. The outer layer of the onion consists of the broader language policy objectives in legislation on a national level.

The policy documents which are central in my project are part of this outer layer of the language policy and planning onion. The framework plan and the national curricula are policies typical for the dimension of language policy in legislation on a national level. The documents central in this thesis are developed by the Norwegian government. This makes these documents precepts to the Kindergarten Act and Education Act that are part of legislation on a national level. The second layer contains the implementation of these broader objectives in regulations and guidelines on an institutional level. The inner layer consists of the implementation and interpretation on an interpersonal level. Each of these levels has a specific discourse influenced by different ideologies (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007).

Although, there have been language policies for a long time, the academic field of language planning and policy is relatively young. It emerged in the second half of the twentieth Century. In the beginning, the idea was to provide solutions for language problems connected to nation building and former colonies. So, it was more about doing language planning than about language planning as a subject of research (Hult & Johnson, 2015; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Spolsky, 2012). During the 1990s, the idea of linguistic human rights started to play a role in the field of language policy and planning (Hornberger, 2015). This meant that the focus of language policies moved to the right of speakers to learn and use their own language instead of policies only being in favour of the dominant language. As a reaction to the more positivist approach of research on language policy and planning in the early years, the historical-structural approach arose. This critical approach has been the dominant approach during the last decades. Hornberger and Johnson (2007) describe this approach as neoclassical

and critical, which means that the power relations influencing language policy and planning are important to take into consideration.

The historical-structural approach is based on four assumptions. The first assumption is that language policy and planning always reflects the interests of the dominant group(s) in society. Besides that, the second assumption is that these interests benefit the dominant group. The third assumption is that the ideologies are reflected in the whole society. The last assumption concerns the individuals' lack of freedom to choose which language they want to use in a certain domain. By contrast, their language choices are influenced by the interests of the dominant group (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). So, continuing with the historical-structural approach as a starting point, it can be said that several external factors influence language policies in a high degree. As a consequence, it is important to take the context into consideration while looking at language policies (May, 2015). A language policy cannot be seen as an isolated regulation, but as a product of historical, political, and social factors. This can also be seen in the framework plan and the national curricula, that are central in this thesis.

There are different ways of looking at the different components of language planning and policy. In general, a distinction is often made between three different types of language planning, i.e. status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning (Hornberger, 2005; Hult & Johnson, 2015; Spolsky, 2012). As explained by Ricento and Hornberger (1996, p. 402), “[s]tatus planning concerns uses of language, acquisition planning concerns users of language, and corpus planning deals with language itself.” Status planning is about the situations where a language can be used. When a language does not have the status as an official language, there are less domains where it can be used. It is for example possible to use the Sami languages in more domains within the administrative area, where it is equated to Norwegian, than outside this area. Corpus planning, the second type, concerns the content and form of a language. Standardisation and documentation efforts are examples of corpus planning. The third type, acquisition planning, is the one that is central in this thesis. Acquisition planning is to improve or develop the opportunities to learn a language and in this way influence who can speak the language. In the case of this thesis, it is planning for increasing the number of Sami speakers by creating opportunities to learn a language in kindergarten and school. This type

of planning is often done for the purpose of revitalisation and concerns usually the education system (Hornberger, 2005). The central question in acquisition planning is “[h]ow will the language be taught, and to whom?” (Hinton, 2001a, p. 52).

Although I have decided to approach the framework plan and the curricula as a form of language policy for the purpose of this thesis, it is also important to notice that a curriculum is a specific type of policy document with own theories connected to it. According to Jon I. Goodlad (1979, p. 20), the aim of a curriculum is “[...] to improve the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of human beings.”

Goodlad, Frances M. Klein and Kenneth A. Tye (1979) have a broad understanding of curricula as existing across different domains. There are three types of curricula, i.e. ideological, formal, operational, and experienced curricula. The ideological curricula are the ideologically motivated curricula as developed by curriculum planners. The written documents approved by the state are what they describe as the formal curriculum. The documents central in this thesis are part of the formal curriculum. The formal curriculum reflects state politics and existing norms. The perceived curricula are how teachers and other stakeholders such as textbook publishers perceive the curriculum. Operational curricula contain what is finally taught in the class room and what the students get out of it and learn is the experienced curriculum. Curriculum development happens at three levels which influence each other, i.e. at the societal, institutional and instructional level. This process consists of decision-making on all three levels and decisions are often motivated by beliefs and ideologies.

### 3.3 Language ideologies

Closely related to both language policies and language revitalisation are language ideologies (Ajsic & McGroarty, 2015; Sallabank, 2013b; Spolsky, 2004). Sallabank (2013b, p. 63) summarises different descriptions of languages ideologies as the ideas people have about language that “[...] are a social phenomenon shared by members of a group.” These ideas are most often unconscious and taken for granted. Language practices are influenced by these unconscious language ideologies. In that way, these ideologies can contribute to the maintenance of social inequality without people realising it (Sallabank, 2012, 2013b). These language ideologies can for example be about the vitality of a language, different language

practices or the different levels of language policies. According to Sallabank (2013b, pp. 63-64), language ideologies can be based on “[...] both language practices (what people do) and policies (what people *should* do).”

Judith T. Irvine (2016, para. 1) specifies the concept of language ideologies further. According to her language ideologies are “[...] conceptualizations about languages, speakers, and discursive practices” which are influenced by political, moral, and cultural factors. Furthermore, Irvine adds that language ideologies are always plural, because there are always different positions available to look at the same phenomena. In their chapter on language ideologies and linguistic differentiation, Irvine and Susan Gal (2000, p. 35) describe language ideologies as “[...] the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them.”

Central in Irvine and Gal’s (2000) understanding are three semiotic processes of how ideologies treat linguistic differences, i.e. iconisation, fractal recursivity, and erasure. These three processes can occur simultaneously, but more important, they need each other to exist. Iconisation is when a linguistic practice becomes linked to a social phenomenon and becomes accepted as truth. Fractal recursivity means the projection of an opposition used to understand a certain group on a certain level, to other groups on other levels. The last process is erasure which is what happens when ideology makes certain aspects invisible, because it does not fit the ideology. Beside looking at the ideologies, Irvine and Gal (2000) also look at the consequences of them. One of the consequences presented is “[...] how linguistic ideologies are taken to authorize actions on the basis of linguistic relationship or difference” (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 36). This consequence plays a role for this thesis because language ideologies are used to enable the actions described in the curricula.

Language ideologies play a role in this thesis in different ways. The first way is the language ideologies I bring with me to this thesis (Irvine & Gal, 2000). Sallabank (2013b) underlines that it is important to continuously reflect on these ideologies to see how they might influence the research. The second way are the language ideologies about both the dominant and the minoritised language. Sallabank (2013b) describes that not only speakers of the dominant

language might have negative ideas about the minoritised language, but also speakers of the minoritised language themselves. This can be seen as both a result and the cause of language shift. So, in order to let a language policy be able to contribute to the revitalisation of language, these negative ideas need to be changed. Adnan Ajsic and Mary McGroarty (2015) argue that this is of importance for the success of language policies. The third way language ideologies play a role in this thesis are the different language ideologies about the Sami languages and the speakers reflected in the curricula.

### 3.4 Cultural interface

In the introduction, I have used the concept of the cultural interface by Nakata (2007a, 2007b) to describe my own position as a researcher. In this section, I focus instead on how the cultural interface can be used in order to understand other people and communities. More specifically, in the context of this thesis, I use the concept to understand the diversity within the Sami community.

To recapitulate what is written about the cultural interface in the introduction, the cultural interface is the space where the Indigenous and Western knowledge systems come together. It is a complex space consisting of intersections of these knowledge systems with not only other political, economic, historical, and social factors, but also with time, place, and distance. The cultural interface is a complex space and none of these intersections is ever reducible to a simply binary opposition such as Indigenous versus Western.

Although Nakata (2007a, 2007b) has introduced the cultural interface to understand the Torres Strait Islanders and Aboriginal standpoints, there are also other researchers who have applied it to different contexts, e.g. Olsen (2017, 2018) in a Nordic context, and Julie Maakrun and Marguerite Maher (2016) in a Kenyan context. I argue that the cultural interface is also applicable to a Sami context, although it is important to remain aware of the fact that it is not based on a Sami context. Like the Torres Strait Islanders and Aboriginals, the Sami also have a history of assimilation and oppression, and are today also working for a future on their own terms. This can be seen in Nakata's description of the current situation of the Torres Strait Islanders as "Islanders exist, live and are positioned in a particular relation to other knowledge, interests and people as we pursue the dual goals of equality with other Australians while

maintaining and preserving cultural distinctiveness” (2007b, p. 198). These dual goals are something that can also be recognised in a Sami context. Like the Torres Strait Islanders, the Sami are aiming for the continuation of their pre-colonial lives and traditions, as well as they aim for their equal status to other Norwegian citizens (or respectively Swedish, Finnish or Russian citizens) and furthermore, managing their own futures is also an important goal for Sami.

There are two specific aspects of the cultural interface that are important for this thesis. The first aspect is the diversity of possibilities to be Torres Strait Islander (or Sami). At the cultural interface, numerous subject positions are available. Some of these positions can be consciously chosen, others are assigned to you. Nakata explains the effects of these different positions in the following way: “It is a space of possibilities as well as constraints, which can have negative or positive consequences for different people at different times” (2007b, p. 200). First of all, these many different positions imply that there does not exist a singular Torres Strait Islander standpoint or a singular Torres Strait Islander experience. Furthermore, it implies also that not everyone has been oppressed in the same way. Related to the many different subject positions, Nakata underlines that it is important to realise that there is no such thing as being more or less authentic. These are positions assigned by others, both in history and still today.

The second aspect of the cultural interface that is important for this thesis is the complexity of the cultural interface. As stated before, it is a complex space with many different intersections which are never reducible to binary oppositions. Therefore, to be able to understand the Torres Strait Islander, and also Sami, standpoints or experiences, it is important to understand the complexity of the cultural interface, because that is the space where these standpoints and experiences are constructed.

The theories outlined in this chapter together form the theoretical framework which is used for the selection of a suitable methodology and method for this thesis. These, together with the used data material, will be described in chapter 4.



## 4. Methodology, data and method

The aim of this thesis is to investigate what is stated about the Sami languages in the framework plan, the Norwegian national curriculum, and the Sami curriculum. In order to do this, the focus is placed on the possibilities a child has to learn and use Sami in kindergarten and school, and the different language ideologies about the Sami languages as reflected in these documents. An appropriate way to reveal these possibilities and these ideologies, is to use critical discourse analysis as a method to analyse these documents. In section 4.1, I explain why critical discourse analysis fits my research. Thereafter, in section 4.2 the data is described. Lastly, in section 4.3 I provide a description of my use of critical discourse analysis as a method in this thesis.

### 4.1 Critical discourse analysis and Indigenous studies

As mentioned above, critical discourse analysis will be used to analyse the data of my project. Discourse analysis is the study of language use in the world, this can be written language, spoken language but also images. In the case of this thesis, it will be the written language in the curricula. There are different possibilities to speak about the world and the possibility you choose to speak about the world, will differ from one situation to another. The choice you make will depend on several factors. James Paul Gee (2014b, pp. 2-4) emphasises on the importance of the connection between saying (informing), being (identity), and doing (action). It is not possible to understand a statement completely without knowing who is saying it and for what purpose. This corresponds to Norman Fairclough (2010, p. 3) who states that “[d]iscourse is not simply an entity we can define independently: we can only arrive at an understanding of it by analysing sets of relations.” Although Gee (2014a, 2014b) mainly writes about spoken language, he states that everything is also applicable to written language.

Critical discourse analysis is embedded within critical theory and is meant to both critique and change society by revealing power structures and ideologies embedded in language use. It critiques several topics, for example social wrongs, unequal power relations, and privileges (Fairclough, 2010; Hidalgo Tenorio, 2011; Skrede, 2017). To Fairclough (2010, p. 3), critical discourse analysis focuses on social relations and he describes it as “[...] analysis of dialectical *relations between* discourse and other objects.” Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) explain that this

means that discursive practices do not only create and recreate social structures, but also that reflections of these social structures can be seen in the discursive practices. So, in the context of this thesis, this would be about the representation of the Sami languages through discourses in social practices of, for example, the Norwegian government or the Sami Parliament, and how these discourses contribute to maintaining currently existing power relations.

According to Fairclough (2010), there are three main characteristics of critical discourse analysis. Firstly, critical discourse analysis is not only about the analysis of discourse, but it is also a systematic analysis of the relation between discourse and other parts of social processes. Secondly, it consists of a systematic analysis of the texts. Thirdly, it is not only descriptive, but also normative. Critical discourse analysis is normative because it looks at what is wrong and how this might be changed. It analyses how these social wrongs are produced, maintained, and how people mitigate them by focusing on the role of discourse in the production of these social wrongs. Fairclough (2010) states that ideologies are often contributing to keeping the existing power relations in place. Encarnacion Hidalgo Tenorio (2011) states that the more powerful groups in society often decide to represent both themselves and others in the most comfortable way for themselves, which contributes to the maintenance of the unequal power relations. This also makes critical discourse analysis relevant for my research. As mentioned in the introduction, power relations are influencing not only research on Indigenous topics, but also the content of policy documents as the framework plan and the curricula. In this type of documents, it is often tried to cover these relations between language, power, and ideologies (Skrede, 2017).

Critical discourse analysis is also applicable within several Indigenous methodologies. The research referred to in this section, comes from Māori and Torres Strait Islanders contexts. This mean that it is exclusively based on their unique situations and world view, but because it builds on values recurring in different Indigenous methodologies, it can be applicable to my research as well. Anne-Marie Jackson (2015, p. 1) describes that critical discourse analysis especially fits to Kaupapa Māori theory because forward thinking is an essential aspect of both, and because both are about “[...] understanding and affecting social change.” She follows the same line when she states that critical discourse analysis “[...] can be utilized within

the broader Indigenous research agenda to create transformation and social change for Indigenous communities” (Jackson, 2015, p. 9). This fits critical discourse analysis, because its normative character and the critical aspect of it. As Jackson, Melitta Hogarth (2015, 2017) also focuses on the critical and normative aspects of critical discourse analysis, by going back to the origin in critical theory of both critical discourse analysis and Indigenous methodologies. Hogarth refers to amongst others Margaret Kovach (2009, p. 48) who states that “[a]s long as decolonization is a purpose of Indigenous education and research, critical theory will be an allied Western conceptual tool for creating change.” With similar intentions, critical discourse analysis and Indigenous methodologies can complement each other, which makes critical discourse analysis a suitable method for the analysis of the policy documents central in this thesis.

The texts, in this case the curricula, can according to Fairclough (2010) not be seen as independent documents. They should be seen within the context of the texts that preceded them. These prior texts help to interpret a text. He calls this relation between a text and all prior texts intertextuality. In this context, text is a broad concept which also can include speech, images and movies.

Gee (2014a) provides several units of tools to use while doing discourse analysis. Especially his first three units are relevant for this thesis, i.e. the context, the different functions of language, and the choices made while formulating statements and the consequences of these choices. These three categories are also recurring in, for example the work of Fairclough (1992, 2010) and Joar Skrede (2017), and have functioned as a basis for the analysis. Gee (2014a, p. 12) describes context as “[...] the physical setting in which the communication takes place and everything in it; the bodies, eye gaze, gestures, and movements of those present; what has previously been said and done by those involved in the communication; and any shared knowledge those involved have, including shared cultural knowledge.” Context is important because of its function in creating meaning: “What the speaker says + context = what the speaker means” (Gee, 2014a, p. 18). People unconsciously bring shared cultural knowledge with them. This knowledge is often taken for granted and this could result in the assumption that others have the same cultural knowledge.

Within critical discourse analysis, the focus is on the question which knowledge the writer assumes that the reader has. In the case of the curricula, every reader will bring different cultural knowledge and so a different interpretation of the meaning of the curricula. Language has different functions. Beside of communicating, it can be used for doing and giving meaning.

Gee (2014a, p. 50) gives as a starting point for a critical discourse analysis the question: “What is a speaker trying to DO and not just what is the speaker trying to SAY?” So language can be used for other things than only communicating, and what is called by Gee (2014a) for “building things in the world” is one of them, especially important for critical discourse analysis. By using different grammar structures and other vocabulary, the meaning of a sentence can differ. For this reason, the choices for a specific phrase over another is important. There are certain grammar rules that have to be followed, but there is also room to make decisions, e.g. the choice for a passive or active sentence. These choices are made based on what we want to accomplish with the statement. The choices made influence the meaning of a sentence. Gee calls this for building things in the world, because of the pictures build in someone’s mind while reading or hearing a sentence. The choices made while formulating sentences influence this picture.

#### 4.2 Data

The research data consists of the relevant parts of the framework plan, the Norwegian national curriculum, and the Sami curriculum that are used during the school year of 2018-2019. The documents are further specified in table 1. These documents are not written by one person. Instead they are composed by curriculum groups consisting of experts both from kindergartens, schools, and universities. Furthermore, these documents have been subject to consultations. This makes it likely that these documents reflect the ideas of a broad group, and that they are carefully formulated with every language choice well thought through. It can be said that these documents are reflecting the Norwegian state politics (Goodlad, 1979; Øzerk, 2006).

The first document to be analysed is the framework plan, which can be seen as a curriculum for early childhood education. As previously stated, a specific Sami framework plan does not exist, but there are parts of the framework plan that are more relevant to the Sami languages.

The framework plan consists of nine chapters, i.e. Core values, Roles and responsibilities, Objectives and content, Children's participation, Co-operation between home and kindergarten, Transitions, Kindergarten as a pedagogical undertaking, Working methods, and Learning areas. There is explicitly written about the Sami language in three of these chapters. This has been done most extensive in the chapter Objectives and contents, which has a section especially about Sami kindergartens and one about other kindergartens with Sami children. Furthermore, the Sami languages are mentioned in the core values and in the section on Communication, language and text in the chapter on the Learning areas.

To continue with the curricula, the Sami curriculum and the Norwegian national curriculum are equal and parallel curricula (Øzerk, 2006). The curricula in Norway consist of four (groups of) documents, i.e. the core curriculum, the quality framework, subject curricula, and a document regulating distribution of teaching hours per subject. The core curriculum is the clearest ideological part of the curriculum in which the overall goals for education are set and in which the foundation is laid on which values, cultural and knowledge education is based. This core curriculum is the same for the Norwegian national curriculum and the Sami curriculum. The quality framework outlines the principles all education needs to be based on. There is a separate version of the quality framework in the Sami curriculum. The third part of the curriculum consist of the curricula for the different subjects. There are subject curricula which differ in the Sami curriculum, but there are also subject curricula which are used in both curricula. The subject curricula for the Sami languages are the same in the Norwegian national curriculum and the Sami curriculum. Øzerk (2006) explains the way the Norwegian national curriculum and the Sami curriculum relate to each other as documents with different target groups but with an equal status. Furthermore, he underlines that both curricula have common elements, but also unique parts. The last part of the curriculum is the framework regulating how the teaching hours are distributed per subject.

When it comes to the parts of the curricula relevant for the Sami languages, it is logical to include the curricula for the Sami languages. Furthermore, the Sami languages are also mentioned in the core curriculum and in the quality framework of both curricula. Therefore, these documents are included in the data too.

Table 1 Specification of the policy documents central in the analysis, with the Norwegian name between parentheses

Type of education	Policy documents
Kindergarten	Framework Plan for Kindertens (2017)
Primary school and lower secondary school, and upper secondary school	<p>National Curriculum for the Knowledge Promotion (2006)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Core curriculum (<i>Generell del av læreplanverket</i>, 2006)</li> <li>• Quality framework (<i>Prinsipper for opplæringen i kunnskapsløftet</i>, 2006)</li> </ul> <p>Sami National Curriculum for the Knowledge Promotion (2006)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Quality framework – Sami (<i>Prinsipper for opplæringen i kunnskapsløftet - samisk</i>, 2007)</li> <li>• Curriculum for Sami as a first language (<i>Læreplan i samisk som førstespråk</i>, 2013)</li> <li>• Curriculum for specialisation in Sami (<i>Læreplan i fordypning i samisk</i>, 2007)</li> <li>• Curriculum for Sami as a second language (<i>Læreplan i samisk som andrespråk</i>, 2013)</li> </ul>

The subject curricula for Sami as a first and as a second language have a similar structure. Both begin with a description of the broad objectives of the subject. Thereafter, descriptions of the main areas are given. For Sami as a first language and Sami as a second language, there are three main areas, i.e. oral communication, written communication, and language, culture and literature. For the subject curriculum for specialisation in Sami, there are only two main areas, i.e. exploration of the language in use, and language and communication. Thereafter, the teaching hours are specified. Then, there is an overview of the basic skills that the student will acquire. The next section consists of the competence goals, specified per year of education. The last section focuses on how the students' achievements should be evaluated.

Both the framework plan and the curricula are publicly available on the website of the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training. Despite of referring to these documents with the English names, I have used the versions in Norwegian Bokmål for my analysis. I have made this decision because not all documents are available in English and using all the

Norwegian versions makes it possible to compare the language use. Ideally, I would also have used the Sami versions, as they are likely often used by Sami language teachers. This alternative was, however, dropped because I do not read Sami myself. Furthermore, this mainly applies to the Sami curriculum and to a lesser extent to the framework plan, because the framework plan is not especially aimed for staff in Sami kindergartens.

When using quotes from the framework plan, they are shown both in Norwegian Bokmål and in the official English translation, as can be found on the website of the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training. These translations are not always unquestionable and smooth, but I have decided to use them as they are regarded as the official translations. The English translations of quotes from the core curriculum and the Norwegian quality framework are also the official translations. The subject curricula for Sami and the Sami quality framework are, however, not available in an official English translation, so I have translated the relevant quotes into English myself.

#### 4.3. Method

After selecting the data, the analysing process started. I start this section with explaining how I have used critical discourse analysis as a method in the analysis of the curricula. Thereafter, I describe the actual steps of the analysis in more detail.

Fairclough (2010; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Skrede, 2017) introduces a model of critical discourse analysis consisting of three dimensions, see figure 2. These three dimensions, or levels, cannot be seen in a linear order. Instead, during the analysis, the three levels influence each other.

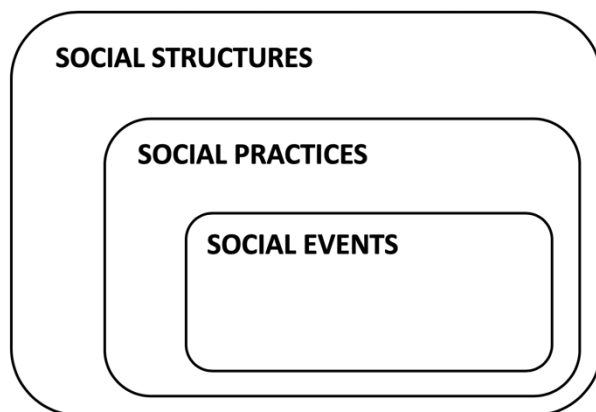


Figure 2 Fairclough's model (Fairclough, 2010; Skrede, 2017)

The first level consists of social events, or what Fairclough called texts before. This dimension is about how discourses are shaped by linguistic features. This is an analysis on a textual level of how social practices and social structures are created on a linguistic level, for example by

choices made on grammar or vocabulary. In relation to this thesis, this translates to a description of how ideologies about the Sami languages and Sami language education are constructed by different linguistic choices made in the curricula. An example can be choices related to transitivity which is “[...] how events and processes are connected (or not connected) with subjects and objects” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 190). The use of the passive voice is one form of transitivity, which creates a distance to the action and presents things as more natural phenomena without a specific person or organisation being responsible. Another example are choices related to modality. Modality is according to Fairclough (1992) important in the production of discourses. Modality is about the speaker’s, or writer’s, attitudes towards what is said. It can be indicated with modal words, such as modal verbs (can, may, shall, must), nouns (the possibility, the requirement), adjectives (clear, possible), or adverbs (certainly, probably, possibly).

The second level of Fairclough’s model consists of social practices, which are the different processes around the production and interpretation of the social events. This level mediates between the social events and the social structures. For example, this level can be about how already existing discourses are used in the construction of social events. In the case of this thesis, this will be about the production and interpretation of what is seen on a textual level in the curricula.

The third level are social structures, for example power relations. In the analysis, this will be an explanation of social events and social practices in relation to the social structures. So, this is about how the discourses are created on a textual level in the curricula, and the way this is done and interpreted related to social structures. Central are the consequences this has for these social structures.

The three dimensions of Fairclough’s model were present during the analysis of the framework plan and the curricula, which consisted of seven steps:

1. Familiarising myself with the context and background of the framework plan and curricula in order to be able to analyse the documents in relation to it;
2. Reading and selecting all parts of the framework plan and the curricula that are relevant regarding the Sami languages. Relevant parts were when there was either



explicitly stated something about the Sami languages, or when there were made more general statements about multilingualism and diversity which could possibly include the Sami languages;

3. Preliminary analysis with a special focus on possibilities to learn and use Sami, and on language ideologies about the Sami languages. The coding categories are made on the basis of recurring topics in the data, examples of these are the connection to culture and identity, Sami diversity, the goal of revitalisation, the other Sami languages, and different conditions for language use;
4. Coding all relevant parts of the framework plan and the curriculum based on the previously established coding categories.
5. Seeking for similarities between the different topics and putting them together in categories based on these similarities. Here it became clear that there were three main themes recurring in the documents, i.e. geographical differences, revitalisation as a goal of Sami language education, and (functional) bilingualism. These three main themes are also important factors for regulating a child's the possibilities to learn and use Sami in kindergarten and school;
6. Looking at the creation of discourses, which implicit knowledge the documents assume the reader to have, on which existing discourses the texts build further and which linguistic features are used for it;
7. Reflecting on and interpreting the different topics and the three themes, with special attention to the three levels of Fairclough's model, i.e. social events, social practices and social structures.

These seven steps together form the critical discourse analysis of the framework plan and the curriculum. The reflections and interpretations of the analysis are presented in chapter 5 and thereafter discussed in chapter 6.

## 5. Analysis and findings

In this chapter, I analyse the framework plan and the curricula as two sets of documents, which form a unity, given that the framework plan precedes the curricula. The possibilities for a child to learn and use Sami in kindergarten are regulated by the framework plan and thereafter when the child transfers to school this is regulated by the different curricula. Therefore, from the perspective of children these documents are closely related instead of being two isolated documents. Ideally seen this would imply that the content of these documents corresponds and that the curricula would build further on the framework plan.

The analysis focuses on three factors frequently recurring in the framework plan and the curriculum that are important in regulating the possibilities to learn and use Sami in kindergarten and school. Furthermore, these three factors are also important for the revitalisation of the Sami languages.

In section 5.1, I discuss how the geographical differences influence the possibilities to learn and use the language in kindergarten and school. As part of this, I focus on how the differences between inside and outside the administrative area are reflected in the documents. Furthermore, in this section I discuss the three different Sami languages, because this is closely related to the geographical aspect. Thereafter in section 5.2, the focus will be on the different goals for the Sami languages placed in the context of the overall goal of revitalisation of the Sami languages. As part of this, I look at the ways this is justified in the documents. Section 5.3 is about the concept of functional bilingualism and how this concept is written about in the documents. The last section consists of a short summary of the analysis.

### 5.1 Geographical differences

As explained in both chapter 1 and chapter 2, speakers of the Sami languages have more rights to use their language within the municipalities that are part of the administrative area for the Sami languages than outside this area. As a result of this, the place where a Sami child lives makes a difference in the possibilities the child has to learn and use the language in both kindergarten and school.

Because there is one framework plan for both inside and outside the administrative area, the differences are clearly stated in the document. Within the administrative area, the municipality has the responsibility to ensure that kindergarten for Sami children is based on the Sami language and culture. Outside the administrative area, Sami children should be supported in developing and preserving their language, regardless where they live in Norway. This can be in the form of a Sami kindergarten, a Sami department in a mainstream kindergarten, or it can also be in a mainstream kindergarten without Sami department. The parts of the framework related to these possibilities are formulated in a way that leaves much room for interpretation, especially in mainstream kindergartens without a Sami department. The weakness of these possibilities for children outside the administrative area can be seen in quote 1.1.

Quote 1.1 (Framework Plan, p. 25)

Samiske barn i barnehage skal få støtte til å bevare og utvikle sitt språk, sin kunnskap og sin kultur uavhengig av hvor i landet de bor. Innholdet i barnehagetilbudet til samiske barn utenfor samiske distrikt skal tilpasses barnas samiske bakgrunn. Dette innebærer at samiske barn og foreldre har rett til å forvente at personalet har kjennskap til, og legger vekt på, at også den samiske kulturen skal være en del av barnehagens innhold. Det skal legges til rette for at barna også kan få møte samisk språk.

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Sami kindergarten children shall be supported in preserving and developing their language, their knowledge and their culture irrespective of where in Norway they live. Kindergarten provision for Sami children living outside Sami districts shall be adapted to reflect the children's Sami background. This means that Sami children and parents are entitled to expect staff to know, and to acknowledge, that kindergarten content must also include Sami culture. The children shall also be able to encounter the Sami language in kindergarten.

In quote 1.1, it is explicitly stated in the first sentence that Sami children, regardless of where they live in Norway, should be supported in preserving and developing both their language and culture in kindergarten. The phrases about the Sami culture are formulated in a more concrete way with less space for personal interpretations, than the phrases about the Sami languages. It is for example specified what parents can expect from the staff.

This is a large contrast, in particular in comparison with the way the last sentence about the Sami language is formulated. The use of "shall be able to encounter" is more ambiguous and indicates in fact nothing about the possibilities the child gets to encounter the Sami languages

in kindergarten. On one hand, the use of the modal verb “shall” indicate that someone needs to ensure this, but on the other hand, this sentence is really weak by not specifying who should do it and the use of “encounter” which can mean many different things. As written in chapter 3, in order to revitalise a language, new speakers are needed. In relation to creating new speakers, it can be questioned if only encountering the language in kindergarten will be enough to support a Sami child to preserve and develop the language.

Since there are different curricula applicable inside and outside the administrative area, the differences are not expressed as explicit as in the framework plan. However, in the beginning of both Sami as a first language and Sami as a second language it is stated that the language situation and the conditions for the Sami language differ depending on the different areas in Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie. Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie is respectively the North, Lule and South Sami name for the traditional Sami area. The choice to use Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie is interesting because there is not a distinction made between inside and outside the administrative area here, but a distinction between different areas inside Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie. Usually the south of Norway is not considered to be a part of Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie. This results in a situation where in the curricula barely is acknowledged that there are Sami children living outside Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie, and that there are parts of what is considered as Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie not being part of the administrative area today. The use of phrases about different areas in Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie without mentioning anything about Sami children living outside this area contributes to the implication that there is a certain image of the area where Sami people live in Norway.

The differences between living outside or inside the administrative area are not only about language rights and differences that are explicitly stated in the documents. Often these differences are more implicit when it comes to the possibilities a speaker has to use the Sami language. Because of the extra rights mentioned before and the simple fact that within the administrative area often more Sami live, there are usually more situations where a child can use the language outside of the classroom in the administrative area. This is the case both because there are more different places to use the language outside school and because of larger groups of other Sami speaking children in school. When there is one curriculum for such

a heterogenous group of language learners, it is a question for which language learner the curriculum is designed.

There is the assumption in the documents that this is background knowledge that each reader has. The diversity in both student's background and conditions is clearly acknowledged in the Sami quality framework, as can be seen in quote 1.2. First of all, the Sami school needs to build on this diversity, but they also need to safeguard it.

Quote 1.2 (Quality framework – Sami, p. 1)

Den samiske skolen skal med basis i samisk språk, kultur og samfunnsliv bygge på og ivareta mangfoldet i elevenes bakgrunn og forutsetninger.

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The Sami school will be based on Sami language, culture and society build on and safeguard the diversity in the students' backgrounds and conditions.

Another more or less geographical distinction that influences these possibilities to learn and use the Sami languages are the three different Sami languages. When there is something written about the Sami language in the Education Act and in the curricula, this applies to Lule Sami, South Sami, and North Sami (Education Act, § 6-1). This is in contrast to the Kindergarten Act, where the different Sami languages are not further specified. In the framework plan, this is reflected in the way that the Sami languages are never written about in plural, but always about the Sami language in singular. However, in the curricula often phrases about "the Sami languages" are used, which contributes to the visibility of the different Sami languages.

Although the different Sami languages are not specified in the framework plan, there is "Sami diversity" written in two places. The first time is in the core values, so this applies to all kindergartens in Norway (see quote 1.3).

Quote 1.3 (Framework Plan, p. 92)

Barnehagen skal synliggjøre samisk kultur og bidra til at barna kan utvikle respekt og fellesskapsfølelse for det samiske mangfoldet.

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Kindergartens shall highlight Sami culture and help to ensure that the children develop respect for and solidarity with the diversity of Sami culture.

The second time is in the section about the objectives and content for Sami kindergartens and Sami departments in other kindergartens (see quote 1.4).

Quote 1.4 (Framework Plan, p. 24)

Barnehagen skal bidra til at barna kan bli kjent med mangfoldet i egen og andres kultur, og at barna kan utvikle respekt og fellesskapsfølelse for hele det samiske mangfoldet.

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Kindergartens shall enable the children to discover the diversity of their own culture and those of others and to develop respect for and solidarity with the diversity that exists in Sami culture.

While reading the framework plan, it becomes clear that Sami diversity is formulated as a broad concept which lacks a clear definition. Therefore, the use of a concept such as Sami diversity leaves room for interpretation. These interpretations will change based on the background knowledge of the reader. Sami diversity can include the different Sami languages, but this is not necessarily the case. It even points more towards an understanding of Sami diversity as the diversity of livelihoods in the Sami community, showing that being Sami is not exclusive about reindeer herding. In this way, focusing on Sami diversity in the framework plan opens up for the inclusion of all kind of Sami identities in kindergarten, but it is highly dependent on the interpretation of the individual reader.

Even although the different Sami languages are not mentioned separately in the curricula, there is a clearer discourse of linguistic diversity in the curricula compared to the framework plan. There is to a lesser extent the need to name them separately since the Education Act already stated that the three different languages are included in the term Sami language. In addition, in contrast to the framework plan, the curricula almost always refer to the Sami languages in plural. Furthermore, this linguistic diversity is also reflected in other ways in the curricula. This is done the most explicit in one of the first sentences which can be found in both Sami as a first language and Sami as a second language, as can be read in quote 1.5.

Quote 1.5 (Sami as a first language, p. 2; Sami as a second language, p. 2)

Språksituasjonen og vilkårene for samisk språk er forskjellig i de ulike områdene i Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie med flere samiske språk og med ulike dialekter.

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The language situation and the conditions for the Sami languages differ in the different areas of Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie with several Sami languages and with different dialects.

Except that here is made the choice to explicitly state that there are different Sami languages, there has also made the choice to refer to the area as Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie so in all three Sami languages. As discussed in section 5.1, the different possibilities to use the Sami language vary depending on living inside or outside the administrative area. Besides that, these possibilities also rely on which Sami language you speak. As stated in quote 1.5, the language situation will vary depending on where a child lives and which Sami language the child speaks. If the child speaks North Sami, which is by far the largest Sami language, there are not only more teaching materials available, but there are also more varied domains to use the language both inside and outside school.

Especially in the case of the framework plan where the different Sami languages are not addressed at all, the question is on which situation the framework plan is based. Is the framework plan based on the more stable situation of North Sami, the more uncertain situation of the two other Sami languages, or a fictive average situation of the three languages? This is a relevant question when analysing the goal of revitalising the Sami languages. In order to revitalise South Sami and Lule Sami more and other efforts are needed compared to North Sami. If the framework plan and the curricula are based on the situation of North Sami, with more possibilities to use the language, this can be disadvantageous for children who learn Lule Sami and South Sami in school.

This section has primarily been about the framework plan and the curricula for Sami as a first language and Sami as a second language. In addition, I want to notice that the subject curriculum for specialisation in Sami is built on the same values as the curriculum for Sami as a first language. Therefore, what the analysis shows about the latter also applies to the subject curriculum of specialisation in Sami.

## 5.2 Revitalisation as a goal

In this section, I do not specifically focus on the content of all different concrete learning goals stated in the framework plan and the curricula. Instead, the focus is on the larger goal of revitalisation of the Sami languages and the role of education in this process.

It can be said that revitalisation and strengthening the Sami languages is the overall goal of Sami language education, whether it is in kindergarten or at school. There, however, is nothing explicitly stated about Sami language revitalisation in the core curriculum. There is only one part where there is explicitly written about the Sami languages in the core curriculum (see quote 2.1).

Quote 2.1 (Core curriculum, p. 4, original English translation)

Samisk språk og kultur er en del av denne felles arv som det er et særlig ansvar for Norge og Norden å hegne om. Denne arven må gis rom for videre utvikling i skoler med samiske elever, slik at den styrker samisk identitet og vår felles kunnskap om samisk kultur.

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The Sami language and culture are a part of this common heritage which Norway and the Nordic countries have a special responsibility to safeguard. This legacy must be nourished so that it can grow in schools with Sami pupils, in order to strengthen Sami identity as well as our common knowledge of Sami culture.

In the core curriculum, there is written about safeguarding and nourishing the Sami languages. But the goal of revitalisation is more explicitly expressed in the beginning of both the framework plan (quote 2.2) and the curricula (quote 2.3 and 2.4).

Quote 2.2 (Framework plan, p. 25)

Samiske barn i barnehage skal få støtte til å bevare og utvikle sitt språk, sin kunnskap og sin kultur uavhengig av hvor i landet de bor.

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Sami kindergarten children shall be supported in preserving and developing their language, their knowledge and their culture irrespective of where in Norway they live.

In the framework plan, the formulation used makes it clear that this goal is aimed at the individual child in kindergarten. It is the child who should be supported in maintaining and developing the language. By doing this, the advantages of speaking and using the language for the individual child are put central. The same goal of revitalisation can be found in the



curricula, but instead of focusing on the individual child, the focus is put on the language. This can especially be seen in quote 2.3 which is a sentence that can be found in both the curriculum for Sami as a first language and Sami as a second language.

Quote 2.3 (Sami as a first language, p. 2; Sami as a second language, p.2)

Det er et mål at samisk språk skal bevares, styrkes og videreutvikles som et helhetlig kommunikasjonsmiddel uavhengig av riksgrensene.

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It is a goal that Sami language shall be preserved, strengthened and further developed as a comprehensive means of communication regardless of nation borders.

Instead of supporting the children in preserving and developing their language, the choice has been made to formulate the goals for the language itself. In this case, the child is becoming a means to preserve, strengthen, and develop the language. Although this does not mean that the interests of the child are completely left out of consideration. For example, the importance of the language for a child's identity is mentioned several times. Although, the clear overall goal is the revitalisation of the languages. This can be seen throughout the complete curricula, especially when compared to the framework plan. This is brought forward most explicit in the curriculum for Sami as a first language, as can be seen in quote 2.4.

Quote 2.4 (Sami as a first language, p. 3)

Dette forutsetter at eleven som samisktalende skal lære seg hvordan man på best mulig måte bevarer og samtidig utvikler det samiske språket.

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This assumes that the student as a Sami speaker will learn how to preserve in the best possible way and at the same time develop the Sami language.

Here, we can see a clear difference between the discursive practices of formulating goals in the framework plan and the curricula. In the framework plan, the goals are meant for the staff, while the goals in the subject curricula are designed for the students. The goals formulated in the core curriculum and the quality framework target schools.

In the curriculum, a basis can be found for a justification of revitalising the Sami languages. On one hand, there are the three different Sami languages existing in different situations with

different conditions for the learners and speakers of each language. On the other hand, there has been placed much emphasis on the different Sami languages in Norway being part of a larger group. This can be seen in both Sami as a first language and Sami as a second language. There are three different ways in which this is done in the curricula and each time the Sami languages in Norway are placed in a larger whole. The first way is stating that the Sami languages are spoken across the borders. The second way makes the group larger by stating that the Sami languages are part of the Finno-Ugrian language family. The last way is by placing Sami in the context of “the language situation of other Indigenous peoples” and so placing the Sami languages in the enormous group of Indigenous languages. By doing this, a kind of significance is created to use and revitalise the language. By showing that Sami is not only a minoritised language in Norway, but that the language also is part of a larger historical and relational context.

A large part of the curricula does not only focus on what the children learn in school with regard to the Sami language, but there is also a lot of emphasis on using the language outside the class room and after school. Referring several times to the importance of using the language outside of school, contributes to the way the overall goal of revitalisation is continuously expressed in the curricula. The skills and knowledge about the importance of using the Sami languages outside the classroom will contribute to the strengthening and revitalisation the Sami languages. The promotion of the language outside school is not always stated explicitly in the curricula, but it can often be read between the lines. This becomes the clearest in the curriculum for Sami as a second language when there is written about promoting positive attitudes towards the language and about being bilingual, as can be seen in quote 2.5. Contrary to Sami as a second language, there are no indications about similar ideas in the framework plan and the Sami as a first language curriculum. This suggests that there is an assumption that children following Sami as a first language have more possibilities to use the language outside school.

Quote 2.5 (Sami as a second language, p. 2)

En opplæring som fremmer positive holdninger til samiske språk, og som tar hensyn til det språk- og kulturmangfoldet som elevene erfarer, vil gi elevene flerspråklig og flerkulturell kompetanse.

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Education that promotes positive attitudes towards the Sami languages, and that takes into account the linguistic and cultural diversity that students experience, will provide students with multilingual and multicultural competence.

The curriculum for Sami as a first language is the strongest option to obtain the goal of children also using the language outside of school. Children following this curriculum have Sami as their first language and their “bilingual competence” is one of the central goals continually recurring in the document. This is also reflected in the competence goals set for each level. It starts with the children becoming aware of their own bilingualism and it goes to gaining more advanced knowledge about being bilingual. As can be read in quote 2.4, in the curriculum Sami as a first language, it is even explicitly stated that children will learn the best ways to preserve and strengthen the Sami languages. By stating that the children do not only need to be aware of preserving the language, but also learn the best ways to accomplish this. These children are receiving a certain responsibility for the revitalisation of the language. As Sami language speakers, they are themselves responsible for maintaining the language. Formulating learning outcomes related to being bilingual and preserving the language is not something that is primarily useful for language learning, but more for the larger goal of revitalisation. If a Sami child is aware of the advantages of being bilingual and has knowledge about how to use his/her bilingualism, it is a more logical step to continue using Sami also outside and after school.

The curriculum for Sami as a second language shares the overall goal of the revitalisation of the Sami languages with Sami as a first language. Instead of focusing to a large extent on being bilingual, the focus is more on culture and using the language for communication. Compared to Sami as a first language, the child’s responsibility of preserving the language is not as clear stated. There are three different alternatives of the subject curriculum Sami as a second language. To shortly summarise, Sami 2 is described as the strongest option here and is aimed for children with prior knowledge of the language. Sami 3 is for children without any prior

knowledge and Sami 4 is for those who start with Sami in upper secondary school. As can be read in quote 2.6, Sami 2 will give the child the best proficiency in the end and Sami 2 will contribute to the child becoming functionally bilingual. In section 5.3, this goal of (functional) bilingualism will be discussed in more detail.

Quote 2.6 (Sami as a second language, p. 5)

Samisk som andrespråk – samisk 2 som er det alternativet som gir best språkkunnskaper etter endt skolegang og valg av dette alternativet på grunnskolen, vil bidra til å legge grunnlag for elevens funksjonelle tospråklighet. Det er viktig at elever blir oppmuntret til å velge dette alternativet.

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Sami as a second language - Sami 2 which is the alternative that gives the best language skills after completing education and choosing this option in primary school, will help to lay the foundation for the student's functional bilingualism. It is important that students are encouraged to choose this option.

An interesting part of quote 2.6 is the last sentence. The curriculum states that it is important to encourage children to choose Sami 2. Why this is important becomes clearer while later on in the curriculum when the goals of Sami 3 are outlined. It states that it is not necessarily a goal that the child becomes bilingual. If the main goal is the revitalisation of the language, speakers are needed who use the language and who can transfer the language to the next generation. So, by having children following Sami 3, which has not necessarily bilingualism as a goal, there is less chance of them contributing to the revitalisation of the language compared to the children following Sami 2 or Sami as a first language.

### 5.3 (Functional) bilingualism

In the previous section, the concepts of both bilingualism and functional bilingualism have shortly been discussed. This has mainly been done in the light of the overall goal of revitalisation of the Sami languages. Functional bilingualism is stressed as the best possible goal for children following Sami as a second language (see quote 3.1).

Quote 3.1 (Sami as a second language, p. 2)

Faget samisk som andrespråk skal sammen med faget norsk legge grunnlaget for utvikling av elevenes funksjonelle tospråklighet, og bidra til at den enkelte elev får kunnskaper, motivasjon og trygghet til å velge samisk som kommunikasjonsspråk.

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The subject Sami as a second language, together with the subject Norwegian, should lay the foundation for the development of the students' functional bilingualism, and contribute to the individual student gaining knowledge, motivation and confidence to choose Sami as language of communication.

As opposed to Sami as a second language, functional bilingualism is not explicitly stated as a goal in the Sami as a first language curriculum (see quote 3.2). The choice has been made to instead use the concept of bilingual competence, which is not considered as something that needs to be developed, in comparison to functional bilingualism. This points towards the assumption that children with Sami as a first language, more unconsciously become bilingual in Sami and Norwegian. While children with Norwegian as their first language need more support to consciously become bilingual.

Quote 3.2 (Sami as a first language, p. 2)

Opplæringen i samisk som førstespråk bidrar sammen med opplæringen i norsk til elevenes tospråklige kompetanse.

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The education in Sami as a first language, together with the education in Norwegian, contributes to the students' bilingual competence.

Quote 3.1 and 3.2 can be found in similar places within the two curricula. Where bilingualism is considered as a logical result of having Sami as a first language, this is different for children who have Sami as their second language. As can be read in quote 3.1, Sami as a second language contributes together with Norwegian to the basis of developing the children's functional bilingualism. This way of formulating shows the difference between the status of Norwegian and Sami. When children have Sami as their first language, these children will automatically become bilingual, because they will also use Norwegian outside school. In contrast with a Sami child having Norwegian as their first language, which will not automatically result in the child using Sami outside the classroom. So, therefore there is a need to state the goal of functional bilingualism explicitly in the curriculum for Sami as a second language.

Besides mentioning functional bilingualism as a goal of Sami 2 and not necessarily of Sami 3, it is also mentioned as a concept that the students should be able to discuss. This is the case in both Sami as a first language and Sami 2. Quote 3.3 shows this for Sami as a first language and consists of one of the competence goals set for upper secondary school. Quote 3.4 consists of the competence goal concerning discussing functional bilingualism coming from the Sami as a second language curriculum. The Sami as a first language curriculum states that the student in addition should be able to discuss other concepts related to functional bilingualism and also the benefits and challenges of multilingual communities. This is a goal that does not exist in the Sami as a second language curriculum.

Quote 3.3 (Sami as a first language, p. 14)

Mål for opplæringen er at eleven skal kunne  
[...]

- diskutere begrepene morsmål, førstespråk, tospråklighet og funksjonell tospråklighet og drøfte fordeler og utfordringer i flerspråklige samfunn

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The goal of the education is that the student should be able to  
[...]

- discuss the concepts of mother tongue, first language, bilingualism and functional bilingualism and discuss the benefits and challenges of multilingual communities

Making the choice that students do not only need to become (functional) bilingual but also should be able to discuss this, contributes to the importance of revitalisation as a goal of Sami language education as expressed in the curricula. When a child becomes aware of what it means to be functionally bilingual and this is framed as a positive thing, it will be easier to actually start using the Sami languages outside school.

Quote 3.4 (Sami as a second language, p. 14)

Mål for opplæringen er at eleven skal kunne  
[...]

- drøfte begrepet funksjonell to-språklighet

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The goal of the education is that the student should be able to  
[...]

- discuss the concept of functional bilingualism

Although, the goal is that children shall be able to discuss the concept of functional bilingualism, the choice has been made to neither further specify it in the curricula nor to give possible interpretations. This makes it a broad and slightly unclear concept. What makes a child bilingual or functionally bilingual? In general, a functionally bilingual person is seen as someone who can use both languages, corresponding with their own needs and societies' demands (Todal & Øzerk, 1996). Not only the needs of a Sami child to use Sami outside school will differ inside and outside the administrative area, but also the demands of society. Different readers of the curriculum will have another idea of the concept functional bilingualism and this might result in different interpretations outside and inside the administrative area. The degree of proficiency in Sami has consequences for the use of the language outside school and so for the revitalisation of the languages. By having such an unclear concept as functional bilingualism as an important goal, it also becomes unclear if this goal will be enough for revitalising the Sami languages.

Apart from (functional) bilingualism, the term multilingualism is also used several times in the curricula. Although there apparently has been a conscious choice to use different concepts, there is not a clear difference between the use of multilingualism and bilingualism in these documents. This contributes to the indistinctness of the terms' meaning.

Students with a variety of different background and different conditions for Sami language education, makes it important that education can be adjusted to the background and needs of the individual students. Both the quality framework of the Norwegian national curriculum and the Sami national curriculum have an almost identical section on adapting education to the individual student's background. Quote 3.5 is from the Norwegian quality framework and the most important differences compared to the Sami quality framework are that ethnicity and livelihood are explicitly mentioned in the latter. The sentences in this quote are formulated in a complicated and not easily readable way. This is caused by the way there is tried to include as many different sides as diversity as possible. Ethnicity and livelihood, which implicitly refers so coming from a reindeer herding family or not, are typical for the Sami curriculum.

Quote 3.5 (Prinsipper for opplæringen, pp. 4-5, original translation)

I opplæringen skal mangfoldet i elevenes bakgrunn, forutsetninger, interesser og talenter møtes med et mangfold av utfordringer. Uavhengig av kjønn, alder, sosial, geografisk, kulturell eller språklig bakgrunn skal alle elever ha like gode muligheter til å utvikle seg gjennom arbeidet med fagene i et inkluderende læringsmiljø. Tilpasset opplæring for den enkelte elev kjennetegnes ved variasjon i bruk av lærestoff, arbeidsmåter, læremidler samt variasjon i organisering av og intensitet i opplæringen. Elevene har ulike utgangspunkt, bruker ulike læringsstrategier og har ulik progresjon i forhold til nasjonalt fastsatte kompetansemål.

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The diversity of pupil backgrounds, aptitudes, interests and talents shall be matched with a diversity of challenges in the education. Regardless of gender, age, social, geographical, cultural or language background, all pupils shall have equally good opportunities to develop through working with their subjects in an inclusive learning environment. Adapted teaching for each and every pupil is characterised by variation in the use of subject materials, ways of working and teaching aids, as well as variation in the structure and intensity of the education. Pupils have different points of departure, use different learning strategies and differ in their progress in relation to the nationally stipulated competence aims.

When multilingualism and (functional) bilingualism is written about, this is often either about the benefits or the challenges, such as how the environment can support a child in being multilingual or about the consequences of being it. This situation is slightly different concerning the framework plan. In the framework plan, the phrase “multilingual children” is mentioned only once in relation to Sami children, see quote 3.6. By explicitly including Sami children in the concept of the multilingual child at this specific place in the framework plan, it is likely that they are included every time multilingual is used.

Quote 3.6 (Framework Plan, pp. 23-24)

Personalet skal [...] bidra til at språklig mangfold blir en berikelse for hele barnegruppen, støtte flerspråklige barn i å bruke sitt morsmål og samtidig aktivt fremme og utvikle barnas norsk-/samiskspråklige kompetanse.

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Staff shall [...] help ensure that linguistic diversity becomes an enrichment for the entire group of children and encourage multilingual children to use their mother tongue while also actively promoting and developing the children’s Norwegian/Sami language skills

It should be noted that the most logical interpretation of this sentence is that a multilingual Sami child with Sami as a mother tongue should be able to use Sami and develop Norwegian at the same time in kindergarten. Another possible interpretation is that a multilingual Sami child with Norwegian as a mother tongue should be able to use Norwegian and develop Sami



at the same time in kindergarten. It is questionable how likely the last situation will be, especially when a child lives outside of the administrative area and does not have the possibility to attend a Sami kindergarten or Sami department in a mainstream kindergarten. Another possible, although highly unlikely, reading of the quote is that multilingual children with a mother tongue other than Norwegian or Sami should be able to use that mother tongue in kindergarten and at the same time develop both Norwegian and Sami competence.

#### 5.4 Summary of the analysis

Summarising, three themes became present during the analysis of the framework plan and the curricula. The first theme focuses on the geographical differences which are much more present in the framework plan than in the curricula. This can be explained due to the fact that there is only one framework plan and that there are several curricula. Sami children in kindergarten outside the administrative area only have limited possibilities to come in contact with the Sami languages due to the framework plan's focus on culture rather than language. In the curricula, there is given the idea that Sami children live in the traditional Sami settlement area by using *Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie*. More implicit are the results of the geographical differences present in the possibilities Sami children have to use the language outside school.

The second theme is centred around the overall goal of the revitalisation of the Sami languages and how this is expressed in the framework plan and the curricula. In the framework plan, Sami language education is justified because of the importance of the language for the individual child. This is in contrast to the curricula, where Sami language education is grounded in the importance of revitalising the languages. In the curricula, a certain responsibility is even assigned for the revitalisation to the children.

The third theme covers the concept of functional bilingualism. In the framework plan, this is not a recurring concept in relation to the Sami languages. On the contrary, bilingualism is of high importance in the curricula, where developing functional bilingualism is used in the curriculum for Sami as a second language and bilingual competence in the curriculum of Sami as a first language. These outcomes will be discussed in relation to the literature in chapter 6.

## 6. Discussion of the results

This chapter discusses the results of the analysis of the framework plan and the curricula. This type of document is called by Ricento and Hornberger (1996) the outer layer of the language policy onion, i.e. policies on a national level. My focus on policy documents on this level implies that I do not discuss the results of the analysis in relation to the other layers of the onion. This means that I do not focus on issues related to the implementation of language policies on an institutional or interpersonal level, the two inner layers of the language policy onion. Although these two layers are influenced by policies on a national level. For this reason, I discuss how the content of the framework plan and curricula influence the lives of children in kindergarten and school. Hence, in order to interpret and discuss the findings, I return to the two children from the introduction. I presented the idea of two Sami children, one living inside the administrative area and one living outside of it. As discussed in the chapters 2 and 5, the possibilities these two children have to learn and use Sami in kindergarten and school are regulated differently in the framework plan and the curricula.

In this discussion chapter, the two research questions are used as a point of departure. The first question focuses on how the possibilities to learn and use Sami in school are regulated according to the framework plan, the Norwegian national curriculum and the Sami curriculum. The second question asks which language ideologies about the Sami languages are reflected in these documents. To start with, the three factors central in the analysis, are all three based on language ideologies. The geographic dimension is connected to ideologies about who is considered to be potential speakers. The institutional differences show the different ideological motivations of Sami language education. The goal of functional bilingualism reveals ideologies about the goal of Sami language education and who is considered to become speakers contributing to the revitalisation of the Sami languages.

To discuss the findings of the analysis, I follow the order of chapter 4. Therefore, I start discussing the role of a geographical dimension in making a difference between possibilities to learn and use Sami in school. The second section is about the overall goal of language revitalisation and how this is differently expressed in the framework plan and the curricula. The third section is about the goal of functional bilingualism and whether this contributes to

the revitalisation. These three themes that have emerged in the analysis leads to an overarching question, i.e. who is Sami language education meant for? This is discussed in the fourth section.

### 6.1 Explanations for the geographical differences

The focus of this section is on the geographical aspect that can be found in both the framework plan and the curricula. As soon as the two children enter kindergarten, the child within the administrative area will automatically have the possibility to go to a Sami kindergarten with staff speaking Sami. On the other hand, for children outside of the administrative area only the right to meet Sami culture in kindergarten is firmly established. With regard to the Sami language in kindergartens outside the administrative area, it only states that Sami children should have the right to encounter the language. This conforms to the idea that there is a more important role for the Sami culture than for the Sami languages in kindergartens outside the administrative area. So, where a Sami child lives is of great importance to the possibilities the child has to learn and use Sami in both kindergarten and school. As mentioned in chapter 2, there can be Sami kindergartens or Sami departments in mainstream kindergartens outside of the administrative area.

The geographical, or territorial, aspect in the framework plan and the curricula is characteristic for Norwegian Sami politics. Torvald Falch, Per Selle and Kristin Strømsnes (2016) connect this territorial dimension of Sami politics to the recognition of the Sami as an Indigenous people. First of all, as Falch and Selle (2016) argue the connection to the land and so the territorial rights connected to it are what Indigenous peoples distinguish from other minority groups. In the case of the Sami, the traditional nomadic livelihood of the reindeer herding Sami has contributed to their recognition as Indigenous people. The territorial dimensions come into the picture with this livelihood. Therefore, Falch, Selle and Strømsnes (2016) argue that the different territorial dimensions are an integral part of Sami politics. The distinction between inside and outside the administrative area can be found in the Kindergarten Act and Education Act, and thus also in the framework plan and the curricula.

At the same time, there is not only a territorial aspect, but also an individual ethnic one (Falch et al., 2016). Firstly, all Sami children in Norway have the right to Sami language education in

school, regardless if they live inside or outside the administrative area. If we think of the two Sami children from the introduction, when the Sami child outside the administrative area makes the transition from kindergarten to primary school, this child can receive Sami language education too. Secondly, with regard to kindergartens, not every child within the administrative area has the right to go to a Sami kindergarten, only Sami children. This is in contrast to schools within the administrative area, where every child, regardless if they identify as Sami have the right (and in some areas even the obligation) to learn Sami in school. As Todal (2015) argues for children attending school, the access to Sami language education is based on the child's geographical location instead of ethnicity.

To return to the framework plan, the way the parts about the Sami languages outside of the administrative area are formulated is not unique for this current framework plan. The strong emphasis on culture and cultural diversity in the framework plan, in combination with the idea that Sami language kindergartens are meant for Sami children within the administrative area can be found in previous framework plans. Olsen and Andreassen (2017; 2018) state that, although it is not explicitly stated in the first curriculum for kindergartens in Norway in 1995, the parts about Sami topics were only meant for Sami children in Sami kindergartens in the administrative area. This tradition can explain the clear difference between the framework plan and the curricula on this point.

Besides the tradition of having a territorial aspect in Indigenous and Sami politics, there are several other motivations for having such an area as the administrative area for the Sami languages. Todal (2015) argues that having a geographically defined area as the administrative area is important for the revitalisation of the Sami languages, especially together with what he calls the core area for the Sami languages. The core area for Sami consists of the area in Norway where North Sami is the strongest and where Sami often are a majority. This core area is important because in this area the Sami language is transferred to the next generation. More people speak Sami in the core area than outside of it. This has as a consequence that people have easier access to the Sami language, the language can be used in more domains, and learning the language is necessary earlier. The natural transfer of a language to the next generation is essential in the process of revitalising the language. Furthermore, it also reinforces the effects of the language policies.

According to Todal (2015), a geographically defined area like the administrative area is not only an easy way for Norway to fulfil the demands of international treaties and legislation, but also a strong tool to strengthen and develop the Sami languages spoken inside of this administrative area. He mentions several examples of research that has shown that speakers of Sami within the administrative area are more satisfied since the development of the administrative area and that it increased the possibilities to use their language. Concerning the Northern Sami context, Todal strongly argues for the administrative area by stating that if Norway would abandon the administrative area and instead go with an approach only based on individual ethnic rights, this would be more demanding for the individual speaker and it might have negative consequences for the Sami languages. The current approach to Sami language rights can be best described as a combination of individual rights and collective rights (Patten & Kymlicka, 2003). Each individual child has the right to Sami language education, but the Norwegian government also maintains a collective rights approach via the administrative area. This is important for language revitalisation because it recognises how the Sami people collectively face similar challenges as an Indigenous minority.

A more critical view on the geographical dimension of Sami language rights is presented by Nathan Albury (2016), who states that the current administrative area advantages the Sami who live inside the administrative area. While the language rights of Sami who live outside the administrative area or who want to move from the administrative area are put at a disadvantage. Albury especially focuses on urbanisation and Sami moving to Norway's larger cities. Todal (2015) also describes that the aspect of urbanisation is not considered in legislation on the Sami languages, which is, as he argues, primarily designed for small municipalities with a large percentage of Sami. As a possible explanation, he states that the Sami Parliament has focused on strengthening the rural districts and therefore urbanisation might have been undesirable to focus on.

Following Albury's argumentation, having a geographical dimension in Sami language policy has certain consequences for children living outside the administrative area. This can also be seen in the analysis of both the framework plan and the curricula. The possibilities to learn and use Sami in kindergarten and school differ for the Sami child living inside the

administrative area and the one living outside of it. Todal (2015) and Albury (2015, 2016) have both the same goal for the Sami languages, i.e. strengthening and revitalise them. The approaches they have to this goal in relation to their view on the administrative area differ. While Todal focuses on the positive effects of the administrative area and its importance, Albury focuses on the negative consequences.

The administrative area has not only explicit and direct consequences for Sami language education as regulated through the framework plan and the curricula, but also more implicit ones. One of these implicit consequences is the increased possibilities to use the Sami languages within the administrative area. This gives Sami children within the administrative area more possibilities to interact with the languages outside the classroom. However, these possibilities are not only influenced by whether a child lives inside or outside the administrative area.

Another factor that plays a role is which Sami language a child speaks. In her chapter about South Sami language and culture, Brit Mæhlum (2019) states there are two important consequences of North Sami being the majority within the Sami languages. Firstly, she argues that most measures for the Sami languages have been in favour of North Sami. Secondly, she makes the statement that when Sami is used, it “[...] tends to be perceived and treated as Northern Saami” (Mæhlum, 2019, p. 24). If Mæhlum’s argumentation is followed, that especially the linguistic measures to maintain the Southern Sami language and culture have primarily been in the interest of North Sami, one might assume that this also applies to the curricula. This would mean that the curriculum implicitly is designed in the conditions favouring North Sami, with more domains to use this language. However, as the analysis showed, the curricula are applicable for North Sami, South Sami, and Lule Sami, which is underlined by using *Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie* in all three languages. So, it can be said that the possibilities to learn and use Sami in school are regulated exactly the same way, whether a child is Northern, Southern, or Lule Sami. The curricula open also up for the different conditions for the Sami languages in both the quality framework and by the use of competence goals. This way of formulating learning outcomes leave space for teachers to adjust their teaching so that their students will be able to reach the competence goals. This

question will be discussed in more detail in section 6.3 in relation to the goal of functional bilingualism.

This leads to returning to the concept of the cultural interface (Nakata, 2007a, 2007b). There are many different subject positions possible at the cultural interface. Which position a person, in this case one of the two Sami children, take or get assigned, is influenced by many different political, economic, historical, and social factors in addition to both place and time. These different positions mean that policies, such as the framework plan and the curricula, can have a different effect on different children. The different factors discussed in this section, such as living inside or outside the administrative area and which language a child speaks, are only a few of them. This will become clearer in the following sections, where I return to other factors that play a role. It is important to take the complexity of the cultural interface into account here.

## 6.2 Different conditions for revitalisation in kindergarten and school

This section focuses on the revitalisation of the Sami languages and the importance of education's role for it. When the Sami child living inside the administrative area starts kindergarten, this child's possibilities for learning Sami are formulated in relation to the importance of the language for the individual child. This is in contrast with the curricula, where the focus is on the importance of the revitalisation of the language.

The importance of Sami language education is justified in the framework plan by focusing on the importance of the wellbeing of the individual child. In the curricula, this has been done completely different by placing the Sami languages in Norway in larger groups, i.e. the Sami languages spoken across the borders, the Sami languages as Finno-Ugrian languages, and the Sami languages as Indigenous languages.

There are different explanations possible here, but most lead to the fact that kindergarten and school are two different institutions. These two institutions are based on different pedagogical principles and regulated by different laws. First of all, this starts with the framework plan and the curricula being two different types of documents. The framework plan is built on the ideal of a holistic development of the child where play, care and education

go hand in hand. The curricula also have this ideal of a holistic development of the child, but are built on the idea of an educational development of the child in the different subjects separately. The framework plan consists of only one document with in total 64 pages in the Norwegian version (including the various pages consisting of illustrations and space for notes). This differs from the curricula, which are respectively 15 and 17 pages for only the curricula of Sami as a first language and Sami as a second language. So, this simply provides space to come with more details related to competences and goals. The differences between kindergarten and school as two different institutions are also seen in the formulations of who is supposed to fulfil the goals in the different documents. In the framework plan, it is the staff who shall fulfil the goals, whereas the different goals stated in the subject curricula are intended for the children. This can be part of an explanation of the different justifications of Sami language education expressed in the framework plan and the curricula.

These different justifications can also be explained by the two categories of arguments for language revitalisation as described by Ferguson (2006). The first category are arguments focusing on the personal advantages, which clearly can be seen in the framework plan. Ferguson's second category features arguments about the ecology of language focusing on the value of linguistic diversity. This second type of arguments is present in the curricula, while it is completely missing in the framework plan.

Another explanation for the differences between kindergarten and schools can be found in the importance that is assigned to Sami language education when it comes to the creation of new speakers (Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2016). As mentioned in chapter 3, language education is in itself not enough for the revitalisation of a language (Hornberger, 2008). This is most clearly reflected in the curricula where there is a lot of emphasis put on the need to use Sami as a language of communication outside the classroom. This is seen the clearest in the curriculum for Sami as a second language, apparently because there is the assumption that children with Sami as their first language, will use it naturally more often outside the classroom.

As Ajsic and McGroarty (2015) put it, it is important that language policies contribute to the creation of positive ideologies about the minoritised language. When this is not done, this will



have consequences for the success of reaching the goal of revitalisation. Both the framework plan and the curricula are formulated in a way that they contribute to these positive ideologies. Both the framework plan and the curricula value the Sami languages, value functional bilingualism, and especially the curricula focus on the advantages of bilingualism and how to handle the challenges coming with it.

Another important aspect of language revitalisation is that it happens on the conditions of the language community (Hinton, 2001b; Huss, 2008; Sallabank, 2013a). This becomes more complicated when looking at the Sami children outside of the administrative area starting kindergarten. The framework plan does not give these children many opportunities to learn and use Sami in kindergarten when there is no Sami kindergarten or Sami department in a mainstream kindergarten close by. So, if the wish of the parents is to raise their child in Sami, it will be difficult to get support in kindergarten when the child shall only encounter the Sami languages there.

When looking at the framework plan and the curricula as closely related and the differences between them regarding the goal of revitalisation, the logical question that arises is if the framework plan prepares for choosing the two strongest options of Sami language education in school, i.e. Sami as a first language or Sami 2. I want to argue that the framework plan does not prepare Sami children outside the administrative area to choose one of the strongest options for Sami language education unless there is a Sami kindergarten or department. The reasons why are explained below.

When a Sami child inside the administrative area attends a Sami kindergarten, it would be a logical choice for the parents to make the decision for the child to continue with one of the strongest options of Sami language education in school. If all other factors that play a role in this decision are taken out of consideration, it becomes more complex for the Sami child outside the administrative area. When this child has had the possibility to attend a Sami kindergarten or Sami department, the motivation to continue with Sami language education would be similar to the child inside the administrative area. Again, this is when no other factors outside the framework plan are taken into considering.

The situation is even becoming more complex, for the Sami child living outside the administrative area attending a mainstream kindergarten. It is questionable if the framework plan prepares this child and its parents to choose Sami language education in school. This is mainly the case because this child does not necessarily come in contact with the Sami languages in kindergarten. It can be said that the framework plan in this way does not contribute to the creation of new speakers and so to the revitalisation of the Sami languages. The different situation inside the administrative and outside the administrative area for children attending Sami kindergarten is because the framework plan enables them to learn and use Sami in kindergarten, which makes it more likely for them to decide to continue with Sami language education in school. Although, the framework plan does still not prepare in a more explicit way the children transferring from kindergarten to school to choose one of the strongest options of Sami language education.

### 6.3 Functional bilingualism as a means and a goal for revitalisation

The next section will focus on the importance of (functional) bilingual speakers for the revitalisation of the Sami languages. In the curriculum for the subject Sami as a second language, becoming functionally bilingual is one of the most important goals, both for the individual student and for the revitalisation of the Sami languages. It can be said that functional bilingualism is seen as both a means and a goal for revitalisation in the curricula.

Functional bilingualism is a concept that in relation to Sami language education can be found in the Norwegian curricula since 1987 (Todal & Øzkerk, 1996). As it is framed in the curriculum, the most important reason of having functional bilingualism as a goal is the importance of functionally bilingual speakers for the revitalisation of the Sami languages. In order to revitalise the language, speakers are needed, so that they can transfer the language to their own children later on (Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2016).

Functional bilingualism is not mentioned in the curriculum for Sami as a first language, whereas it is such a central goal in the curriculum for Sami as a second language. A possible explanation could be that children having Sami as a first language, rather also will use Norwegian outside the classroom, while this is not the case for the Sami language when a child has Norwegian as a first language. Functional bilingualism, however, can be found in the

curriculum for the subject Norwegian for students with Sami as a first language. In this subject curriculum, it is stated that this subject contributes together with Sami to the development of the child's functional bilingualism. The fact that functional bilingualism only is used in the curricula for Sami as a second language and Norwegian for students with Sami as a first language points towards the assumption that it is a concept which is only used in the context of a second language in the curricula.

Although it is such an important goal, functional bilingualism is not further defined in the current curriculum. This leaves space for teachers to interpret it themselves. Already in 1996, Todal and Øzerk indicate that the location of a school plays a role in the understanding of functional bilingualism, simply because the arenas to use Sami differ between different areas in Norway and so does the demands of society. There are three different factors that play a role here, whether a school is located inside or outside the administrative area, whether a school is located in or outside the traditional Sami settlement areas, and which Sami language is spoken in the area where the school is located. These factors correspond with the factors playing a role in having opportunities to use Sami outside the classroom, which I mentioned in the first section of this chapter. There is for example a large difference in the number of different arenas where you can use Sami whether you speak North Sami and live in Guovdageaidnu-Kautokeino or you speak South Sami and live in Tråante-Trondheim.

It can be stated that functional bilingualism is a vague concept with a lot of room for teachers' own interpretations. However, Todal and Øzerk (1996) argue that it is not desirable to have a more specified and measurable definition of functional bilingualism in the curricula. First of all, because it is not something that is measurable. Secondly, when having such a definition, this will apparently result in focusing only on certain formal aspects of the language. Solstad et al. (2012) have written a series of evaluation reports of the current Sami curriculum in Norway. In the last report (2012), they state that although functional bilingualism is an important goal, it is also a difficult goal to reach. One of the reasons for this is the geographical aspect; if there are large differences between the domains where the language can be used outside school, this influences how realistic functional bilingualism is. It is, for example, more realistic and easier to reach a goal for a child living inside the administrative area, than for a child living in the South of Norway.

This discussion leads to another question already presented in the previous chapter. How realistic is the overall goal of revitalisation outside of the administrative area? If there are less possibilities to learn and use Sami in both kindergarten and school outside the administrative area, and there are also less possibilities to use Sami outside of school? Most Sami children outside the administrative area follow Sami as a second language and, only a small number has Sami as a first language and as the language of instruction.

Hinton (2001b) states that teaching the minoritised language as a subject does not often contribute to the creation of new speakers who will transfer the language to the next generation. Furthermore, she states bilingual education is often more effective for language maintenance than for revitalisation. This results in immersion schools or classrooms being the best form of language education in order to support the revitalisation of a language. This type of language education is rarely found outside the administrative area. This would mean that language education outside the administrative area will not contribute to the revitalisation of the languages. This is a good moment to return to the two Sami children. Both of them can follow Sami as a first or second language in school after kindergarten. As functional bilingualism is one of the goals of the curriculum of Sami as a second language, the child following Sami as a second language will be able to continue using the language outside and after school and so contribute to the revitalisation.

At the same time, Hinton (2001b) states that the idea that only immersion schools are effective is too negative. According to her, already teaching the language as a subject a few hours a week does not only contribute to knowledge in the language, but maybe even more important to more positive attitudes towards the language. Besides the goal of functional bilingualism, the aim to create positive attitudes towards the Sami languages and being multilingual can also be seen in both the framework plan and the different curricula.

This idea of creating positive attitudes towards the minoritised language through language education is shared by De Korne and Leonard (2017) who argue that although language education does not always contribute to the intergenerational transmission of a language, which is important for revitalisation, it does contribute to more positive attitudes towards the

language. As Todal (2015) writes, within the core area for North Sami, it is rather a matter of language maintenance than revitalisation. This is the case because in this area the language is still carried on to next generations and this 'only' needs to be secured. This implies that the place where relatively less efforts are needed for the vitalisation of the language has the most possibilities for Sami language education according to the framework plan and the curricula.

This section has primarily been about functional bilingualism in the curricula. As mentioned in the analysis, it is less present in the framework plan. The most obvious explanation is that the revitalisation of the Sami languages is an explicit goal in the curricula, while it is not a goal of Sami language education in kindergarten.

#### 6.4 Who is Sami language education aimed for?

This leads us to one of the questions raised in the previous chapter, namely for which language learner the curriculum is designed when the curricula for Sami as a first language and Sami as a second language need to cover such a heterogeneous group of language learners. A question closely related to the first is who is supposed to revitalise the Sami languages? The goal of Sami language revitalisation is to create new speakers (Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2016). The question that then arises is who are considered potential new speakers and are they following Sami as a first language or Sami as a second language?

For example Todal (2015, 2018) states that there is not one Sami language situation, but instead a plurality of situations. In brief, every Sami language used or historically used in a country is such a situation. As he discusses the different Sami language situations, there are different languages, with different numbers of speakers and different policies applicable. He adds that urbanisation makes the picture more complicated nowadays. In addition, there also other factors making it even more complicated. The conditions of the different groups of language learners are diversely composed, especially of those following Sami as a second language. Children following Sami language education can come from families having Sami as a home language, from families identifying as non-Sami without any other family members speaking Sami, and anything in between. Another important dimension here is the place where a child lives, i.e. whether the child lives inside or outside the administrative area, in one

of the core areas, in one of the larger cities in Norway, or somewhere else in the country. In addition, which Sami language a child speaks also plays a role. A child speaking North Sami will have more occasions to use the language than a child speaking Lule or South Sami. In addition, within the core area, the Sami languages are living languages part of the speaker's everyday life, while it for other speakers can be a language that they only learn and speak in school.

The cultural interface can also be used to understand that there is no one Sami language situation. As described before, many different subject positions are available at the cultural interface. These different positions are the results of many different factors, which means that they all will react differently on new influences, such as educational policies as the framework plan and the curricula. Furthermore, the complexity of the cultural Interface is especially important. Because all factors together influence the different positions at the cultural interface (Nakata, 2007b). This complexity is not necessarily reflected in the framework plan and the curricula. On the other hand, the framework plan and the curricula are formulated in a way to be able to adjust the teaching to the different subject positions. This becomes especially clear in the quality framework of both the Norwegian national curriculum and the Sami curriculum.

In the curriculum of both Sami as a first language and Sami as a second language, the use of the Sami languages outside the classroom is promoted and the importance of it is endorsed. This is also important from a revitalisation view point, but with the large variations in possibilities to do this, it can be stated that there are higher expectations of the parents of children who simply have less possibilities to use the language outside the classroom. At the same time, schools can only influence to a limited extent what happens outside the classroom, so this can only be taken into account to a limited extent in the curricula. As mentioned before, the curricula open up for the adaption to these different conditions in the quality framework and by the use of competence goals, which focuses on the learning outcomes instead of on what is learned

In the framework plan, this issue is less present because a clear distinction is made by regulating that only Sami children inside the administrative area can expect a kindergarten based on Sami language and culture. At the same time, this also implies that the Sami

languages are more important for the Sami children living inside the administrative area. Especially because, according to the framework plan, children outside the administrative area in mainstream kindergartens most likely will only come in contact with the Sami languages to a limited extent. The Sami child inside the administrative area will always have the right to go to a Sami kindergarten, while the Sami child outside the administrative area is dependent on the luck that there is a Sami department or a Sami kindergarten.

Albury (2015) notices this too, when he points out that the revitalisation of the Sami languages in Norway is considered to be the responsibility of the Sami. He argues that language policies in Norway in favour of revitalising the Sami languages are mainly targeting Sami people. According to Albury, this primarily derives from the neotraditionalist ideologies whereupon the language policies regarding the Sami languages are based. Neotraditionalist ideologies imply that Indigenous languages and cultures are meant for the Indigenous people only. This results in the revitalisation of the Sami languages being an issue for the Sami people only. The geographical dimension of the policies strengthens this, and it is clearly visible in education as stated by Albury. Sami language education is primarily designed for Sami in a certain Sami area. Sami living outside this area do not have their full linguistic human rights.

Furthermore, according to Albury (2015, 2016) non-Sami are left aside. Inside the administrative area, non-Sami have the right to follow Sami language education but, as Albury argues the curricula are mainly designed for Sami because of the strong connection between language and identity (Albury, 2015, 2016). Albury (2016) provides different explanations for this situation. The first explanation is the fact that the Sami Parliament allocates the funding for Sami language education and their focus is on the people who identify as Sami. In addition to this, I want to add that it is also the Sami Parliament who is responsible for the development of the Sami curriculum. The second explanation is the strong connection that exists between Sami language and identity. This connection is not only found in the curricula, but also in the larger Sami society. Another example where this connection can be found is the electoral register of the Sami Parliament. In relation to new speakers, this connection between language and identity is explicitly stated when there is emphasised that it is important that “[...] persons with a connection to the Sami language take back their Sami languages” (Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2016, p. 18, own translation).

So, it can be said that the aimed new speakers are mainly the Sami children living in the administrative area and to a lesser extent Sami children living outside the administrative area. Furthermore, non-Sami are barely included in the idea of creating new speakers of the Sami languages. I need to add here, that according the Education Act and the curricula every child inside the administrative area, regardless whether he/she is Sami, have access to Sami language education in primary and lower secondary school.

It has probably already become clear that the idea of two Sami children, one living inside the administrative area and one outside, which I have been using as example throughout this whole thesis is a very simplified version of reality. A simplified version of reality that does not take the complexity of the cultural interface into account. It is a simplified version that is built on the assumption that Sami language education is meant for Sami children, and that living inside or outside the administrative area is the only factor influencing the possibilities as Sami child has to learn and use the language in school.

The possibilities the two children receive from the curricula to learn and use Sami in school are influenced by many more factors than whether they live inside or outside the administrative area. The two Sami children are not only a very simplified version of reality, but also do not represent the Sami diversity that can be found in Norway, nor do they represent children who do not identify as Sami but have to or want to learn the language. Many different factors influence children's connection to the language and the possibilities they have to learn and use the language both inside and outside the classroom. In addition, maybe even more different factors influence whether they will continue to use the language after school and so contribute to the main goal of the revitalisation of the Sami languages, i.e. the creation of new speakers.



## 7. Summary of findings and ideas for future research

Sami children in Norway are exposed to different language education policies during their educational career, and their possibilities to learn and use Sami in kindergarten and school differ depending on both age and the place where a child lives.

Through conducting critical discourse analysis on parts of the current framework plan and curricula, I have examined the different possibilities for Sami language education and the language ideologies connected to them. This analysis showed that there are three different factors that play an important role in regulating the possibilities a child has to learn and use Sami in kindergarten and school: the geographical dimension, kindergarten and school as two different institutions, and functional bilingualism as a goal. I summarise the main conclusions about each factor separately in the following sections.

The first factor is the geographical dimension of the administrative area. For kindergartens, there is one framework plan regulating these possibilities for all children in Norway. In the framework plan, a distinction is made between mainstream kindergartens, and Sami kindergartens or Sami departments in mainstream kindergartens. According to the Kindergarten Act, only Sami children within the administrative area have the right to a kindergarten which is based on the Sami language and culture, i.e. a Sami kindergarten or Sami department. At the same time, this does not entail that there cannot be Sami kindergartens or Sami departments outside the administrative area. For Sami children in mainstream kindergartens, the possibility to learn and use Sami in kindergarten does almost not exist according to the framework plan.

When a child makes the transition from kindergarten to school, there are more alternatives to choose between when it concerns Sami language education. Norway has two equal and parallel curricula, i.e. the national Norwegian curriculum and the Sami curriculum. According to the Education Act, all schools within the administrative area follow the Sami curriculum. Within the administrative area every child attending primary and lower secondary school has the right, and in certain places the obligation, to Sami language education. Outside the administrative area, only Sami children have the right to Sami language education. Regarding

upper secondary school, the geographical dimension becomes less present in that all Sami children have the same rights to Sami language education. When a child transfers from kindergarten to school and the parents decide that a child will follow Sami language education, there are two different options, i.e. Sami as a first language and Sami as a second language. If the decision is made to choose Sami as a first language, this will also be the language of instruction for other subjects.

The fact that there is a geographical dimension to Sami language education was recognised before the analysis. However, this analysis contributes to the understanding of this dimension in relation to the content of both the framework plan and the curricula. Having such a geographical dimension is typical for Sami politics, or indigenous politics in general (Falch et al., 2016). On one hand, it could be argued that the administrative area has been playing an important role for the revitalisation of the Sami languages, particularly in combination with the North Sami core area in Norway. Within this area, the language is naturally transferred to next generation, which is seen as essential for the revitalisation. On other hand, the administrative area benefits the people inside it and puts the people living outside the administrative area or wanting to move away from it at a disadvantage.

The second factor includes the different approaches to Sami language education and revitalisation in kindergarten and school. In the framework plan, the discourse on the inclusion of Sami languages in kindergarten shaped around the value of the language for the individual child. In contrast to the curricula, where Sami language education is justified by the importance for the revitalisation of the Sami language. This distinction originates from the fact that kindergarten and school are two different institutions based on different pedagogical principles. The framework plan focuses on the holistic development of the child and the goals are meant to be fulfilled by the staff. Whereas the curricula also have the ideal of a holistic development of the child, the curricula consist of separate subjects with separate goals for each subject intended for the children.

The framework plan and the curricula approach Sami language revitalisation from different stand points, which raises questions about the transfer from kindergarten to school. There are different options for Sami language education in school, where certain options are considered

to be stronger than others. To answer the question whether the framework plan prepares for choosing these stronger options in school, I argue that this is only the case for children going to a Sami kindergarten or Sami department. Children living outside the administrative area, attending a mainstream kindergarten are, according to the framework plan, not prepared at all for choosing the stronger options of Sami language education in school. This underlines the importance of analysing language education policies collectively from kindergarten to upper secondary school.

The third factor focuses on functional bilingualism which is both an important goal in the curricula and a means for the revitalisation of the Sami languages. The curricula consist of competence goals and functional bilingualism is not further defined, which leaves teachers space to interpret it themselves. This can be seen as a weakness regarding language revitalisation, because the interpretation will differ based on the different Sami language situations. The group children (potentially) following Sami language education in Norway has a diverse composition and the situation of the Sami languages differ from place to place. I argue that not further defining functional bilingualism also leaves room for teachers to adjust their teaching to these different conditions, which fits the aim of inclusion of the quality framework.

The analysis, and therefore also these findings, focuses on the current framework plan and curricula. These official documents reflect state politics and ideologies. These documents are part of what is described by Ricento and Hornberger (1996) as the outer layer of language policy and planning onion. By focusing on this outer layer, issues about the implementation and interpretation of the framework plan and curriculum are taken out of consideration. But this outer layer is not isolated from the inner layers, it influences and interact with the other layers. As also Goodlad (1979) states, what is in the actual curriculum differs both from how teachers work with it and from what students get out of it. Therefore, in order to examine how these documents actually influence practice, it would be interesting to conduct research on the interpretation and implementation in relation to the other layers of the onion. Part of research on the interpretation and implementation of these policy documents should be the inclusion of the geographical dimension of the administrative area. As this thesis shows, this

dimension plays an important role in regulating children's possibilities to learn and use Sami in school.

Furthermore, this research only focuses on the parts of the framework plan and the curricula primarily relevant for Sami language education. Due to the limited size of a master's project, it was not possible to look at other relevant documents. In future, however, to better understand the ideologies reflected in these documents, it might be relevant to compare the documents analysed in this thesis with the subject curricula for Norwegian. First of all, it is interesting to see how discourses about Sami language education relate to discourses about Norwegian language education. Furthermore, both Norwegian and Sami language education are together part of the overall goal of functional bilingualism. Another way of extending the understanding of the ideologies about the Sami languages reflected in the current framework plan and curricula is to place them in a broader historical context. By comparing the current framework plan and curricula with previous versions, it will contribute to insights in how the approaches to Sami language education have changed.

Not only comparing the current curricula with the previous ones is interesting. At the moment of submitting this thesis, May 2019, Norway is in the middle of the process of developing new curricula for primary school to upper secondary school. These new curricula will be put in place from the beginning of the schoolyear 2020-2021. The by the curriculum groups presented drafts of the new curricula are subject to public consultation between March and June 2019. This means that there will be a clear idea of what the new curriculum will look like in the near future.

Language education itself cannot do all work required for the revitalisation of the Sami languages, but there is an important role reserved for it, especially in situations where families no longer speak the language. As mentioned several times before, children (potentially) following Sami language education are an extremely diverse group and therefore it is important that both the framework plan and the curricula open up for including this complexity of the different subject positions at the cultural interface (Nakata, 2007b), and allow teachers to adjust their teaching to this. In this way, Sami language education can contribute to the creation of new speakers, regardless of the different conditions.

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