



8. ‘I know the world in two languages’: Sámi multilingual citizenship in textbooks for the school subject Norwegian between 1997 and 2020

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Abstract This article presents how Sámi multilingual citizenship is represented in four textbooks for the school subject Norwegian in junior high school (school years 8–10). The books were published between 1997 and 2020. Based on insights from critical discourse analysis as well as research on language ideologies and multilingual citizenship, the study shows how textbooks gradually present a more detailed and nuanced picture of Sámi languages, which also to a certain extent integrates Sámi perspectives.

Keywords Sámi | textbook analysis | multilingualism | multilingual citizenship | Indigenisation

Compared to Norwegian subject education we have limited access to pedagogical materials. We have a rather thin textbook entitled *Áššis* which we are supposed to use all three years. The textbook for Norwegian is twice as thick, and we use that book the first year only. We will use other Norwegian textbooks the second and third year. (Student of North Sámi as a first language in upper secondary school as cited in Germeten, Bongo, & Eriksen, 2012, p. 13, our translation from Norwegian)

THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL EMBEDDEDNESS OF SÁMI CONTENT IN TEXTBOOKS FOR THE SCHOOL SUBJECT NORWEGIAN¹

Textbooks are useful educational tools. Many students or teachers of minority languages around the world – like the student of North Sámi in the above quote – will agree to this statement as daily learning and teaching activities are often characterised by no or limited access to this pedagogical resource. Textbooks are also powerful (Curdt-Christiansen & Weninger, 2015). Some are more powerful than others. This last point is illustrated in the above-mentioned contrast between the ‘rather thin’ North Sámi subject textbook, which covers three years of language education, and the ‘twice as thick’ Norwegian subject textbooks, in the plural form, available. The student’s comparison of these books as physical artefacts illustrates asymmetric distributions of power that describe the coexistence of Sámi and Norwegian at different scales in the education system in Norway and in Norwegian society.

In this article, we take a closer look at the ‘thick’ textbooks through the lens of critical sociolinguistics (see also Martin-Jones, Blackledge, & Creese, 2012). More precisely, we analyse shifting discourses and ideologies concerning Sámi multilingual citizenship in a series of four textbooks for the school subject Norwegian in junior high school (school years 8–10) published in the period 1997–2020. We explore to what extent and how these textbooks include the Sámi in the greater Norwegian multilingual ‘we’. We also discuss potential implications of these findings for negotiations of Sámi multilingual citizenship in education and society today. The analysis builds on insights from critical discourse analysis (CDA; e.g., Fairclough 1995), research on language ideologies (Irvine & Gal, 2000) and multilingual citizenship (Jaffe, 2012; Williams & Stroud, 2015). Different societal and educational processes support this research focus as the representation of Sámi content in textbooks from the last couple of decades is rooted in discursive and ideological shifts and tensions in society, school, and subject.

Norwegian is indeed a ‘thick’ school subject. In the 13-year span of primary and secondary education, it is the largest subject in terms of hours, grades, and exams. It encompasses different aspects of literacy as well as intellectual and emotional formation, and it is regularly subject to discussions of content and form. The debates can often be traced to cultural origin and national legacy. Historically, it served the Norwegian nation-building process ideologically from

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the very beginning. Norway broke free from its 400-year union with Denmark in 1814, and the event propelled the young nation into a paradoxical climate of language policy in which the school subject Norwegian was born (Bull, 2005). Both the use of Norwegian dialects and two written Norwegian standards – one based on Danish, *Bokmål*, and one based on spoken rural dialects, *Nynorsk* – gained legal protection in school. Mother tongue education was seen as crucial for both progress at school and development of self-esteem – for majority children. At the same time, in 1880 and as part of the Norwegianisation policy founded in 1850, the government launched an instruction that stated that Sámi and Kven languages were not to be used in schools more than 'required by circumstances' (Bull, 2005, p. 1474). The mother tongue argument did not extend to speakers of Sámi and Kven, which lost ground. For a long period, national curricula came to reflect a rigid monocultural norm that included only specific and *Norwegian* forms of language diversity and variation (Hårstad, 2019, pp. 26–29; Golden, Opsahl, & Tonne, 2020, p. 138).

Since the 1970s and 1980s, the (re)vitalisation of Sámi language and culture has coincided with the intensified transnational flow of people and languages in the globalised era. In parallel, the monolingual and monocultural norms of the Norwegian society and school have been challenged. Following Sollid and Olsen (2019), this has consequences also for articulation and recognition of Sámi citizenship: 'The new political process [i.e., (re)vitalisation] facilitated the shift from an idealised monolingual and monocultural citizen to an idealised multicultural and multilingual citizen with affiliations with more than one social group or nation' (p. 35). This can also be seen as part of a new political ideology of cultural and linguistic exchange instead of essence: 'Speaking more than one language thus becomes a resource for citizenship' (Jaffe, 2012, p. 84).

The Norwegian school, which used to be the main arena of assimilation, insisting on monolingual citizenship, is now supposed to fulfil a completely different ambition according to the new core curriculum: 'All pupils shall experience that being proficient in a number of languages is a resource, both in school and society at large' (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017). Further, in the new national curriculum for the school subject Norwegian, an overarching formulation on linguistic diversity reads that students shall gain insight into the relation between language, culture and identity as a basis for understanding their own language situation as well as the language situation of others (Directorate for Education and Training, 2020). In other words, the subject is caught in an interesting web of values and interests: its legitimacy is necessarily founded on the *Norwegian* – language, literature, and culture – but what does that mean in the age of diversity and multilingual citizenship? (see Andersson-Bakken & Bakken, 2017)

CURRICULAR TRAJECTORIES

Historical trajectories for Sámi content in curricula for Norwegian as a school subject correspond with developments in the overarching core curricula (see Olsen, 2019, for an overview). Sámi Indigenous education had its breakthrough in Norway in 1997. A parallel Sámi curriculum (L97S) was launched and was to be used by schools in the newly established Sámi administrative area (1992). Today (2022), this area covers thirteen municipalities in which both Norwegian and Sámi – i.e. North, Lule or South Sámi – are officially equal languages by law. The right to education in and through a Sámi language is strongest within the Sámi administrative area, in which it applies to all children. Due to demographic changes over the last decades, an unknown but considerable number of Sámi children receive their education outside this area (Gjerpe, 2017, p. 154).

The Sámi curriculum overlaps significantly with its national counterpart (Olsen, 2019, p. 135). For instance, the core curriculum is the same. There is a specific curriculum for Norwegian as a school subject for students with Sámi as a first language, but in sum, much Norwegian subject education – textbooks included – is common for students with and without Sámi background. This underlines the complexity of mainstreaming of Indigenous education in this respect (see also Olsen & Sollid, this volume). Additionally, the textbooks that we analyse were/are probably widespread across Norwegian and Sámi educational contexts, making their potential role significant in shaping the linguistic and cultural worldviews of students from a variety of Sámi and non-Sámi backgrounds.

To put it briefly, Sámi issues were largely absent from Norwegian as a school subject before the 1990s. The subject curriculum from 1974 includes the goal of teaching the students to ‘love their mother tongue’ (*‘bli glad i morsmålet sitt’*) – here meaning nothing else than Norwegian (Ministry of Church and Education, 1974, p. 96; see also Golden et al., 2020, p. 138). Sámi content was included for the first time in the 1987 curriculum in a sentence reading that ‘Sámi literature shall be represented’ (Ministry of Church and Education, 1987, p. 137, our translation). Variants of this formulation are to be found also in later curricula.

In the 1980s and the 1990s, children in the Norwegian school constituted a more linguistically and culturally heterogenous group than ever before. Even so, subject curricula continued to emphasise the national cultural heritage. The overarching curriculum from 1993 stated that knowledge about Sámi culture, language, history and society for all children was included as an important part of Norwegian and Nordic common cultural heritage (Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs, 1996, pp. 55, 65). Norwegian language, culture and values were regarded as being under threat, and the subject curricula aimed at maintaining and restoring

everything traditionally Norwegian to enhance 'a safe national identity' (Norw.: *'ein trygg nasjonal identitet'*; Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs, 1996, p. 111). This protectionist ideology was partly a response to globalisation with Anglo-American pop culture as its most feared component (Andersson-Bakken & Bakken, 2017, p. 19). The textbooks became more appealing design-wise and were richly illustrated with classics from Norwegian art history, not least from 19th century romantic nationalism.

However, in the official 2006 Norwegian subject curriculum a so-called *resource-perspective* on linguistic diversity gained a foothold (Andersson-Bakken & Bakken, 2017, p. 19). Accordingly, competence on specific aspects of Sámi language(s) was included for the first time and strengthened in a 2013 revision. The students were supposed to learn about Sámi place names, graphemes, words and phrases, the Sámi language area, Sámi language rights, and the history of language assimilation. Gjerpe (2017) examines the place of Sámi content in social studies, a subject with a parallel national and Sámi curriculum. She argues that the mentioned implementation of the Sámi curriculum in 1997 resulted in significantly less Sámi content in the 2006 national curriculum. Based on the foregoing, there is undoubtedly *more* Sámi content in the 2006 version of the Norwegian subject curriculum compared to the one from 1997. As mentioned, the school subject Norwegian is mainly taught based on the same curriculum in both the Sámi and the Norwegian school.

The emphasis on linguistic and cultural diversity has been further strengthened in the new subject curriculum from 2020. Not least, the *diversity-as-a-resource-perspective* is now anchored in the core curriculum for primary and secondary education that was launched in 2017, intended to function as a sprinkler system of values and principles with implications for all subjects. Here it is stated that knowledge on Sámi and Indigenous issues are central to education on *identity and cultural diversity*, one of six so-called core values. A paragraph on the status and importance of different forms of written and spoken diversity in Norway mentions Sámi languages explicitly, and it is specified that '[t]he pupils shall learn about diversity and variation in Sámi culture and societal life' (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017).

Still, 'a curriculum stating the importance of knowledge on Sámi and Indigenous issues does not in itself warrant textbooks that provide such knowledge' (Olsen, 2017, p. 75). Textbooks providing that knowledge are needed. Reports state that education on Sámi issues and perspectives is difficult to implement in Norwegian education in general, and in teacher education in particular (Olsen, Sollid, & Johansen, 2017). In other words, there is reason to believe that teachers and students in Norway largely depend on textbooks in their approach to Sámi

language and culture. Although we have some knowledge on representations of Sámi issues in textbooks in Norway and Sweden (e.g., Askeland, 2021; Eriksen, 2018; Olsen, 2017; Reichenberg, 2016) and of different forms of language diversity in Norway (e.g., Hårstad, 2019; L. A. Kulbrandstad, 2001; L. I. Kulbrandstad, 2019; Opsahl & Røyneland, 2016), we know little about Norwegian subject textbook representations concerning Sámi language.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES, METHODS, AND DATA

Textbook analysis is a cross-disciplinary field that examines how textbooks as curricular-cultural artefacts communicate norms, values and ideologies through content and design (Weninger, 2018, p. 1). This research is often positioned within CDA (e.g., Fairclough, 1995), which aims at making the power and ideologies of discourses de-naturalised, visible and transparent (Blommaert, 2005, p. 25). Textbook discourses are embedded in educational discourses more broadly. They are central in the development and shaping of sociocultural worldviews in which language is one of the most important aspects. Curdt-Christiansen (2017) links this perspective to the concept of *language socialisation* and how textbooks are supposed to 'help students to become competent members of a cultural and linguistic community' (p. 196). The sociolinguistic framework of *ideologies of linguistic differentiation* launched by Irvine and Gal (2000), who analyse how understandings of linguistic varieties are mapped onto social groups and activities, is also relevant in this regard.

Linguistic and cultural community membership lie at the very heart of the citizenship concept, no matter if citizenship is studied as status, practice, or acts (Sollid, this volume, p. 34; Sollid & Olsen, 2019). Within critical sociolinguistics, research on linguistic and multilingual citizenship has emerged over the last couple of decades. One strand of this research has developed a postliberal participatory model of citizenship (Jaffe, 2012; Williams & Stroud, 2015) which replaces understandings of citizenship that insist on cultural and linguistic homogeneity, almost without exception imposed on minorities by the majority within the frame of the nation-state. It relates to a more comprehensive discursive and ideological shift already mentioned in the introduction (see also Jaffe, 2012). This shift is relevant to understand fundamental changes in the school subject Norwegian in the post-war period. It operates at different scales: Norwegianisation being replaced with (re)vitalisation; the monolingual idealised citizen being replaced with a multi-/ plurilingual one; the monolingual norm in the Norwegian education system being replaced with a *diversity-and-multilingualism-as-resources* norm – and so on and so forth.

These processes are non-linear and messy because they happen at different scales at the same time. For instance, minority language citizenship is no longer

conceptualized at a national scale alone, but also at a European and a global scale, as Jaffe (2012) shows. For Sámi minority languages we can identify different local scales but also a global Indigenous scale, as Sámi language (re)vitalisation and emancipation intersect with a global ethnic renaissance. Consequently, minority language citizenship becomes accepted and celebrated, but also negotiated and contested within the overall ideological and discursive shift in question (e.g., Johansen, 2013). Textbook discourses on Sámi multilingual citizenship over time provide insight into this field of clashing discourses, values, and interests.

The textbook series chosen for our study is published by Gyldendal, one of the most dominant publishing houses in Norway. Our analysis is largely built on Markusson's (2020) CDA study of how Sámi language and language situations are represented in the three textbooks included in Table 8.1 that were published between 1997 and 2014. For this analysis, we have added a fourth book based on the 2020 Norwegian subject curriculum and a new analytical layer by drawing attention to multilingual citizenship.

Table 8.1: Overview of textbooks

Curriculum	Authors	Title (year)
1997	Beck, Heggem & Kverndokken (analysed as one book covering three years)	<i>Språk og sjanger 8</i> (1997)
		<i>Språk og sjanger 9</i> (1998)
		<i>Språk og sjanger 10</i> (1999)
2006	Blichfeldt, Heggem & Larsen	<i>Kontekst 8–10</i> (2006)
2013 (revision)	Blichfeldt & Heggem	<i>Nye Kontekst 8–10</i> (2014)
2020	Blichfeldt, Heggem & Huseby	<i>Kontekst 8–10</i> (3rd ed.) (2020)

The textbooks form the core of larger sets of pedagogical resources including other books with readings and tasks as well as online resources that we have not investigated. This study is also detached from the immediate learning contexts in which the use of these books was/is embedded. This might be seen as a shortcoming as the didactic teacher-student-textbook triad in the classroom is central in understanding how textbooks work. That being said, it is a common trait for much textbook research to focus on cultural and ideological contexts instead of situational ones, investigating sociocultural issues implicated in the learning process (see also Weninger, 2018, p. 1).

Our analysis is based on a multimodal approach. We have mapped the representation of Sámi content in registers and index lists; we have analysed all verbal text about multilingualism in general and Sámi in particular, paying specific attention to the use of pronouns and labels for language users and different languages; and we have looked into pictures and other visuals.

ANALYSIS

1997–2020: Textbook Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie – becoming a linguistically diverse nation

Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie – here referred to in North, Lule and South Sámi, the three Sámi languages spoken and written in Norway – is an immensely diverse area (see Olsen & Sollid, this volume). Todal (2015, p. 199ff.) argues that it covers at least eighteen separate language situations: there are different language policies, minority policies, education systems, and international commitments in the four nation-states involved. Additionally, the situations of the ten Sámi languages vary according to number of speakers, age distribution of speakers, documentation and standardisation efforts, media situation, access to language education, and access to Sámi institutions. It is even meaningless to refer to one North Sámi language situation in Norway (area number 5 in Figure 8.2) as assimilation and language shift have affected the coastal Sámi areas stronger than the inland reindeer herding areas in which Sámi language today holds its strongest position.

Markusson (2020) finds that between 1997 and 2014, the representation of Sámi languages in the textbook series in focus becomes considerably strengthened and nuanced. It changes from treating ‘Sámi’ as one monolithic phenomenon in Norway to presenting Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie as more linguistically and culturally diverse. One example is to be found in two maps representing Sámi people in four different nation-states on one hand (Figure 8.1), and the Sámi language area, i.e., Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie, on the other (Figure 8.2).

The change in perspective is striking: while the map in Figure 8.1 from the 2006 textbook displays four nation-state ‘containers’ with the number of Sámi minority members inside each unit, the map from the 2020 textbook shows the whole language area with all ten Sámi languages included. In Figure 8.1, the nation-state borders and the numbers of minority members are communicated as the most important information. In contrast, Figure 8.2 shows Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie not just as a language area, but also a nation, the area of one people. Noticeably, the language borders in this vast area run horizontally, effectively communicating all the criss-crossing over modern, vertical nation-state borders that has been going on for ages in relation to human mobility: trade, hunting, nomadic reindeer herding, marriages, and religious life. It is also worth noticing that important Sámi centres are located on the map with both their Sámi and Scandinavian or Finnish name. Plassje/Røros and Julev/Luleå are included with their South Sámi and Lule Sámi names respectively, while the other names are in North Sámi, even Murmánska in the Kildin Sámi area, which in Kildin Sámi would be Muurman or Muurman lannj. This last observation exemplifies a general pattern in the textbooks over time: ‘Sámi’ most often refers to North Sámi, and Sámi names and language

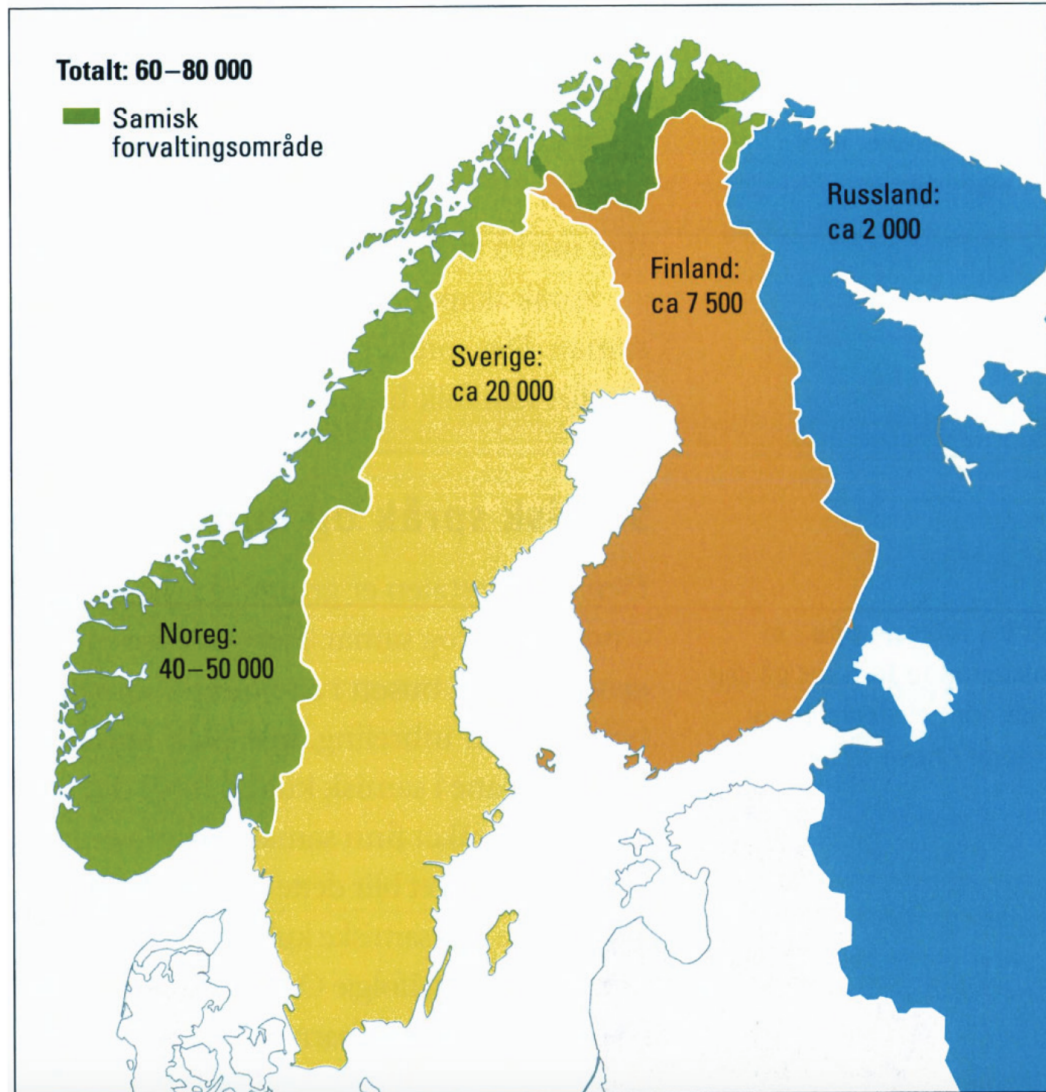


Figure 8.1: 'The Sámi people are spread across four countries' (Blichfeldt et al., 2006, p. 292).

examples are presented in North Sámi – the largest Sámi language – without that being made explicit (see Gjerpe, 2017, pp. 157–158, and Sollid, this volume, about the Sámi hegemony).

1997–2006: The monolingual Sámi citizen as part of a fragmented multilingual 'we'

In a study of textbooks based on the 1997 curriculum (Bech et al., 1997, 1998, 1999), L. A. Kulbrandstad (2001, pp. 74–76) finds that new multilingual practices in Norway are poorly represented. In comparison, Sámi language(s) are either 'mentioned' or 'treated more in depth.' But how? We will now take a closer look at

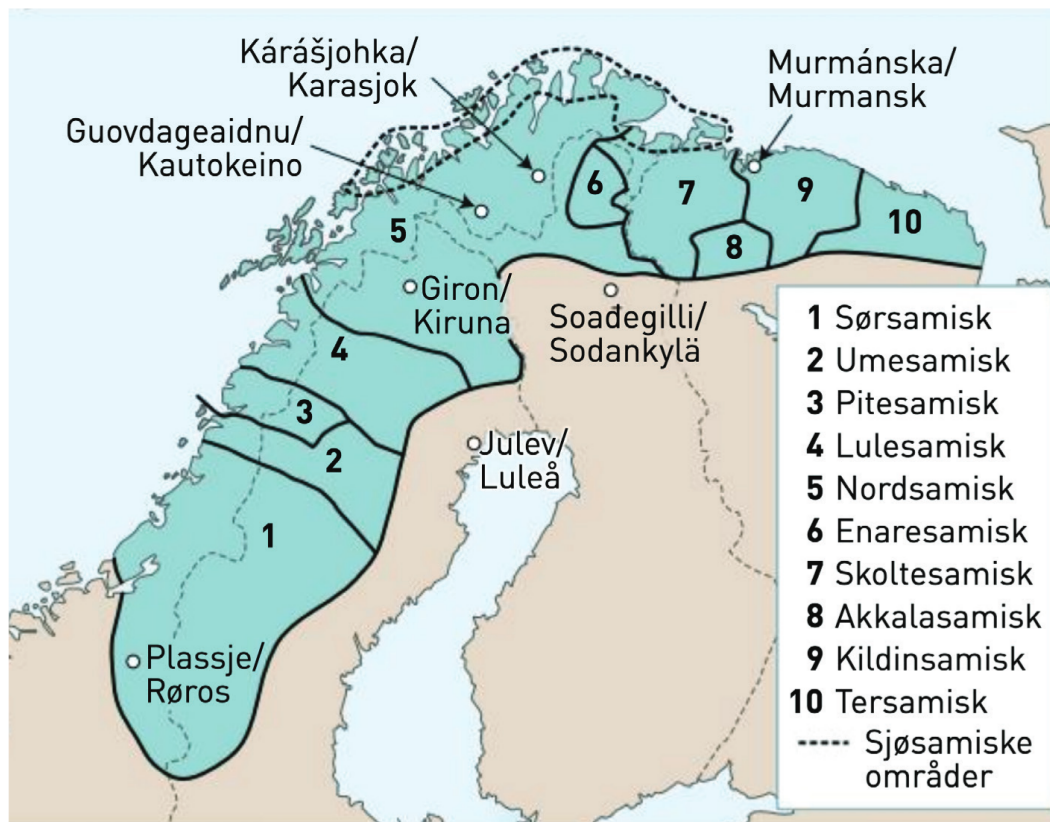


Figure 8.2: ‘The area of different Sámi languages’ (Blichfeldt et al., 2020, p. 252).

the opening of a six-page chapter about Sámi (*‘Litt om samisk’*) in the textbook by Bech et al. (1998, p. 168, italics by textbook authors, our bold types for pronouns and social categories):

In Norway, **we** have many vital languages. **People who have moved here from other countries** do not forget **their** mother tongue. Still, **we** only have two official written languages. *Nynorsk* and *Bokmål*, **you** might say, but that is wrong, because *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk* are two forms of Norwegian, two written norms [Norwegian ‘*målformer*’]. The other written language in Norway is Sámi.

Sámi belongs to another language group than Norwegian. Sámi belongs to *the Finno-Ugric language group*. Therefore, **we** have little in common when **Sámi** and **Norwegian-speaking Norwegians** are supposed to understand each other’s languages.²

2 All translations are by the authors. With the exception of Blichfeldt, Heggem & Huseby (2020), we have analysed the Bokmål versions of the textbooks. There are certain differences between the Bokmål and the Nynorsk versions that might affect the analysis at a more detailed level.

The opening sentence refers to spoken language diversity in Norway and establishes a greater multilingual 'we' with 'many vital languages'. In the following, it becomes clear that not all Norwegians are considered multilingual, as language diversity is linked to modern transnational mobility and the presence of speakers 'from other countries' who 'do not forget their mother tongue'. Golden et al. (2020) have examined *mother tongue* conceptualizations in Norwegian documents and media texts in the era of increasing globalisation. They distinguish between the 'novel use' of *mother tongue*, referring to non-Norwegian languages in multicultural encounters, as opposed to the 'traditional use', referring to Norwegian and monocultural encounters only (see introduction). In the textbook, the use of *mother tongue* alludes to origin, heritage, and background – important aspects of the concept (Golden et al., 2020, p. 136). Interestingly, we also get the impression that *mother tongues* in a Norwegian context are first and foremost present in the memories and minds of new citizens, whose rights in the education system in fact are very limited; *mother tongue education* in Norway is based on a subtractive bilingual and transitional model, providing this form of education only until the student can follow teaching in Norwegian only.

Further, the text emphasises that in contrast to the many spoken languages in Norway, 'we only have two written languages', which are not the two written norms of *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk*, as 'you' – the student reader – might think, but Norwegian and Sámi. The text addresses that the reader is probably unfamiliar with the legal status of these two languages in Norway, and at the same time assumes that the reader's perspective is positioned in the traditional monocultural norm of Norwegian diversity (see introduction). The well-known element of *Othering* is prevalent (see Blommaert, 2005, p. 208; see also Eriksen, 2018; Olsen, 2017); the book 'others' those familiar with the legal status of Sámi and who are different from 'you', who only know about the two *written norms* of Norwegian and might mistakenly think that they are *languages*. Almost needless to say, the intended readership is not Sámi. Another aspect is that *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk* are now, based on years of political debate, granted the status of *languages* in the new Norwegian Language Act (2021); 'wrong' has in fact become 'right'.

In the following paragraph, differences between Norwegian and Sámi languages are underlined as Sámi is placed in the Finno-Ugric language group. The text states that 'we' – 'Sámi' on the one hand and 'Norwegian-speaking Norwegians' on the other – have problems understanding each other's languages as they are not typologically related. True, the text establishes a common multilingual Norwegian 'we' at society level but at the same time this 'we' is fragmented into essentialised sociolinguistic groups: Norwegian-speaking Norwegians, multilingual Norwegians who have other mother tongues than Norwegian, and all Sámi in Norway who speak Sámi and represent a clearly different group. Again, we see an example of *Othering*.

This fragmentation can be analysed as a conceptual scheme of multilingualism in Norway based on linguistic differentiation in which language ideological processes are at work (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 35). The ideological process of *iconisation* ‘involves a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked’ (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 37). First, the textbook establishes an iconic relationship between having a different mother tongue than Norwegian and the social group of ‘people who have moved here from other countries’ – in other words, new transnational citizens (often referred to as ‘immigrants’ at the time). This implies that being multilingual in Norway means having a different mother tongue than Norwegian; all multilinguals become new transnational citizens. *Fractal recursivity* according to Irvine and Gal (2000) is ‘the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level’ (p. 38). As a third ideological process, Sámi multilinguals become erased from the picture; all Sámi are represented as monolingual Sámi-speaking citizens although practically all Sámi-speaking in Norway acquire some level of multilingualism. Irvine and Gal (2000) define *erasure* as a process ‘in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible’ (p. 38). In addition, Sámi language again becomes the iconic representation of Sámi people. To the extent that Sámi is a part of the greater multilingual ‘we’ in Norway, it is, at society level, representing a group who speak a different, incomprehensible language. Completely erased are also the large number of Sámi who don’t speak Sámi due to assimilation and language shift.

The text includes another example of erasure. While the terminological difference between *Norwegian as a language* and *written norms of Norwegian* is accounted for, it is not mentioned that there are in fact three written Sámi languages in Norway which result from separate standardisation processes. These languages are not mutually intelligible although they belong to the same Finno-Ugric language family. The reader is not introduced to the broader picture of Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie (Figure 8.2).

The book *Kontekst* from 2006 treats bi-/multilingualism more extensively but, like its 1997 predecessor, links it solely to new transnational citizens. A relevant sequence opens with a statement suggesting that cultural and linguistic encounters are a new phenomenon in Norway: ‘Norway has become a multicultural society’ (Blichfeldt et al., 2006, p. 287). The textbook claims that Norwegian cannot be the mother tongue of ‘immigrants’ to Norway: ‘A large number of Norwegians are bilingual. This means that they have Norwegian as a second language and another language as their first language: Thus, the mother tongue is not Norwegian’ (Blichfeldt et al., 2006, p. 287). Later, the inclusion of Sámi language and culture

is reduced to two pages, and again, Sámi citizens are not represented as multilinguals: 'If Sámi children are supposed to learn how to read, it is important to see Sámi texts' (Blichfeldt et al., 2006, p. 292).

2014–2020: The multilingual Sámi citizen as part of the greater multilingual 'we'

'Do you know what a rapper from Bronx in the U.S., Belleville in France and Kautokeino in Finnmark have in common? All of them use their mother tongue, the language closest to the heart, when they are supposed to express thoughts and feelings' (Blichfeldt & Heggem, 2014, p. 356). This is the opening of the chapter 'Sámi language and culture' in the textbook adhering to the 2013 revision of the curriculum in which more detailed knowledge about Sámi languages is required (see above). For the first time in the textbook series, a parallel between Sámi and non-Sámi language practices is highlighted and linked to the concept of mother tongue. The student is also invited to reflect: 'How important do you think it is to use your own language?' This chapter is based on the curriculum goal of learning about the area of Sámi languages (in the plural form) and Sámi language rights. Furthermore, 'Indigenous' is used about the Sámi: 'The Sámi in Norway are an Indigenous people because they have lived in this country before the current nation-state borders were drawn' (Blichfeldt & Heggem, 2014, p. 357). Moreover, Sámi language diversity is emphasised instead of the difference between Sámi and Norwegian: 'There is not one Sámi language, but many. The difference between the Sámi languages can be just as large as between Norwegian and German. Therefore, all who speak Sámi do not understand each other' (Blichfeldt & Heggem, 2014, p. 358). Nevertheless, with the exception of the Sámi flag, all photographs are from the North Sámi inland, limiting the Sámi cultural repertoire represented in the chapter considerably. Sámi multilingualism is not commented upon. The representation is a clear parallel to Gjerpe's (2021, p. 295) description of 'Textbook Sápmi' – 'a particular narrative about Sápmi and Sámi societies [...] that does not represent the existing diversity in Sámi societies and which does not necessarily exist outside the textbook'.

In the 2020 edition (Blichfeldt et al., 2020), Sámi content is no longer limited to a separate chapter like in the other books, but integrated in the chapter 'Multilingual Norway' ('*Det fleirspråklege Noreg*'). Under the heading 'Language diversity', we get to know that:

Norway has always been inhabited by different peoples. Long before Norway was defined as a separate state, Sámi lived in the area called Sápmi. More than

a hundred years ago it was illegal to speak other languages in school – even for those who had spoken Finnish, Kven or Sámi in their families for generations. This has changed. Now we know that it is important to be able to speak one's mother tongue. Therefore, The Norwegian Language Council works to improve the status of both minority languages and Norwegian. Languages from all the world are a part of language diversity in Norway and new minority languages are included all the time. Most people in Norway speak more languages than Norwegian. (Blichfeldt et al., 2020, p. 250)

This sequence focuses on both historical and new forms of linguistic diversity in Norway, and does not split the multilingual landscape in Norway up into *language-and-social-group* categories underlining the linguistic and cultural differences between them. *Mother tongue* is claimed to be important for all speakers no matter their background or origin. The text argues that this is something we have learned from the history of linguistic assimilation of the minorities: 'Now we know that it is important to be able to speak one's mother tongue.' The impression of a more dynamic and flexible approach to describing – and analysing – different forms of multilingualism is strengthened by this paragraph being followed by a 'toolbox' of terms 'that you need to talk about language diversity': *minority language, mother tongue, first language, second language, foreign language, bilingual, and multilingual*. These terms are not linked to specific groups. Not least, multilingualism is described as a widespread phenomenon including 'most people'.

When the text later moves on to focus more specifically on Sámi, the reader is invited to '[i]magine that **you** are not allowed to use your language. Many Sámi parents and grandparents were not allowed to speak Sámi in school. That is one of the reasons why not everybody with Sámi background knows Sámi' (Blichfeldt et al., 2020, p. 252; our bold types). The addressee, 'you', can be a student of any linguistic and cultural background, also Sámi. This is also the first time the textbook series mentions that not all Sámi speak Sámi due to assimilation and language shift. Right below, the text says that 'Sámi newspapers and web sites often have text in both Sámi and Norwegian, and **you** find news on the three main languages in NRK [The Norwegian Broadcasting Cooperation]' (Blichfeldt et al., 2020, p. 252; our bold types). A Sámi reader can find this sentence informative and meaningful; it is an invitation to explore the use of different Sámi languages in media.

Furthermore, the textbook combines elements from different parts of Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie in its multimodal approach to Sámi language and culture: pictures of multilingual road signs including North Sámi, South Sámi, and Kven; a picture with the hashtag #SoMeSame of two Sámi girls taking a selfie at a festival concert; a picture with a brief presentation of the young Lule Sámi Indigenous, feminist, and queer activist Timimie Mårak (Blichfeldt et al., 2020, pp. 252–253). The textbook

has obviously embraced the emergence of 'Sámi peripheral cool' (Pietikäinen et al., 2016, p. 13), which refers to new positions and possibilities of minority languages and cultures in the Northern periphery. After the sequence about Sámi, there are also two pages with content focusing on other linguistic minorities in Norway: Kven, Romani, Romanés, and Norwegian Sign Language (Blichfeldt et al., 2020, p. 255–256). Sámi content is also integrated in other parts of the book, for instance in a sequence dedicated to exploring structural and lexical differences between Norwegian, English, Spanish, German and North Sámi in an SMS (Blichfeldt et al., 2020, p. 239).

TOWARDS INDIGENISED PERSPECTIVES ON MULTILINGUAL CITIZENSHIP WITHIN THE POLITICS OF THE ORDINARY?

As presented in the introduction, the school subject Norwegian historically served to protect and enhance monolingual diversity as part of constructing a Norwegian-only space. It has struggled correspondingly to deal with multilingual diversity in a late-modern, post-national multilingual space. By focusing on how curricular content related to Sámi languages has been interpreted in Norwegian subject textbooks over time, our analysis shows that these teaching materials gradually present a more fine-grained and accurate picture of Sámi multilingual citizenship. Firstly, we observe the gradual introduction of a linguistically and culturally more diverse Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie. Secondly, we see a step-by-step movement away from a monolithic representation of Sámi language and citizenship. While the earliest books treat Sámi language proficiency as a *sine qua non* for Sámi citizenship, the later books introduce more heterogeneous cultural and linguistic practices among people who self-identify as Sámi. In pictures and visuals, North Sámi reindeer herding culture becomes replaced with young 'peripheral Sámi cool' (Pietikäinen et al., 2016, p. 13). Sámi perspectives become integrated in the greater Norwegian multilingual 'we' and in a broader representation of traditional and contemporary language diversity in Norway. These perspectives are juxtaposed in different ways with perspectives linked to multilingual practices that emerge from globalisation and transnationalism in late modernity. These textbook developments result both from the strengthening of Sámi content in the mainstream school and from the introduction of the *diversity-as-a-resource* perspective in Norwegian education over the last two decades.

More importantly, these changes are linked to discursive and ideological changes that provide 'new resources for the articulation of minority language identity and for minority language policy, planning and educational practice' (Jaffe, 2012, p. 83). Cultural models in textbooks potentially have implications for ongoing negotiations of identity and citizenship in the mainstreaming Norwegian school context,

which involves both Sámi and non-Sámi students. As already pointed out, research calls for strengthening of the knowledge of Sámi issues in the Norwegian education system. But what is a ‘sufficiently strengthened’ level of knowledge? Less interesting than a discussion of ‘the body of information’ is the question of how Sámi and non-Sámi teachers and students *do diversity*, in and outside the classrooms. Following Olsen’s (2017) distinction between *ignorance*, *inclusion* and *Indigenisation* of Sámi content, we would like to highlight two examples of Indigenised perspectives from the textbook series that, in our opinion, opens up a space for exploring and discussing multilingual citizenship both within and beyond Sámi contexts.

While concepts like *bilingualism* and *mother tongue* find no explicit mentioning in the sequence about Sámi in the 2006 textbook (Blichfeldt et al., 2006, pp. 291–292), the authors have chosen to include a powerfully quiet poem by Sámi author Risten Sokki (Blichfeldt et al., 2006, p. 292). The poem is published in North Sámi and Norwegian in a bilingual collection by the poet. We cite it here with the North Sámi diacritics that have fallen out of the textbook version (our translation to English):

<i>Dovddan</i>	<i>I know</i>
<i>máilmmi</i>	<i>the world</i>
<i>guovtti gillii</i>	<i>in two languages</i>
<i>In diehtán</i>	<i>I didn’t know</i>
<i>ráhkisvuoda</i>	<i>that love</i>
<i>máhttit</i>	<i>knew</i>
<i>dušše ovttá</i>	<i>only one of them</i>

There is a gap between the majority perspective in the textbook voice completely ignoring Sámi multilingualism and the silent complexity of the poem expressing both the bilingual experience from an Indigenous perspective and the love of the mother tongue – in North Sámi often referred to as *gollegiella*, ‘the golden language’, or *váimmugiella*, ‘the language of the heart’. It catches how ‘the plurilingual repertoire is not just differentiated in terms of the nature and types of competencies an individual has in a set of codes, but also offers differentiated experiences of language’ (Jaffe, 2012, p. 92). This points to a more general aspect: textbooks can communicate different and paradoxical narratives and perspectives at the same time. *Integrating* the Indigenous voice in texts and visuals without *Indigenising* the voice of the textbook might simply interrupt the coherence in the (re)presentation of the issues at hand. The textbook in fact combines inclusion and Indigenisation on the very same page.

We would also like to draw attention to the opening chapter of the latest book from 2020, ‘The text researcher’ (*Tekstforskaren*; Blichfeldt et al., 2020, pp. 10–53). Ten different texts introduce the student to ‘the world of texts’ (p. 10). Together with

Martin Luther King Jr.'s 'I Have a Dream', Norwegian rap lyrics and an extract from Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, we find a complex text – a *gákti* made and worn by a young Sámi, Charlotte Solli Larsen (Blichfeldt et al., 2020, pp. 47–49). It is a *gákti* of *pride and protest* – a 'trolling *gákti*' ('netthetskofte'; Figure 8.3) putting hate speech and online discrimination of Sámi and other minoritised groups on the agenda.



Figure 8.3: Charlotte Solli Larsen's *gákti* of *pride and protest* (Photo courtesy of Charlotte Solli Larsen).

In 2018, this *gákti* received media attention and an interview with Larsen is printed in the textbook: ‘This is my way of showing that we Sámi are much stronger than they believe, and that trolls cannot pull us down’, she says, and continues, ‘The lower part of the *gákti* is supposed to show all the hate emerging in the comments. The higher part shows that I am still proud of being Sámi’ (Blichfeldt et al., 2020, p. 48, our translation).

Here, the textbook highlights a Sámi *act of citizenship* (Isin, 2009, p. 371; Olsen & Sollid, this volume) embedded in *the politics of the ordinary*, which according to Williams & Stroud (2015, p. 407) refers to engagement with diversity and marginalisation in informal and non-institutional political arenas. In the interview, Larsen says that she has worn her *gákti* – in other words, claimed Sámi citizenship – at a bar in a Northern Norwegian town. By including this text in the introduction to ‘the world of texts’ (see above), the textbook implicitly expresses an awareness concerning the very local contexts of claiming citizenship. In an invitation to reconsider what citizenship is in a post-colonial, post-national era, Williams & Stroud (2015) stress the importance of these contexts:

Because interactions among marginalized, mobile and diverse, often (trans-locally) located people take place in the context of the local, bars, streets and other places of everyday encounter, the politics of the ordinary is increasingly a site where diversity and marginalization are constructed and deconstructed, negotiated and challenged. (p. 407)

Additionally, they emphasise ‘the variety of semiotic means through which speakers express agency, voice and participation in an everyday politics of language’ (Williams & Stroud, 2015, p. 408). Larsen’s *gákti* is not just a semiotically complex text, but a multilingual text combining elements in Norwegian (the trolling comments), English (‘Sámi Power’, ‘Made in Sápmi’) and Sámi (the Sámi flag, letters in Sámi colors – and, of course, the *gákti* itself). It is worth noticing that the textbook has chosen a Sámi text in which there are no elements of Sámi language, but it is still – no doubt – a statement of Sámi citizenship.

This is a clear example of Indigenisation (Olsen, 2017, p. 72). *The gákti of protest and pride* is filled with tensions, conflicts, and dilemmas. Wearing this *gákti* is an act of citizenship made *possible* by the historical chain of citizenship acts leading to Sámi revitalisation (see Sollid, this volume). At the same time, it is an act of citizenship made *necessary* by hate speech and discrimination which are partly anchored in Norwegianisation, one of the darkest chapters of both Sámi and Norwegian history. It is worth noticing that in the textbook, the *gákti* is not treated as a text ‘about the Sámi who are different from us’, but rather as a starting point of

reflecting upon and discussing the all-encompassing phenomenon of hate speech and discrimination against minoritised groups.

FINAL REMARKS

In the introduction, it is taken as an axiom that textbooks are useful and powerful. That is not necessarily true. Textbooks can be useless – misleading, essentialising, ignorant, fossilising – and challenged by knowledge. It is uplifting that the last textbook in the series is less focused on linguistic and cultural differences between sociolinguistic groups. For instance, we have shown how the inclusion of a complex text representing an Indigenised perspective on the complexity of Sámi citizenship potentially serves as a starting point for discussing larger problems in both Sámi and Norwegian society. There is enough *difference* to address in a broader educational and societal context anyway: 'Now we know that it is important to be able to speak one's mother tongue', the textbook claims (Blichfeldt et al., 2020, p. 250). Still, a growing number of students are waiting for the Norwegian education system to make more room for their mother tongues and multilingual repertoires (Svendsen, 2021). Our reading of the textbook series has also provided insight into how ideologies that may now be considered outdated in the education system are still part of the larger circulation of ideas, values, and interests with deep implications for *the politics of the ordinary* in which young people's everyday language practices are embedded.

Multilingual citizenship for both Sámi and non-Sámi students comes with friction between 'thick' and 'thin' at different levels. Dealing with Indigenised perspectives on these frictions opens up for *exchange*, which is a way more promising strategy than *essence* (Jaffe, 2012), and the school subject Norwegian – textbooks included – provides one of the most important educational arenas for this exchange to happen after all.

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