10. It may be invisible to you but it still affects us: Extending the comprehensive view on language and writing

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Abstract Sámi education is a shared, and simultaneously divided, enterprise of four nation states. Sámi writing instruction is also influenced by the writing didactics of the majority languages. This chapter investigates the appropriateness of one non-Indigenous model for writing instruction in the North Sámi context. This chapter suggests that although the model can to a large extent describe many discourses for the Indigenous Sámi context, there is a need to expand the layers of the model.

Keywords Sámi languages | literacy | discourses | writing didactics | ideologies

INTRODUCTION

This chapter proposes that theoretical models arising solely in the non-Indigenous writing pedagogical context can be unintentionally incomplete. This incompleteness is due to an incapability to recognize power relations, hierarchies, and ideas that are connected to minority contexts. Such contexts can be invisible in the majority contexts and to many majority researchers, and, as such, they can become contextual boundaries that do not promote understanding of Indigenous education in varied contexts. This can lead to inappropriate use of the comprehensive model, or to inconclusive results with less serious consequences. Exclusive use of such models as analytical tools in Indigenous literacy contexts can lead to an imbalance in the contents, instruction, and evaluation of Indigenous writing and literacy development within a majority education system without addressing the underlying shortcomings of the system itself. Also, the interpretation of the research results in Indigenous contexts can give false indications of the situation or lead to wrong or inadequate counter measures.

Although the formal needs of reading and writing skills between minorities and Indigenous communities may not differ at large, the need to acknowledge local literacies and local literacy content is urgent. Local literacies recognize Indigenous voices and give them status, and they are also rooted in the cultural consciousness of the language community. With non-Indigenous models, certain hierarchical understandings and ideologies of languages, skills, knowledge, and linguistic competence can take hold of the educational contexts and may further decrease the opportunities for the minorities to become biliterate. Promoting biliteracy is the only way to keep Indigenous literacies alive since monoliteracy in a multicultural context almost always equals literacy solely in the majority language. Also, although biliteracy may offer the majority learners bonus knowledge of literacy contents in other languages, biliteracy is not a condition for the survival of majority literacy as it is for the minority.

On the other hand, literacy models should not be directly excluded or rejected only since their origins are in the non-Indigenous context. Instead, it should be in everyone's interest to see in which way, if any, the models can be adjusted to also include or understand new contexts. This is, I think, especially true for frameworks that are seemingly neutral and based on grassroots practices within larger formal educational systems shared between majority contexts and Indigenous/ minority contexts. Although there is no escaping the fact that majority pedagogies are dominant in the schooling of most minority students today, the acknowledgement of this situation and adjustment of the models has the potential to produce more solidary, accepting, and tolerant education systems.

The need to adjust non-Indigenous models to accommodate an understanding of Indigenous contexts is, in my view, also not in contrast or in conflict with the idea that the Indigenous contexts have an additional need to create their own models. Expansion of the non-Indigenous models to include an understanding of Indigenous/minority contexts can instead create space for Indigenous models that strengthen local literacies and Indigenous didactics. In this way, 'education can also be an opportunity for Indigenous people to engage in (re)claiming, transferring and articulating their own cultures and languages' as stated by Olsen and Sollid in the introduction of this volume. This inclusive perspective is also shared by e.g., Martin et al. (2017), who see the educational sector as one of those many spaces for Cultural Interface where different ideas, ideologies, and practices inevitably intersect. Martin et al. (2017, p. 1159) also point out that, for a long time, very little has been known about the mechanisms that support Indigenous pupils' learning. Understanding how people act in different spaces, including educational settings, contributes to the understanding of complex systems. It is at that interface that

> traditional forms and ways of knowing, or the residue of those, that we bring from the pre-contact historical trajectory inform how we think and act and so do Western ways, and for many of us a blend of both has become our lifeworld. (Nakata, 2002, p. 285)

To learn more about those mechanisms, there is a need to learn more about the ways teaching and learning is organized in such settings. This chapter is one contribution to that work and has been encouraged through my participation in the Indigenous Citizenship and Education project.

This chapter discusses a specific area of inquiry, namely writing and writing instruction in North Sámi educational and Nordic transnational settings. However, the implications of this chapter can be extended to include many areas of research. This applies especially for disciplines in which discourses specific to Indigenous contexts are studied without a proper grounding in the Indigenous perspective and without a critical look at the models that the research methodologies use.

The discussion and the examples presented in this chapter are based on a specific case study that targets one theoretical framework and one Indigenous educational context, the context of North Sámi writing instruction in compulsory schooling in the Nordic countries. I am aware of the risk of producing a too narrow theoretical generalization, the very same generalization that this chapter seeks to nuance. I therefore welcome further studies within Indigenous and other minority communities that can either confirm the general need for framework extension, or that will show that the extension proposed here is more appropriate in specific Indigenous and minority contexts, but not in all.

I also want to make a short note on researcher positionality since I belong to the Indigenous community but do my research in the Nordic academic context. The views and perspectives that I offer are unavoidably affected by my position as a simultaneous insider and outsider. I seek to undertake my research following the ethical guidelines that concern both the Nordic academic tradition and Indigenous research. When it comes to objectivity, I am unapologetic of my aspiration to find ways to include Indigenous communities in the wider educational discussion arena. I do so without forgetting that my call is also to find strategies to identify potential weaknesses in the Indigenous writing instruction. Finding the internal gaps of the system and understanding their origins is in my mind a leap towards Indigenous literacy and Indigenous citizenship.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Following this introductory section, section 2 focuses on numeric data from the Sámi compulsory schooling in four countries. The numbers give a compressed background for the study that has been undertaken in the educational context where North Sámi, the largest of the

Sámi languages, is used as the medium of instruction and as the mediator of literacy contents. Section 3 presents the original theoretical framework of Ivanič (2004), which is the target of the proposed theoretical expansion. Section 4 provides arguments for the expansion of the framework in the Sámi educational and literacy development contexts and discusses how factors that affect writing instruction and writing in such contexts can be misinterpreted or overseen. Section 5 presents the proposed expansion of the framework arguing that the sociopolitical layer of the original model cannot alone explain and cope with the ideological, historical, and power-related effects that impact Indigenous writing contexts. The final section offers some concluding remarks.

SHORT OVERVIEW OF SÁMI LITERACY CONTEXTS IN COMPULSORY SCHOOLING

Sámi education is an example of teaching an Indigenous language and culture within a majority school system, and therefore also a matter of maintaining, nursing, and developing bilingual literacy among the Sámi young, or of hindering such development. Today, Sámi learners are formally educated within the Nordic school systems and at a single primary school in Russia (see the black star on Map 10.1). This study focuses solely on compulsory school (ages 6–15) that is the only level of Sámi education that is comparable and formally steered in all four countries: Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Russia. Further, the case study focuses on the North Sámi school context.

Most of the Sámi speakers live in the traditional settlement area called Sápmi (North Sámi spelling), shown in grey on Map 10.1, but many Sámi also live outside this area, for example in urban centers and the capital cities of Sweden, Norway, and Finland. The statistics about the overall numbers of speakers or people with ethnic affiliation to the Sámi culture are scarce or reported circularly and vaguely, and continuously state a range between 50 000–100 000 people (e.g., Friborg, Sørlie, & Hansen, 2017, p. 1010; Olthuis, Kivelä, & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013, p. 27; Outakoski, 2015b, pp. 7–8; Seurujärvi-Kari, 2012, p. 18).
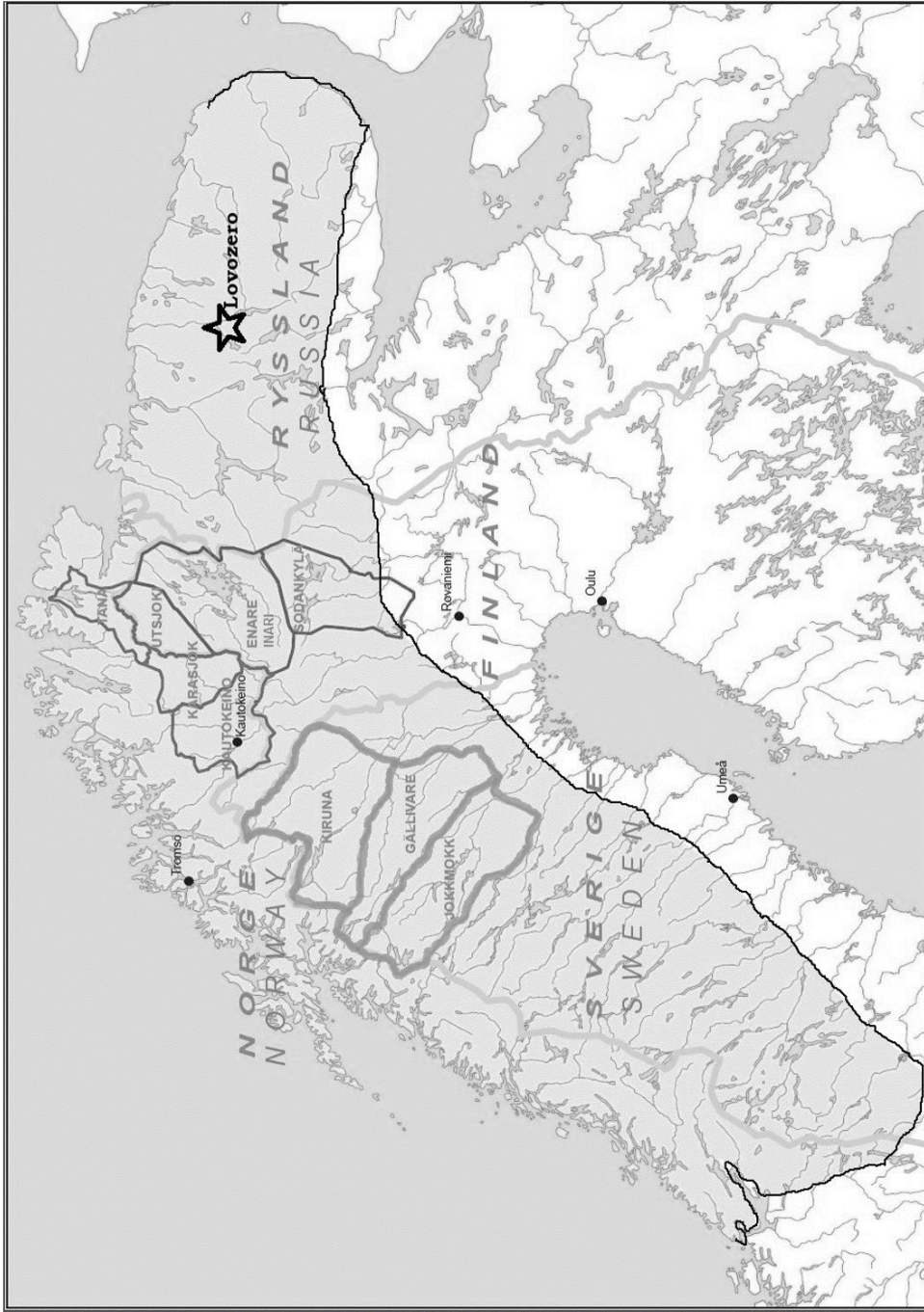
Map 10.1: Sápmi – The traditional settlement area of the Sámi people, shown in grey, stretches over Northern Norway and Sweden to Finland and further to Kola Peninsula in Russia. The circumscribed regions within Sápmi present some of the North Sámi maintenance and development areas central for the case study.

Table 10.1: National statistics from Sweden (Kitok, Vannar, & Sparrok, 2020), Norway (Johansen, Møllersen, Aslaksen, Tovmo, & Rasmussen, 2020) and Finland (Aikio-Puoskari & Pulska, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c), and the estimated figure from Russia (Zmyvalova & Outakoski, 2019) show the number of Sámi learners in primary schools who have part or whole education in Sámi language, or who study Sámi language as a separate subject in school.

Country	Education partly or wholly in Sámi			Sámi as a separate subject or mother tongue subject (curricular or extra-curricular)		
	2017–18	2018–19	2019–20	2017–18	2018–19	2019–20
Sweden	158	161	173	529	612	571
Norway	849	833	857	1419	1561	1543
Finland	198	217	189	382	432	497
Russia	0			+/– 20 pupils		
Total	1205	1211	1219	2350	2625	2631
All totals for education in and on Sámi				3555	3836	3850

In the school year 2019–2020, there were altogether 3850 pupils registered in the formal Sámi education programs or studying the Sámi language in compulsory school in the four countries (see Table 10.1). Of these pupils, 744 primary school pupils were registered in Sweden (Kitok et al., 2020), 686 primary school pupils in Finland (Aikio-Puoskari & Pulska, 2019b), 2400 pupils in Norway (Johansen et al., 2020), and around 20 pupils were registered in Russia (Ekaterina Zmyvalova, p.c. May 2020). In the school year 2019–2020, 857 pupils in Norway and 189 pupils in Finland had Sámi as their main language of instruction, and 173 pupils in Sweden attended Sámi schools where some of the instruction, but not more than half, was in the Sámi language. In Russia, no Sámi learners attend formal education that is given mainly in their native or heritage language. See Table 10.1 for the 2017–2020 official statistics from Sweden, Norway and Finland, and an estimation from Russia.

The four countries, where the majority of Sámi live today, have chosen different trajectories when it comes to educating the Sámi people and offering them the possibility to learn their native heritage languages in school. The opportunities also differ within countries, regionally. In some regions in Norway and Finland, Sámi learners can receive teaching mainly in Sámi throughout their compulsory schooling. In Sweden this opportunity is restricted to five Sámi schools and only continues up to grade 6 (age 12); in practice, the amount of teaching in Sámi can, however, be much less than half of the school time. In Russia, Sámi classes are offered as extracurricular and timewise very limited options up till grades 4 (age 10) and 5 (age 11). For a comparative overview of the Sámi education in Norway, Finland, and Sweden, consult Aikio-Puoskari (2005). Learn more about

the Norwegian Sámi school forms in Hirvonen (2008). Consult Zmyvalova & Outakoski (2019) for an understanding the present situation in Russia, and for the current Swedish situation, see Hettema & Outakoski (2020).

In all countries where the Sámi live, there are many Sámi children and youth who do not attend Sámi educational programs, nor do they study the language and culture in school. This is alarming since the Sámi schools are among the most important ideological and implementational places that nurture the development of Sámi identity and Sámi languages (Hornberger & Outakoski, 2015; Keskitalo, Määttä, & Uusiautti, 2014). The existence of a variety of informal language arenas is of great importance for language survival, but the impact of these non-formal language revitalization efforts on Sámi literacy attainment has not yet been researched in a larger scale.

It is against this highly varied literacy attainment context that I view Ivanič's (2004) theoretical framework for writing instruction, learning writing and teaching writing. The different educational trajectories that we see in the present are products of historical and ideological power negotiations in which the Sámi people have had their own voice for only a relatively short period of time, if at all.

IDENTIFYING A NEED FOR A THEORETICAL EXPANSION

The model that is discussed in detail in this chapter is Rosalind Ivanič's (2004) philosophical-theoretical paper on the discourses of writing, learning to write, and teaching writing. Ivanič (2004) describes the connection between our thoughts and ideas about writing and writing instruction, and the way we learn and teach writing, saying that '[t]he ways in which people talk about writing and learning to write, and the actions they take as learners, teachers and assessors, are instantiations of discourses of writing and learning to write' (p. 220).

Ivanič (2004, p. 223) identifies and graphically describes four main layers in the view on language that steer and affect writing and writing instruction. According to this model, we can focus on the written text itself, on the mental processes of writing and composition, on writing as an event with participants and roles, or on the socio political settings in which the writing is conducted or instructed, or we can reach for a more comprehensive view on all or on a combination of some of the layers. These orientations need not be mutually exclusive, but for most of the time, the focus of a separate teaching event is directed towards one or two of these layers, even if the teacher might be able to move between the layers in their overall writing pedagogy. In the original framework, the layers are organized metaphorically in a nested box formation situating the text in the innermost box and the sociopolitical layer in the outermost box. Ivanič (2004) herself writes that the

framework is based on 'research and practice on writing pedagogy in Anglophone countries' (p. 224), and she further welcomes revisions and development of the framework so as to extend its scope.

Ivanič's (2004, p. 225) original framework[1] also identifies six discourses for writing, learning to write, and for writing instruction. These include: 1) the skills discourse that focuses on the form of the written product and on linguistic conventions, 2) the discourse of creativity that concentrates on writing that springs from the writer's interest and imagination, 3) the discourse of the writing process and the phases of the composition, 4) the genre discourse that focuses on text types and the characteristics of different kinds of writing, 5) the discourse of writing as a social practice where the roles and the actions of the writer and the receiver are the main concern, and 6) the sociopolitical discourse where the motivation and reasons behind different kinds of writing are considered. The six discourses are in turn connected to the different layers of the language view. It is possible to view the connection as movement on parallel scales where the innermost layers (Text and Cognitive processes) are more connected to the discourses of writing skills and creativity, while the latter discourses are more connected to the outer layers of the writing event and the socio political context of the writing or writing instruction (Ivanič, 2004, p. 225: Figure 2). My understanding of the graphical presentations of the original framework are presented later in this chapter, in section 5, in connection to the suggested expansion of the model in Figures 10.3 and 10.4.

This chapter has no desire to diminish the importance of Ivanič's (2004) model for analyses of writing discourses in the Anglophone majority language learner contexts. Instead, I suggest that there is a need to expand the model so that it can also be used and interpreted appropriately in the minority and Indigenous contexts. An attempt to accommodate Indigenous writing research and instruction under this model acknowledges the value and importance of the original framework since most of the formal Indigenous literacy instruction, at least in the present Sámi context, aligns with the majority model. I am also attracted to and intrigued by this model since I recognize so many parts of it as having been clearly visible and present in the Sámi schooling that I received as a pupil/student, and that I have been involved in as a Sámi teacher later. At the same time, I have discovered the need for an expansion of this model since Indigenous writing is most often carried out and instructed in a revitalization or language shift context

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1   Ivanič (e.g., at the LITUM Symposium in Umeå, May 2018) has herself also raised the question of a need to expand the discourses to include a very important discourse that connects with learning through writing and to the writing experience as a learning event, but since this discourse is not included in the original framework, it will not be discussed here.

where various power relations, historical traumas, and hegemonic ideologies linger. Since such effects of colonialism and ongoing reclamation processes are not a visible or an announced part of the sociopolitical discourse of the formal and national school system of the Nordic countries, I wanted to see where they could be placed and positioned in the Ivanič (2004) model.

The expansion proposed in this chapter comprises of a seemingly minor addition in the model of Ivanič (2004, p. 223), but of a sort that can turn out to be a major addition to the comprehensive view on language, language learning, and instruction in language revitalization contexts, as well as in majority contexts that are heavily influenced by certain ideological underpinnings, or that are undergoing a major pedagogical shift. I suggest that there is an additional fifth layer in the comprehensive view on language that works differently from the other layers of the model. While the other layers of the model are connected to the different writing discourses and teaching practices, the fifth layer, suggested here, functions as a mediating layer that has the ability and potential to blur the connections between the other layers and the discourses, or that sometimes functions as a convex lens that, for different reasons, diminishes the number of available writing discourses and practices for writing instruction in the minority contexts. In the majority contexts this layer can be so plane and transparent that it becomes almost invisible and therefore difficult to detect, or it could, in the case of major pedagogical reforms, have similar effects on the language view and available discourses as in the minority context.

The main aim of this chapter is therefore to argue for an extension of Ivanič's (2004) model to include a fifth layer in the comprehensive view of language to make it usable in the Sámi and in similar Indigenous writing contexts, and elsewhere. The main gain from this adjustment of the model makes visible the (reasons of) missing, weak, or overemphasized layers and discourses of writing instruction in minority contexts. Visibility, in turn, makes it possible to strengthen and diversify teaching and learning of writing in all contexts, and to counteract and prevent potential categorization of Indigenous writing as inferior or less versatile than other writing.

In the next section, I will provide more detailed examples and arguments to support the need for the expansion of Ivanič's model. Concrete examples are fetched from the North Sámi education context and are based on the data, materials, and results of an International Post Doc project that looked to answer the main research question on whether and how the teaching practices in multilingual educational contexts support writing in heritage languages. The project has investigated writing instruction and writing practices in Sámi higher level education in three countries during the 2017–2018 academic year, and through a one-year-long

case study at one North Sámi primary school during the 2018–2019 school year. The project is summarized in Attachment 10.1.

WRITING INSTRUCTION IN THE INDIGENOUS SÁMI CONTEXT

Writing instruction in the Sámi context faces challenges that most majority writing classrooms, teachers, teacher instructors, and learners do not need to worry about. Some of the challenges are of a practical nature, some of an ideological nature, and some of them are a blend of both. The practical obstacles (such as lack of appropriate materials) are, however, the ones that are better known and more visible, and therefore of less interest in this chapter. Instead, in this section, I have chosen to highlight the challenges that arise from the imbalanced power relations and/or the context of revitalization. These challenges are also shared between different national contexts indicating that there is a layer of language view that is beyond the political and sociocultural sphere of the national educational contexts, a layer of ordinance and hierarchy between competing literacy contexts.

The effects of the additional layer either blur, redirect, erase, or delimit the connections between writing discourses, writing instruction, writing practices, and writing ideologies in school and in the Indigenous communities as a whole. In the following, five challenges in the Sámi writing context, and their effects on Sámi writing and writing instruction are exemplified and discussed. Many more challenges could also be included on the list, but these five are chosen since they in different ways exemplify the core mechanisms that steer the effects of the suggested additional fifth layer of the comprehensive language view that is discussed in section 5.

Language ideologies and language practices

Schools and schooling are powerful channels for conveying ways of viewing, evaluating, and categorizing societies, people, race, knowledge, cultures, and many other structures and phenomena that form and reform our lives. Controlling access to literacy or the language of literacy has been, and still is, an effective way to maintain control over people, and especially over Indigenous peoples and minorities. At the same time, Indigenous groups may also internalize the idea that writing, literacy, and schooling belong to the majority society, while traditional knowledge, oral traditions, and immaterial culture are seen as being at the core of the Indigenous cultures. This way of thinking feeds the idea that writing and literacy

are not as important as oral communication. Literacy also loses its meaning as a human right and, instead, is easily seen as a skill or apparatus that is forced on the people through an educational system that does not acknowledge local Indigenous literacies. In Sápmi, many parents' and grandparents' negative school experiences also enforce the negative attitudes towards writing in general, and writing in Sámi in particular (Outakoski, 2015a, pp. 51–52).

Ideologies about literacy and writing in Sámi languages, among learners and teachers, are to some extent in conflict with the ideologies of the documents that steer the school activities. Literacy skills are given a lot of space in the national curricula, while the knowledge that is valued internally in the Sámi community (e.g., knowledge of the lands, the people, and the cultural and oral traditions) is implemented only at the local level or through separate Sámi subject curricula.

Indigenous Sámi literacy is only in its infancy and has not yet managed to connect the internal and external values of writing in the Sámi context. It is also clear that the ideologies about the secondary nature of writing compared to other language skills has an impact on the planning of the teaching and on the writing discourses that are allowed to enter the Sámi educational scene in form of teaching practices.
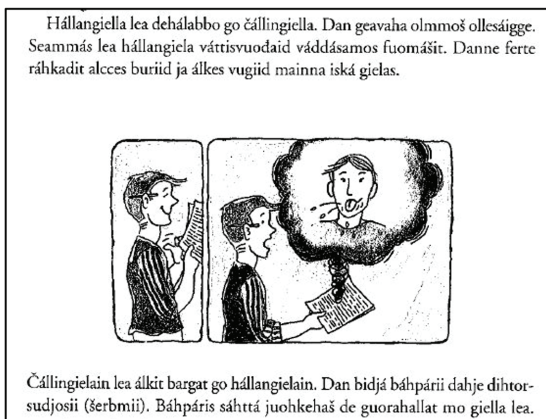
Translation: Spoken language is more important than written language. It is used by the people all the time. At the same time, it is most difficult to detect problems in spoken language. Therefore, one must come up with good and easy ways to test one's language.

It is easier to work with the written language. It is put on paper or a computer screen. On paper everyone can analyze the language [how language is].

Figure 10.1: A screenshot of an illustration from the first page of an older Sámi school book that teaches Sámi learners to write and speak accurately by Per Jernsletten (1998, p. 9). The name of the book is *Čále ja hála ná* 'Write and talk in this way'. The figure is accompanied by the author's translation of the original North Sámi text.

Figure 10.1 is just one of the numerous examples from the Sámi textbooks and teaching materials; it shows how these understandings of writing and literacy as something foreign, less important, less valuable, less interesting, less genuine,

or difficult (in this case, too trivial) are time after time conveyed to the Sámi pupils and students. This happens through non-Sámi as well as Sámi literacy contents. Sometimes the message is very clear, as in the prescriptive older text-book from which Figure 10.1 has been taken. Sometimes the ideologies and attitudes are subtler, or are accentuated through omitted writing tasks, writing lessons, writing homework, and writing projects, or through missing writing discourses.

Distorted and redirected materials

Ideologies also play an important role in deciding which teaching and learning materials enter the Sámi educational scene or the Sámi literacy scene. The imminent threat to the culture and language is easily interpreted in a way that favours certain types of materials and keeps other materials out of the context. I have called this mechanism compartmentalization (see, e.g., Outakoski, 2015b, p. 67), and it can distort and delimit available sources for teaching and learning. The compartmentalization of Sámi writing and written sources is deeply rooted in the ways in which one makes space or closes space for written materials, translations, new genres, and other written products.

An example of such distortion comes from the Swedish side of Sápmi, where reading and learning materials have sometimes been rejected by the Sámi parliament only because they do not concentrate on traditional Sámi livelihoods such as reindeer herding (Outakoski, 2015b, p. 67). This mirrors the situation where the minority culture is under such a tremendous pressure that the threats on and from the sociopolitical and cultural context wipe out the possibilities to use versatile materials in teaching contexts, and therefore might wipe out entire discourses connected to the versatility. This is alarming as it has been shown that multilingual writers 'need supportive instructional contexts that encourage their development as writers in varied genres and build upon multilinguals' unique abilities to draw upon multiple resources as they write' (Kibler, 2014, p. 648).

Didactic models and pedagogy for writing instruction in Sámi

There is not very much to say about this area of inquiry since no specific Sámi writing didactic courses existed for teachers during the research period. These zero results are still one of the most important findings of my postdoctoral study, in which two universities from Finland and two from Norway participated, and where my home university represented the fourth university in Sweden.

According to the survey and the interview study conducted in Sámi higher education in the spring 2018 (see Attachment 10.1), many teachers had experienced that language studies and pedagogical studies were separated from each other in the Sámi higher education context. This does of course not mean that the language is separated from pedagogy, but the language didactic contents were often either replaced by formal linguistic studies, or the didactic methods were dealt with within the parts of the teacher training program that was given in the majority language or that targeted majority language didactics. In the language courses that were part of the teacher training programs, the focus was often on the students' own knowledge of Sámi grammar, semantics, morphology, etc., rather than on didactic skills, methods, and models that were needed for teaching the language. This could either lead to some uncertainty about the way Sámi language should be taught, or, alternatively, the focus in teaching would be on the same formal skills that were highlighted in the courses, i.e., the skills discourse.

The models and the methods of teaching learned in the majority language context can surely be of significance and help for the Sámi teachers, but there is also a risk that the methods for teaching writing in, e.g., Norwegian might not directly transfer to the teaching of Sámi. Burgess and Ivanič (2010) also raise concerns about how certain writing practices can affect the identity of the writer, as

> asking a person to write a particular type of text, using particular media, materials, and resources, and particular discoursal and generic features, in a particular context, will be requiring that person to identify with other people who write in this way. Writing demands in educational settings are also identity demands. (p. 228)

The writing discourses and ways to teach writing that come from the majority teacher programs therefore run a risk of redirecting and affecting Sámi writing in the long run.

A positive development in this area of inquiry should, however, be mentioned. After 2018 and my postdoctoral study, new teacher positions with the profile towards Sámi pedagogy and language didactics have been announced at several higher education institutions. The language didactic gap that has existed a while in the Sámi higher education has somehow become visible and detectable, and several different measures have been taken to counteract further separation of Sámi language studies, language didactics, and teacher education.

Dominant discourses

According to the preliminary results of the study that is summarized in Attachment 10.1, it is very common in the Sámi classes, at all educational levels, that the skills discourse is overly emphasized in writing instruction although the language teachers might have pedagogical and didactic aspirations to include other discourses in their teaching (and do so outside writing instruction). The same is also true for most of the teaching materials, where other discourses may be mentioned (e.g., genre discourse and the discourse of the writing process), but that often turn out to test or create writing tasks that focus on the text and the skills discourse.

This kind of focusing on the skills discourse in the Sámi educational sector has many reasons, but they are often, according to the teacher interviews, in one way or another connected to the context of revitalization or language shift. In the Sámi context, this view is often a result of ongoing development work, where language didactics, genres, and writing processes or writing situations are not prioritized as highly as is the basic linguistic knowledge of the form and the vocabulary. Also, the skills discourse offers a comfortable and solid basis for evaluation and assessment. Such a formal base is much easier to control as a common internal discourse than are, perhaps, some of the other discourses existing between four nations and four educational systems.

The risk with overemphasizing the skills discourse and the text level writing tasks is that the pupils learn to separate natural language use from writing, and only connect Sámi writing with correctness, spelling, word choice, form, and rules. Learning and training only formal skills and understanding of linguistic conventions and rules in connection to writing will not help the pupils to become versatile writers. These skills should, in my understanding, be trained in connection to the other writing discourses that look beyond the text and the form to the other contexts of writing.

Figure 10.2 summarizes the observation results from the 3.5-month-long observation period that was conducted at one Sámi primary school during fall term 2018 and comprised of 84 Sámi language lessons (see Attachment 10.1). Figure 10.2 shows that also genre discourse and creative discourse can be present and even dominant in the Sámi primary school. The assessment of the writing products that were connected to these discourses were, however, assessed against the skills discourse. During this observation period, none of the writing instruction was clearly connected to the discourses of the writing process or writing as social practice. When the skills discourse was negotiated in the classroom, a lot of trust was placed in the teaching materials and the text and exercise books. This will, and should, of course raise the question concerning the materials and their
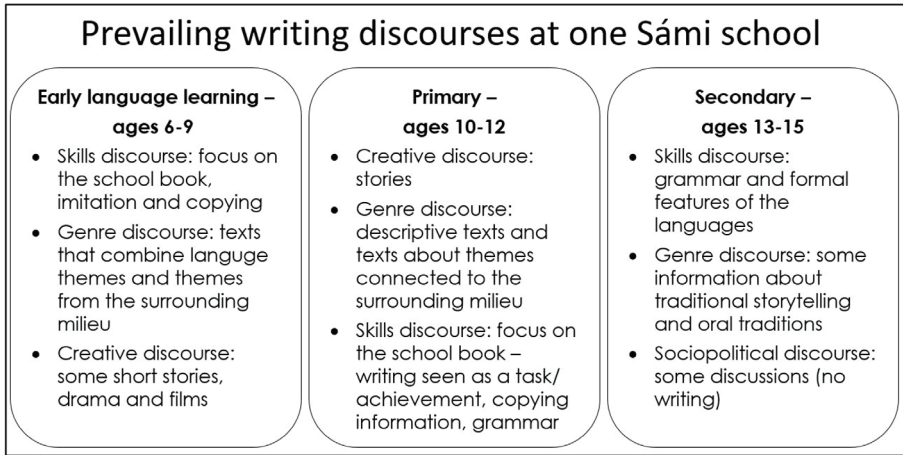
Prevailing writing discourses at one Sámi school

Early language learning – ages 6-9

- Skills discourse: focus on the school book, imitation and copying
- Genre discourse: texts that combine languge themes and themes from the surrounding milieu
- Creative discourse: some short stories, drama and films

Primary – ages 10-12

- Creative discourse: stories
- Genre discourse: descriptive texts and texts about themes connected to the surrounding milieu
- Skills discourse: focus on the school book – writing seen as a task/ achievement, copying information, grammar

Secondary – ages 13-15

- Skills discourse: grammar and formal features of the languages
- Genre discourse: some information about traditional storytelling and oral traditions
- Sociopolitical discourse: some discussions (no writing)

Figure 10.2: Observed dominant writing discourses during 84 Sámi language classes at one Sámi school during a period of 3.5 months (translated and fetched from Outakoski, 2018, p. 20).

creators, and what discourses they choose to convey; a question that has not yet been investigated in depth in Sápmi.

Emphasizing the skills discourse in writing is, however, in no way only a Sámi or minority context phenomenon. It is related to a much wider formalist view on language teaching in school. Further, although I firmly believe that writing instruction in the Sámi context is not intentionally formalist, it is easy to see how certain language didactic models have had an impact on Sámi writing instruction, and how the formalist view on language may easily live on at least in teacher ideologies. Skills discourse is often also considered the most important discourse also among the learners. For example, Lambirth (2016) has undertaken research on children's ideological perspectives on writing and learning how to write, and concludes that 'accuracy and correctness overrides many other considerations for the use of the written word' (p. 230). If the teacher instructors, teachers, and other writing instructors promote the formalist view, or assess against it, this view will be automatically transferred to the learners at all levels. In Sámi contexts this one-sidedness is potentially a threat towards the future of Sámi language competence and use in the local communities, and in the Sámi society as a whole, since it compartmentalizes Sámi literacy to the formal uses in school textbooks and grammars, and to written texts that are mainly assessed based on formal criteria.

Visibility and contents

Hirvonen (2008) has noted that, outside the Sámi core areas, Sámi education may be restricted to Sámi language lessons only. Also, Keskitalo (2010) and Linkola and Keskitalo (2015) have noted that even in the core Sámi areas, the visibility of Sámi literacy and languages in the schools is not at the same level as the visibility of the majority languages, leading to an imbalance in literacy outcomes and attitudes in different languages.

Besides the visibility of Sámi language in school environments, there is also a problem with the ways Sámi language knowledge and writing are steered and assessed in schools in comparison to the majority language. For example, the curriculum for Sámi schools in Sweden does not differ as much from the national curriculum as it does in Norway – it basically only adds the Sámi subject (language, history and culture) to the curriculum. However, Belancic and Lindgren (2020) have shown that the language subject curricula for Sámi and Swedish as first language differ quite substantially from each other at ideological levels concerning the content and breadth of the curricula. According to their study, the difference in the curricula prevents the Sámi children from acquiring the same level of literacy in their two main school languages, and gives Swedish an advantage. This is a serious finding as it indicates that the Sámi pupils are not given the 'full opportunity to participate as democratic citizens in all aspects of Sami and Swedish society, nor to develop their identities as multilingual, multicultural and Indigenous individuals' (Belancic & Lindgren, 2020, p. 614). Helander (2012, p. 59) has further criticized the way in which curricula and the Nordic school systems assess bilingual language knowledge, as it is often assessed in comparison to monolingual knowledge, and the monolingual majority language knowledge is taken as the norm in such assessments.

EXTENDING THE COMPREHENSIVE VIEW ON LANGUAGE AND WRITING

This chapter suggests, based on examples fetched from the Sámi educational and writing instructional context, that the comprehensive view on language proposed in Ivanič (2004) is insufficient when it comes to Indigenous languages, or at least North Sámi. This chapter recognizes the invaluable synthetizing work of Ivanič that brings together learning and teaching aspects of writing, but also welcomes the invitation to revise and expand the framework to also make it usable and comprehensible in Indigenous and minority contexts of literacy attainment. The original four layers from Ivanič's meta-analytical
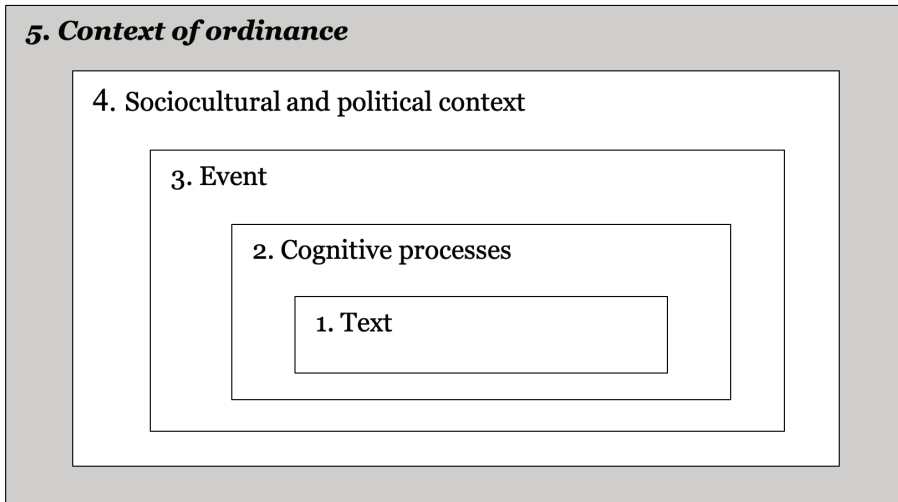
Figure 10.3: The four innermost white boxes exemplify Ivanič's original multi-layered view of language (in Ivanič, 2004, p. 223) while the fifth grey layer expands the model to include a layer of revitalization, restart, power relations, and ideologies that affect most Indigenous languages and belong to the context of ordinance.

framework are shown in white in Figure 10.3. However, the main innovation proposed in this chapter concerns the additional grey tinted layer in Figure 10.3 and Figure 10.4.

Although I have, somewhat neutrally, called this additional layer the context of ordinance (and therefore also sub-ordinance), see Figure 10.3, the neutrality connected to the naming of this meta-level is far away from the real-life struggles that this additional layer causes for indigenous literacy attainment. This layer is closely connected to the concepts of power and ideas, the never-ending processes of restarts, revitalization, and reclamation, and to the mechanisms of resistance and resilience that belong to the linguistic and cultural revival that has been gaining momentum in the Indigenous and minority communities since the 1970s.

This additional fifth layer could also alternatively be called the layer of the minority context or revitalization, or all the Res as in revitalization and restarts. However, similar struggles and processes could certainly also be detected in majority contexts where the sociocultural and the political layer is somehow affected, limited, and subordinated by historical or present ideologies making this layer essential also for other contexts than the Indigenous ones (e.g., in dictatorships or systems undergoing major pedagogical shifts). Accordingly,
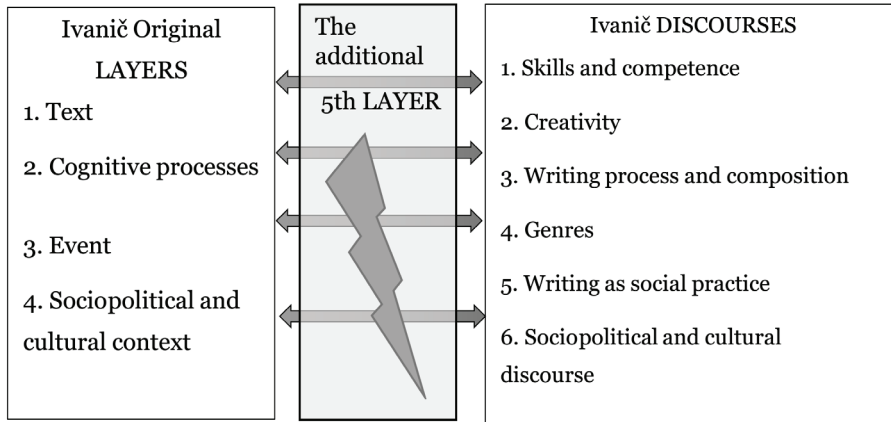
Figure 10.4: The organization of Ivanič's original layers and discourses in white boxes and the intervening additional layer proposed in this chapter in grey situated between the layers and the discourses.

this layer is there also in the majority contexts, but it may be more transparent and more easily penetrable than in the minority contexts, and therefore less opaque, or even completely invisible. I have also added the notion of power or power relations to this additional level, since unequal power relations do not necessarily have to be a visible part of the recognized sociopolitical and cultural contexts of a majority society, while they most certainly are so in many Indigenous contexts.

I further propose that the effects of this additional layer are more detectable in those Indigenous contexts where reclamation and vitalization processes are somehow part of the educational sector, or that have been initiated in the language community. Since most national languages or official languages in nation states are usually well established, whether because of colonialism or otherwise, they do not necessarily ever experience such processes or might not recognize them. Therefore, this additional layer can be said to be invisible for those coming from the majority literacy culture, and the four initial layers are sufficient to describe the views on language. To understand how this proposed fifth layer in the comprehensive view on language is situated in relation to the original framework (see also section 2 of this chapter), we need to look at the relationships or connections between the original layers and the arising discourses for writing and writing instruction (see Figure 10.4).

The fifth layer is often opaque in the Indigenous and minority contexts, but rather transparent and easily penetrable in the majority contexts. I suggest that

the fifth layer, the context of ordinance within power and ideas, is not neatly added to either ends of the list of layers, nor is it connected only to the socio-political and cultural discourse of writing and writing instruction. Instead, this layer is situated in between the original layers and the discourses (see Figure 10.4). The examples in section 4 have shown the different ways in which the effects of the fifth dimension can become visible and detected. In a minority context, it can distort, redirect, or blur the connections of the original model, or entirely wipe out certain discourses, as has been shown in this chapter. The fifth layer can also function in a similar way as does the convex lens that gathers the rays of light into one point, as is the case with repeatedly dominant discourses, such as the skills discourse.

Thus, the examples in section 4 in this chapter show the effects of the fifth layer in Figure 10.4. The less transparent the fifth layer becomes, the more unexpected, and even unwanted, effects it has on the dynamics of the system. These effects, then, are reflected, for instance, in restricted accessibility to different discourses and in distorted or blocked connections between layers and discourses.

SUMMARY

This chapter concludes that, in the Sámi educational settings, the suggested additional fifth layer in the comprehensive view on language seems to be present at most levels of language instruction starting from the ideologies that form the steering documents all the way down to grassroots classroom practices. This is also why it is so important to acknowledge its existence. In the Indigenous contexts, the fifth layer of ordinance, within power relations and ideas, can explain why some of the discourses of writing are more common or preferred than others, and it can increase our understanding of the resistance mechanisms that arise from hegemonic ideologies that are rooted in the Indigenous educational contexts. At the same time, revitalization may open new arenas for literacy and writing in the Indigenous context if the fifth layer can be made visible and is recognized among the educators. Only by acknowledging the existence of the fifth layer is it possible to come up with strategies to make it transparent and more easily penetrable, as it is in many majority contexts.

On a more general level, some of the conclusions presented in this chapter indicate that the discourses of writing, learning, and teaching writing in the North Sámi context are sensitive to the priorities of the teacher training programs and the language programs' contents. Further, the teacher students have different prerequisites for learning about writing instruction depending on the course offerings

of their home universities. We can't expect to see versatile and confident Sámi writers in schools if the teachers lack the tools and knowledge, or only have partial tools to boost the writing of their pupils, and to expand the writing discourses and the comprehensive view on language. Cooperation between the Nordic higher education institutions concerning the development of Sámi writing didactics is thus called for.

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ATTACHMENT 10.1: SUMMARY OF THE PROJECT METHODOLOGY AND DATA

Aim of the collaborative and participatory study:

The aim of this study was to investigate the realization and attainment of literacy goals in two Indigenous language environments, the Sámi classrooms at one school in Sápmi and the Sámi teacher training programs in higher education in Norway and Finland. Focus was put on mapping and discovering how teacher training programs and the teaching practices in a multilingual educational context support writing in an Indigenous language. The main theoretical framework that was used in the study was Ivanič (2004) discourses for writing and writing instruction.

Research periods:

Sámi higher education, Spring term 2018: observations, interviews, and surveys (no writing classes or writing didactics during this period)

Case study at one Sámi primary school, 2018–19 school year: participatory classroom observations, active writing intervention, and survey among the teachers and the participating pupils' families. The researcher spent the whole school year at the school: first term as an observer and resource teacher, the second term as a teacher/researcher leading intervention activities that the school had decided on based on the observation report from the fall term.

	Observations in class (45 min)	Active writing intervention	Interviews	Survey
Primary school	84 Sámi language 72 other subjects	182 hours	–	23
Ages 13–15	12	85	–	21
Ages 9–12	31	51	–	
Ages 6–8	41	34	–	
Workshops	–	12	–	–
Teachers	–	–	–	2
Higher language or teacher education	15 (no writing classes during the observation period)	–	16 teacher interviews (45 min–2 h)	14
Total	171 classes (128 hours)	182 classes (136 hours)	16	36
Production of materials for the primary school	During the school year 2018–2019 the researcher produced and created over 350 files and documents to be used in Sámi language teaching and writing instruction – these were tested and used during the observation and intervention periods. The materials were shared with, and distributed to, the teachers at the school. The materials ranged from pictures to text tasks, from drama manuscripts to spell checker advice, and to complete course materials.			
Analysis methods	Mixed methods approach including: Descriptive mapping – observation report for the school (Critical) discourse analysis – interviews and surveys in higher education Comparative analysis – methodological and ethical issues Theoretical analysis – inductive reasoning supporting expansion/extension of the theoretical model			