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Language Policy and Sámi
Education in Sweden:
Ideological and Implementational Spaces
for Sámi Language Use

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List of Papers

This thesis is based on the following papers:

Paper I:

Belancic, K., Lindgren, E., Outakoski, H., Westum, A., & Sullivan, K. (2017). Nordsamiska i och utanför skola: Språkanvändning och attityder [Northsami in and outside school: Language use and attitudes]. In M. Liliequist & C. Cocq (Eds.), *Samisk kamp: kulturförmedling och rättviserörelse [Sami Battle. Cultural Mediation and Justice]* (pp. 252–279). H:ström

Paper II:

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Paper III:

Belancic, K. (forthcoming,). Sámi children’s language use, play, and the outdoors through teachers’ lens. In S. S. Peterson & N. Friedlich (Eds.), *Roles of Place and Play in Young Children’s Oral and Written Language*. University of Toronto Press

Paper IV:

Kristina Belancic (*manuscript*): Sámi pupils’ beliefs and practices as implicit policy makers.

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In the first paper, I was not involved in designing the project: “Literacy in Sápmi: multilingualism, revitalization, and literacy development in the global North”. The data for this project was collected by Outakoski, Lindgren, Westum, and Sullivan and I used parts of the data for the second paper. All the authors have contributed in reflecting, writing, and analyzing the work. Even though I have not collected the data, I am the first author, since most of writing and analyzing was done by me.

The second paper was conducted together with Eva Lindgren. Both authors have participated in designing, analyzing, and writing the study and contributed equally to the work.

Abstract

In Sámi schools in Sweden, the use of the Sámi languages and Swedish as languages of instruction is regulated by government and education policy; legislation allows Sámi and Swedish to be used for teaching and learning. However, personal beliefs about language, and agency of these minority languages play important roles in language use. Indeed, ideological and implementational spaces can be opened or closed, and support or hinder the use of Sámi languages.

This thesis explores language use in Sámi schools through a multidimensional qualitative lens of questionnaires, educational policy documents, interviews, and participatory observations. In this way, the multilingual practices of Sámi schools are analyzed and the factors contributing to the creation, opening and closing of ideological and implementational spaces for Sámi language use are identified.

At the policy level, access to knowledge in and about Sámi and to support functional bilingualism opens spaces for Sámi language use. Whereas the unbalanced access to Sámi and Swedish knowledge, fewer Sámi teaching hours, and no national tests in Sámi close spaces for Sámi language use. At the grassroots level, teachers identified the combination of place and play as a facilitator for Sámi language use with the potential to open spaces for language use that support pupils' willingness to use Sámi. For pupils, positive attitudes towards Sámi are connected with open spaces for Sámi language use, whereas negative attitudes towards Sámi are connected with few opportunities to use Sámi resulting in closed spaces for Sámi language use.

The findings of this thesis make it apparent that collaborative engagement and dialogue between researchers, policymakers and those who are affected by language policies (i.e., teachers and pupils) is necessary to create a productive space for policy and grassroots change that opens spaces for Sámi language use in ways that are beneficial for all.

Svensk sammanfattning

Bakgrund Utgångspunkt i detta avhandlingsarbete är lärarens iakttagelse att allt färre elever som går i sameskolan använder samiska i sin vardag. Tidigare forskning har visat att elever kan sakna sammanhang där minoritetsspråken används och i relation till det samiska språket har hemmet och skolan beskrivits som de två viktigaste språkarenorna. I hemmet spelar föräldrar en viktig roll när det gäller att föra språket vidare till sina barn medan det i skolan är lärare som är ansvariga för arbetet med elevers språkutveckling. Sedan 2011 finns en egen läroplan för sameskolan (Skolverket 2019), där vikten av arbete med samiska normer, traditioner och språk lyfts. Samtidigt beskrivs denna läroplan bygga på den svenska läroplanen. Forskning visar att policydokument, som till exempel läroplanen, kan innebära både möjligheter och hinder för användning av minoritetsspråk och urfolksspråk. Å ena sidan möjliggör policydokument flerspråkighet genom att erkänna urfolksspråken och minoritetsspråken. Å andra sidan riskerar flerspråkighet i klassrummet att hämmas då dessa språk inte anges som undervisningsspråk och anses inte lika viktiga som huvudspråket i policydokumentet (Hornberger och Johnson 2007).

Metoder Detta arbete har utformats som fyra delstudier i fyra artiklar, där olika kvalitativa metoder använts för att möta avhandlingens syfte och besvara dess forskningsfrågor. Den första artikeln utgår från en analys av 27 enkätsvar kring elevernas språkanvändning och fokuserar på vem elever pratar samiska, i vilka situationer de gör det samt hur de använder media på samiska. Elevernas svar analyserades utifrån begreppen modersmål, identitet och motivation. Den andra artikeln är en analys av kursplanerna i samiska och svenska för att identifiera olika diskurser i kunskapskraven för samiska och svenska. Syftet med artikeln var att undersöka vilka förutsättningar läroplanen ger eleverna att utveckla en funktionell tvåspråkighet i samiska respektive svenska. Den tredje artikeln är en intervjustudie med elva lärare från två sameskolor. Syftet var att utforska lärarnas uppfattningar kring platsens och lekens betydelse för språkanvändning hos elever. Den sista artikeln är också en intervjustudie, men denna studie fokuserar på hur elevernas språkpraktiker och uppfattningar kring språk kan skapa implicit språkpolicy.

Teori Den övergripande teoretiska ramverket som använts för analys är Nancy H. Hornbergers koncept om ideologiska och implementeringsutrymme för flerspråkiga praktiker (*ideological and implementational spaces for multilingual practices*). Enligt Hornberger handlar ideologiska utrymmen om syn på flerspråkighet som kan öppna eller begränsa flerspråkighet i utbildningspolicydokument. Implementeringsutrymmen informerar om hur lärare implementerar policydokument, t.ex. läroplan, i klassrummet som främjar flerspråkighet och som i sin tur eventuellt förändrar det ideologiska utrymmet. Omvänt kan det också finnas policydokument som inte stödjer flerspråkighet,

men där lärare ändå väljer att arbeta utifrån flerspråkighet i klassrummet eftersom de hittar andra policydokument som stödjer flerspråkighet. Det handlar även om att lärare ger minoritetsspråk makt genom att använda minoritetsspråk i sin undervisning. Hornbergers ramverk visar den dynamiska relationen mellan språk, policydokument, lärare och elever, där alla nivåer påverkar och påverkas av varandra.

Resultat Den första artikeln visar att elever använder sig av samiska i olika sammanhang, men framför allt i hemmet och i skolan. Eleverna beskrev att de använder samiska mest med sina äldre släktingar, följt av pappor och vänner. De angav att de främst använder samiska för att skriva, i något mindre utsträckning vid läsning och minst i muntliga samtal. Inom medianvändning uppgav de flesta elever att de möter och använder samiska när de lyssnar på musik, skriver sms och tittar på TV. Denna på något sätt breda samiska användning återspeglades även i elevernas uppfattningar om den egna förmågan i samiska samt motivation att använda språket. De flesta elever beskriver att de främst använder svenska när de talar, men uttrycker samtidigt en stolthet över det samiska språket. De är inte rädda att prata samiska och döljer inte språket. Även elever som uppgav att de inte talade samiska innan de började skolan kunde ange samiska som sitt modersmål. Resultatet i denna artikel visar en bild av elever som identifierar sig med det samiska språket, då språket anses som en viktig kulturbärare. Positiva attityder och viljan att använda språket är en viktig motivationsfaktor för att utveckla språket. Resultatet visar även att elever behöver fler möjligheter att använda och utveckla sitt samiska språk, vilket kräver att såväl det svenska som det samiska samhället ger samiska elever likvärdig tillgång till båda sina språk.

I den andra artikeln gjordes en diskursanalys av kunskapskraven i kursplanerna för samiska respektive svenska för att identifiera vilka möjligheter styrdokumentens skrivningar ger elever att utveckla en funktionell tvåspråkighet. Funktionell tvåspråkighet är ett av de 18 övergripande kunskapsmål som sameskolan ska ansvara för att elever ges möjlighet att utveckla. Enligt Skolverket (2019) innebär funktionell tvåspråkighet en förmåga som ger elever möjlighet att röra sig i olika sociala och kulturella kontexter som arbetsmarknader och utbildningssammanhang. Resultatet av denna studie visar att kursplanerna inte ger eleverna likvärdiga möjligheter att utveckla sina språk och en funktionell tvåspråkighet. Vidare visar resultatet att svenska beskrivs som ett akademiskt språk medan samiska beskrivs som ett språk som används muntligt och för vardagskommunikation. Att samiska relateras till en vardagsdiskurs medan svenskämnet relateras till en akademisk väcker frågor om olika makt och status de båda språken ges. Denna studie drar slutsatsen att diskurserna om funktionell tvåspråkighet i kursplanerna är motsägelsefulla och inte stödjer eleverna att ska utveckla samiska som ett fullt fungerande språk inom alla samhällsområden.

Den tredje artikeln har som utgångspunkt lärares uppfattningar kring samiska elevers språkanvändning i relation till plats och lek. Platsens betydelse

är viktig i den samiska kontexten då den knyter ihop den samiska kulturen och har betydelse på både individuell och kollektiv nivå. Lek beskrivs ha en positiv påverkan på barns och elevers språkutveckling oavsett om det handlar om sociodramatisk lek, som kan förklaras som samspel mellan två eller flera barn i form av rollek, eller vuxenstyrd lek. I denna studie undersöks språkanvändning utifrån muntlig användning av samiska och svenska och lek relaterar till elevernas sociodramatiska lek där vuxna inte styr leken. Utifrån tematisk analys kunde tre olika kategorier som har betydelse för samisk och svensk språkanvändning identifieras. De tre olika kategorier visar att plats och lek har betydelse (1) för språkinläring (2) för den kulturella förståelsen och (3) för språkval och språkkunskap. För att påverka den muntliga språkanvändningen behöver dock leken vara socialt interaktiv, skapa glädje och upplevas som meningsfull, vara engagerande samt, viktigast av allt, äga rum utomhus. Vidare indikerar resultaten att utelek är viktig för samiska elevers språkanvändning eftersom den ger dessa elever flexibilitet att förhandla om sina språk. Studien påpekar betydelsen av platsen utanför klassrummet som viktig för språkutveckling och diskuterar hur mindre strukturerade aktiviteter, som sociodramatisk lek, stöder samiska elevers kulturella utveckling och språkinläring.

Den fjärde och sista artikeln bygger på intervjuer med elva samiska elever från två sameskolor. Här lyfts elevernas uppfattningar kring sin användning av samiska respektive svenska. Som teoretisk utgångspunkt används i denna artikel teorier om implicit språkpolicy, vilka handlar om individens val att använda sig av ett eller flera språk och som kan strida mot den officiella språkpolitiken. Särskilt fokuserar denna studie på hur elevernas uppfattningar och praktiker kan påverka och skapa implicit språkpolicy. Eleverna berättade att de växlar mellan språk beroende dels på sin egen kompetens i samiska och dels på vänners och lärares språkkompetens. Även i denna studie, i likhet med i första artikeln, rapporterade eleverna att de använder samiska huvudsakligen i hemmet och i skolan. Utöver det använder några samiska även av resandeskäl och vid rengärde. Resultat visar att elevernas språkliga deltagande i de olika sammanhangen ger dem tillgång till den sociokulturella och ekonomiska kontexten. Detta tyder på att de flesta elever identifierar sig med samiska, även om inte alla pratar samiska hemma. Detta resultat diskuteras i relation till dominerade samiska ideologier som existerar i elevernas omgivning.

Slutsatser Hornbergers koncept visar hur språkuppfattningar, språkkunskaper, språkpraktiker och språkanvändning samspelar med varandra för att forma nya policyarenor. Skapandet av sådana nya policyarenor kan stödja lärares och elevers samiska språkanvändning. Artikel 2 visar att det finns utrymme för användning av det samiska språket utifrån kursplanen för samiska, men att detta utrymme samtidigt är begränsat. Det blir då upp till läraren att fylla detta utrymme med aktiviteter och praktiker som har en positiv inverkan på elevernas språkutveckling. Artikel 3, som poängterar platsens och lekens

betydelse för språkanvändning, indikerar möjligheter för lärare inkludera utomhusaktiviteter i sin undervisning för att gynna elevernas utveckling av användning av samiska i muntlig kommunikation. Likaså har elever möjligheter att påverka språkanvändning som en viktig del av den dynamiska relationen mellan språk, policydokument och lärare. Som artikel 1 lyfter är elevernas positiva attityder gentemot samiska, viljan att använda samiska och att man känner stolthet faktorer som kan påverka elevernas språkanvändning positivt. Dessutom indikerar artikel 4 att elevernas uppfattningar kan påverka deras egna språkpraktiker, men även skapa nya arenor för samisk språkanvändning. Denna språkanvändning kräver dock stöd från det samiska och svenska samhället för att möjliggöra en positiv utveckling av språkanvändningen. Därför är det viktigt att möjligheter öppnas upp för olika aktörer som lärare, elever, myndigheter, men även forskare att diskutera dessa frågor vidare.

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P.S. Tata, sada sam gotova.

During recess I mostly speak Swedish with my friends, because not so many speak Sámi.

Most of the time during a school day I speak Swedish, only during Sámi classes I speak Sámi.

Unfortunately, I teach in Swedish [...] it is difficult to have all teaching in Sámi, because not all pupils understand and they do not say anything if they do not understand.

It can be that one talks to me in Swedish and it feels weird that Swedish and Sámi are being spoken. So, suddenly, it can happen that I start to talk Swedish. Like, when I speak Sámi with someone, and then when the other one speaks Swedish than it just happens, bang, I start to talk Swedish.

I would like to speak Sámi with everybody. But it is also good to know Swedish.

Nobody speaks Sámi at home. At school I never speak Sámi.

I try use Sámi during teaching as much as possible. Preferably the whole day ... [...] I believe that pupils learn, but they need time. Some of them do not have Sámi at home. They hear Sámi just here at school.

I use most of the time Sámi here in school but sometimes I use Sámi during Swedish class, because I have always used Sámi and it is the language we use in school or shall use.

Well, when I know that they [children] know, I use Sámi [...] I use Sámi all the time during Sámi classes [...] if a class masters Sámi very good, I use Sámi even during other subjects.

Introduction

My doctoral thesis¹ is about the use of the Sámi language, however initially I intended to study Sámi pupils' meaning-making in writing in both Sámi and Swedish. It was only after visiting the Sámi schools and listening to the teachers concerns, that over the past few decades the use of the Sámi language among the pupils had decreased, I realized there was a greater need to examine Sámi pupils' language use. In this thesis, I set out to investigate Sámi pupils' language use by analyzing how ideological and implementation spaces can be opened or closed by policy documents, by teachers and by pupils themselves.

The Sámi people are an official national minority group and Indigenous people in Sweden whose traditional land, Sápmi, stretches from Norway through Sweden and Finland to the Kola Peninsula. Due to their minority and Indigenous status, Sámi people additionally benefit, for example, from the rights to self-determination, non-discrimination, languages, culture, and education. However, Swedish national-state policies did not permit the use of Sámi language in education and aimed to assimilate Sámi people into mainstream society (Sjögren, 2010; Svonni, 2007). This led to a substantial decrease in Sámi language use, even language loss. It is therefore important to explore how policy documents, teachers and pupils can contribute to regain Sámi language use.

Several studies have shown that educational language policy documents are facilitators but also obstacles for Indigenous and minority languages (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Menken & García, 2010; Zavala, 2014). On the one hand, not only do they facilitate multilingual languages due to policies that acknowledge Indigenous and minority languages, but on the other hand, they hinder multilingual languages in the classroom as they do not take these languages into consideration. Various international and national laws, such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and national language policies support and strengthen the rights, culture, tradition, and language of the minority and Indigenous people.

In addition to the language policies, teachers play an important role in the establishment of multilingual education. Their agency plays an important role “in shaping attitudes towards language and language policies, and in adapting and changing macro-level decisions” (Bouchard & Glasgow, 2019, p. 45). Teachers are guided by their language ideologies that reflect their interpretation, understanding, and implementation of language policy in the classroom and have the power to open or close spaces for multilingual practices (Hornberger &

¹ This thesis is part of a research project titled *Utbildningens demokratisering och “etnifiering” i svenska Sápmi - 1942 till idag* [Democratization of education and “ethnification” in Swedish Sápmi – 1942 to the present], funded by the Swedish Research Council, and the Research Council Formas. The project aims to examine how the teaching content in Sámi education in Sweden successively has become ethnified through the democratization of the educational system, from 1942 to the present.

Johnson, 2007; Menken & García, 2010; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Likewise, children's perception of language and discourse are influenced by their ideologies derived from their sociocultural experiences. Children's ideologies and attitudes about languages shape language practices and influence their use of language (Choi, 2003).

Language ideologies are not only about beliefs that are constructed from the individuals' sociocultural experience, they can also function as instruments of power and inequality (Kroskrity, 2004; Silverstein, 1979; Spitulnik, 1998). I consider language ideologies as implicit and explicit beliefs about language that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world. The policymakers, whom I consider as the creators of policy documents are guided by their language ideologies that in turn shape language policies. Likewise, the teachers' and pupils' ideologies about language either empower or rejects language use and practices in the classroom. In other words, language ideologies, and discourses are represented in a particular context and influence the making, interpretation, and implementation of language policy at all levels across various actors (Groff, 2018; Johnson, 2013).

Research in the Sámi educational field in Sápmi has focused on the Sámi language situation in relation to literacy and numeracy. In Sweden, studies have pointed out that Sámi pupils not only need access to a wide range of language resources but also need more opportunities to use Sámi for strengthening their spoken and written language skills (Belancic & Lindgren, 2017; Outakoski, 2015). Another study foregrounded strengthening Sámi values and Sámi views in the classroom to ensure mathematical development (Jannok Nutti, 2010). Nevertheless, how Sámi languages are used in the school among teachers and pupils is not known.

In this study, I employ a language policy perspective. Central for my research is Hornberger's concept of implementational and ideological spaces as it can help unpack how spaces at various levels are opened or closed for Sámi language use. Sámi schools provide an ideal space to investigate the use of Sámi among Sámi pupils. They are important pillars and accommodators for language learning and language use, and a place for pupils to explore and use all their languages. Applying ideological spaces and implementational spaces as a theoretical lens can contribute to the understanding of how teachers and children could take advantage of openings in language policy to promote multilingual education. Exploring Sámi language use in a Sámi educational context in Sweden provides insight into ideological and implementational spaces allowing the exploration of the language education policies, teachers' and pupils' ideologies regarding Sámi language use.

Purpose of the thesis

The purpose of this thesis aims to explore language use in the Sámi schools in Sweden. In particular it focusses in particular on what supports and hinders the use of Sámi languages. The following questions are addressed:

- What factors can be identified that contribute to ideological and implementational spaces for language use
 - in policy documents?
 - among teachers?
 - among pupils?
- How do different actors in the educational system (i.e. policy documents, teachers, pupils) interact in the creation of implementational spaces for language use?

It adds new perspectives to the study of Indigenous language use in Sápmi, as it examines recent examples of both the macro-level and micro-level that contribute to the opening or closing of ideological and implementational spaces.

Outline

This thesis consists of seven chapters and four appended papers. Following this introduction, the second chapter provides the context of this thesis. The third chapter introduces definitions and the notion of ideological and implementational spaces for multilingual practices as a conceptual framework of the thesis. The fourth chapter outlines previous research and research relevant to this study. Chapter five illustrates the methodological approaches and methods used to gather data. Chapter six summarizes the four appended papers, and the seventh and final chapter synthesizes the results of the four papers and discusses the primary findings of the thesis.

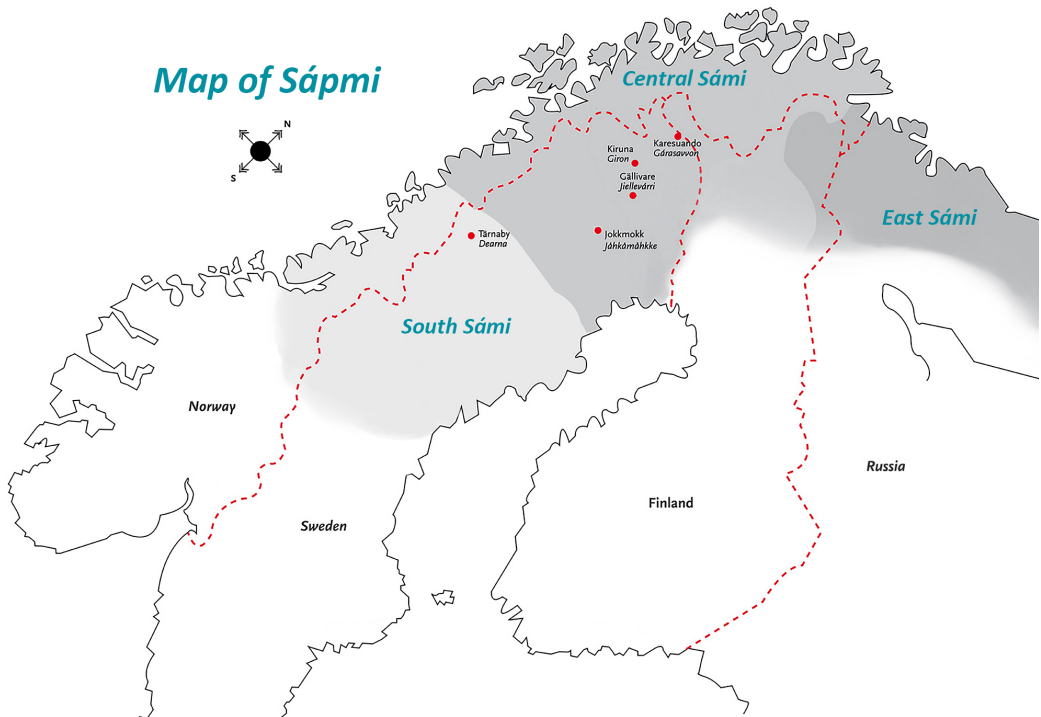
Context of the study

This chapter introduces the particular context in focus in this study, presenting briefly the Sámi people and the Sámi languages, the historic and current Sámi educational context. Further, the macro and micro language policy perspective with a focus on Sámi languages in Sweden is introduced.

Sámi People and Sámi Languages

No official statistics are available regarding the number of Sámi people and speakers of Sámi languages throughout Sápmi. Therefore the accurate amount of Sámi people and the number of speakers and users of Sámi is unknown (Sköld, 2008). However, approximately between 50,000 and 100,000 Sámi people living in the Sápmi area (Figure 1), and nearly 20,000 to 40,000 Sámi people live in Sweden (Pettersen, 2011).

Figure 1 Map of Sápmi. Map adapted from Nordiska museet



The Sámi languages belong to the Finno-Ugric language family² and can be divided into three language groups: 1) South Sámi 2) Central Sámi, and 3) East Sámi. The more geographically distanced Sámi languages are the more linguistically distanced the languages are, too. The closer the Sámi languages are, the more mutually intelligible they are. However, forced relocations of Sámi reindeer herders, industrialization, globalization and migration have caused shifts and the spread of various Sámi languages across Sápmi. These various migratory events have for example, reinforced, North Sámi use in less dominant North Sámi areas.

In Sweden, five Sámi languages are recognized, namely South Sámi, Ume Sámi, Pite Sámi, Lule Sámi and North Sámi, with North Sámi being the largest group. As the usage of the Sámi languages varies among Sámi people, far from all Sámi people are able to speak Sámi. According to UNESCO (2019), Sámi languages are endangered languages and are undergoing a revitalization and reclamation process.

Sámi Schools – a background

In the 17th century, efforts were made by missionary workers to educate Sámi boys to become priests (Sjögren, 2010). It was not until the beginning of the 18th century that seven schools were established in Sápmi and open solely to children that belonged to reindeer herding families. The purpose of these schools was to teach Christianity in the children's mother tongue, as well as in Swedish. During the 1840s, a new regulation stipulated that the language of instruction should be the language that most students spoke as their mother tongue (Sjögren, 2010). By then either Sámi, Swedish or Finnish were used as the language of instruction depending on the children's constellation in the classroom (Svonni, 1993). By the end of the 1870s, the schools were opened to non-reindeer herding Sámi, and even children to Swedish parents had the possibility to attend Sámi schools.

At the end of the 18th century, the Swedish state introduced a new policy, the "Lapp shall be Lapp" policy (*lapp-ska-vara-lapp*) to protect Sámi reindeer herders from modernizations and instead to continue their life as a nomadic people, following their reindeer herd. As a result of this policy, a nomadic school, *nomadskola*, was established in 1913. While the nomadic school was open only for children of reindeer-herding families; Sámi children from non-reindeer herding families did not attend a nomadic school. Instead, these children attended regular Swedish schools to assimilate into mainstream society. The purpose of the nomadic school was to prevent Sámi children of reindeer-herding families to assimilate into the Swedish society. In the nomadic schools, the children spoke Sámi with each other, although teachers used Swedish as a language of instruction (Jannok Nutti, 2010; Svonni, 2007).

² For an overview of the Sámi languages, see Sammallahti (1998)

In 1939, the Swedish Parliament remodeled the nomadic schools by making all nomadic schools equivalent to that of Swedish schools. During the 1940s and 1950s, nomadic schools were restructured by conferring them with suitable school premises as well as with student housing. An additional seventh year of education was also introduced. In 1960, a report from a governmental commission of inquiry (SOU 1960:41) suggested the opening of the nomadic school to all Sámi children. In 1962, nomadic schools became open to all Sámi children by a decision of the *Riksdag*. Further, the Sámi education was restructured increasing the Sámi school system to nine years of education.

In 1962, all Sámi children were able to choose between attending a nomadic school and the standard Swedish primary school, *grundskola*, (Lantto, 2000; Mörkenstam, 1999; Sjögren, 2010). The number of Sámi children in the nomadic schools declined, since nomadic schools lacked qualified teachers in Sámi and a Sámi perspective, and hindered Sámi teaching and learning (Jannok Nutti, 2010; Outakoski, 2015; Svonni, 2007). In the middle of the 1960s, the Swedish government renamed the “Nomadic school” to the “Sámi school,” *sameskola*, and today they function as a separate part of the Swedish compulsory school system. The current Sámi schools include six year of schooling and since 2011 Sámi schools have their own National Sámi Curriculum.

Sámi schools today

There are five Sámi schools (Figure 1) in various parts of Swedish Sápmi, namely Karesuando, Kiruna, Jokkmokk, Gällivare and Tärnaby. Sámi schools offer education from grade one to six (age six to 12) and upon completion, Sámi pupils must attend the final three compulsory school years in a regular Swedish school. In 2018, according to statistics from the Swedish National Agency for Education, 159 pupils attended the five Sámi schools, and 42 teachers taught in those schools (Skolverket, 2019b).

Sámi schools are in areas where more than one Sámi language and Swedish are spoken providing language diversity to the school. Whereas in some Sámi schools, most of the pupils, teaching and non-teaching staff use Sámi to high extend, in others the use of Sámi and Swedish is more balanced. Overall, there is a great linguistic variation between pupils and teachers in the Sámi schools. While some pupils study Sámi either as their first language or Sámi as their second language, all the pupils study Swedish as first language. The dichotomy reflects that pupils live in a strong speaking Sámi community and use Sámi as the family language (i.e. language spoken at home), while others have little or no access to Sámi languages outside of the classroom (Outakoski, 2015; Sullivan et al., 2019).

Since 2011, Sámi schools follow the Sámi National Curriculum, which shares similarities but also differences to the Swedish National Curriculum, on which it is based. Neither the Swedish nor the Sámi National Curriculum governs what teaching material or what teaching practices to use. In the two curricula all

syllabi are equal in terms of sections and include: 1. *Fundamental values and tasks of the school*, 2. *Overall goals and guidelines*, 3. *Preschool class*, 4. *School-age educate*, and 5. *Syllabuses* – aim, core content and knowledge requirements. However, the content in these various parts differ. In the Sámi National Curriculum, under the first section, it states that Sámi schools should convey Sámi norms, values, traditions, heritage to the pupils. In the second section, the school is responsible for ensuring that each pupil can, on completing compulsory school, speak, read, and write Sámi and is functionally bilingual. In the fifth section, the Sámi and Swedish syllabi are contrasted with each other.

In terms of differences, the Sámi National Curriculum highlights the development of functional bilingualism. The Sámi National Curriculum accommodates Sámi pupils with the opportunity to become functionally bilingual by the end of school year six, the final year of the Sámi school. Functional bilingualism is additionally foregrounded in the Sámi syllabus. According to a commentary to the Sámi syllabus, functional bilingualism means that pupils are supposed to function in both languages, Sámi and Swedish, and “[...] move between different social and cultural contexts and among different labor markets and educational context. Having developed such a functional bilingualism gives an individual great safety and security and contributes to the development of his or her understanding of the world” (Skolverket, 2011, p. 6). This means that pupils can choose when, where and with whom to use their languages.

Another difference between the curricula is the contrast between the Sámi and Swedish syllabi. First, the Swedish syllabi is divided into two syllabi: Swedish and Swedish as a second language, and they differ in terms of purpose, objective, core content and knowledge requirements. Sámi is treated as one syllabus but within the syllabus it is divided into Sámi as a first language and Sámi as a second language. The two Sámi syllabi have the same aim, but differ in terms of core content and knowledge requirement. Second, the Sámi syllabus includes not only language but also aspects of Sámi history, music, handicraft, society, environment and traditional knowledge (Skolverket, 2019a). Third, the allocation between teaching hours in Sámi and Swedish differs. In Sámi schools, pupils receive 105 hours less teaching in Sámi than in Swedish. For a total of 800 hours of teaching in Sámi pupils have 910 hours of teaching in Swedish. Fourth, no national tests for Sámi in grade three and six are required. The purpose of the national test is to assess student’s achievement regardless of school, material and teaching method. The Sámi syllabus was only part of the Sámi National Curriculum, but since 2019 it is also part of the Swedish National Curriculum.

Sámi language learning opportunities outside the Sámi schools

In Sámi schools, but also in other educational contexts, Sámi pupils have extended rights to mother tongue education, development of their cultural

identity and the use of their own language as belong to one of the national minorities in Sweden (2009:724).

First, Sámi pupils can receive Sámi language learning and mother tongue tutoring in Sámi schools via distance teaching. However, distance teaching is only available if no credentialed teacher is available in the child’s municipality.

Second, Sámi pupils who do not attend a Sámi school can study Sámi in terms of mother tongue instruction via two different ways: traditional classroom teaching or teaching via distance teaching. While traditional classroom teaching requires a qualified teacher on-site, distance teaching reaches out to all Sámi pupils in Sweden. The municipality organizes mother tongue teaching if a Sámi child wants to receive mother tongue instruction. There is no requirement that Sámi is the child’s primary language at home, or that the child has basic knowledge in that language, as they belong to the national minorities.

Third, Sámi pupils have the opportunity to learn Sámi via integrated Sámi education. Some compulsory schools are located in a Sámi administrative municipality and permit integrated Sámi education. Once a school has its application approved, school implement subjects such as Sámi music, Sámi handicraft, or Sámi language in these subjects (Outakoski, 2015). Integrated Sámi education is applicable for pupils who live too far away from a Sámi school to commute to attend every day.

According to the Swedish National Agency for Education (*Skolverket*) 918 Sámi pupils in Sweden were eligible for Sámi language learning during the school year 2019/20 (*Skolverket*, 2019c) (Table 1). Of those 918 Sámi pupils, 172 were enrolled in Sámi language learning via Sámi schools; and 746 Sámi pupils applied for Sámi language learning in terms of mother tongue instruction outside the Sámi schools. However, of those 746 Sámi pupils who applied for Sámi language learning in terms of mother tongue instruction, only 443 received teaching in Sámi in these municipalities. In other words, 303 Sámi pupils did not receive any Sámi language learning.

Table 1 *Number of Sámi pupils who received Sámi language learning within or outside of Sámi schools (Skolverket, 2019c)*

Within Sámi schools	Outside Sámi schools	Not received
172 pupils	443 pupils	303 pupils

Table 2 shows that of those 615 Sámi pupils who received Sámi language learning, 94 Sámi pupils were enrolled in learning Sámi as a first language (L1) in Sámi schools, and 221 pupils learned Sámi as their L1 outside Sámi schools; 78 Sámi pupils learned Sámi as a second language (L2) in Sámi schools, and 222 learned Sámi as their L2 (Table 2).

Table 2 Number of Sámi pupils with Sámi as a first language (L1) and Sámi as a second language (L2) (Skolverket, 2019c)

Within Sámi schools		Outside Sámi schools	
Sámi L1	Sámi L2	Sámi L1	Sámi L2
94 pupils	78 pupils	221	222

Even though the number of pupils studying Sámi in a Sámi school is third less the number of pupils learning Sámi outside a Sámi school, the role of the Sámi schools, is important as it brings together and engages Sámi families and pupils in revitalization efforts (Olthuis, 2013; Todal, 2007).

Sámi languages in education policies in Sweden

Policy documents can be described as rules or guidelines that govern, for example language use (Spolsky, 2004). For Sámi use in Sweden in general, and in education in particular three policy documents are important. First, the Swedish Education Act (2010:800) as it states contains principals and provisions for compulsory and Sámi education. Second, the Swedish National Minorities and Minority Languages Act (2009:724), as it governs the rights of minorities in Sweden. Third, the Compulsory School Ordinance (2019:275) as it relates to the provisions of compulsory schooling, such as the language of instruction in Sámi schools. These national policy documents relate to the position of Sámi in the Swedish society, and can “support and contribute to the preservation and revitalization of Indigenous/minority language” (Thingnes, 2019, p. 4). Equally important for Sámi language use is the micro-level. Within the micro-level, I consider individuals within Sámi organizations and researchers as creators of opportunities for Sámi language use. In the following, I discuss how these documents relate to the position of Sámi in Swedish society and education.

Recognized by the Swedish government as both a people and a minority, the Sámi people have rights as a people (Svonni, 2015; Åhrén, 2016) which allow them to choose their own political status and to self-determine their own economy, culture, and language. The Education Act (2010:800) was adopted in 2010 by the Swedish government and contains basic provisions concerning Sámi schools. The purpose of the Education Act (2010:800) is to govern the rights and obligations of children, pupils, and their parents.

The National Minorities and Minority Languages Act (2009:724) aims at protecting and strengthening minority languages. The statutes grant the Sámi people the right to use Sámi with state authorities and the courts in administrative municipalities that are in northern and central Sweden. This legislation gives Sámi individuals the right to use the Sámi language in all oral and written communication with authorities concerning official decisions related

to them. Authorities are obligated to use Sámi in oral communications and provide information about the right to have a written answer translated into Sámi if the individual requests it. But most importantly, the National Minorities and Minority Languages Act (2009:724) strengthens the individuals' right to receive kindergarten education in Sámi.

Both the Education Act (2010:800) and the National Minorities and Minority Languages Act (2009:724) promote Sámi language use in administrative areas and in educational contexts. However, the National Minorities and Minority Languages Act (2009:724) does not guarantee the fundamental rights for the Sámi people. According to the commission of inquiry *The Next Step? Proposal for a Strengthened Minority Policy* (SOU 2017:60) that suggested a strengthened minority policy, and claimed to guarantee rights for Sámi people, policies must ensure the transmission of language and culture between the generations, and also integrate minority policy areas such as healthcare or education.

Besides different national regulations that strengthen Sámi peoples' rights to use Sámi language in Sámi administrative municipalities, the Compulsory School Ordinance (2019:275) additionally strengthens the rights of the Sámi people in the educational context. The Compulsory School Ordinance (2019:275) governs the language(s) of instruction in both regular Swedish schools as well as in Sámi schools. While in regular Swedish schools only Swedish is used as the language of instruction, in Sámi schools both Sámi and Swedish are the languages of instruction in grades one to six (2019:275). The Ordinance does not explicitly state any minimum or maximum extent that Swedish or Sámi is to be used. Having the right to choose the languages of instruction in Sámi education—or the principle of linguistic self-determination—is important for Indigenous peoples as it promotes equality and fosters diversity (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996).

Regulations on the national and institutional level strengthen Sámi peoples' right to “decide over their education and have a mandate to influence the education system” (Svonni, 2015, p. 900). Thus, macro-level policies, such as the Education Act (2010:800) and Compulsory School Ordinance (2019:275) in Sweden are important policies as they value Sámi language as a resource (cf. Ruíz, 1984) and promote Sámi languages.

In addition to the policy documents, individuals on the micro-level are equally important to create opportunities for language use. Sámi organizations, such as The Sámi Council, the two national federations (*RSÁ*, National Association of Samiland, and *SSR*, The National Union of the Sámi People in Sweden) and the youth organization *Sáminuorra* promote Sámi national rights. *Sáminuorra* developed a practical material that includes Sámi phrases relevant for the youth network meetings. Everyone during the network meeting has the possibility to use these phrases and to increase Sámi language use. Other Sámi organizations and individuals promote Sámi language use via language immersion camps. For example, Sámi language learners come together for a

language immersion camp, which is packed with various activities around a focused topic and then exercise and develop their Sámi language.

Collaborative research projects together with the grassroots levels, such as teachers, parents and pupils, can support language learning. For example, Outakoski's collaborative research funded by the Swedish Research Council (VR 2017-00474), focuses on teaching of heritage language writing in Sámi medium primary schools. One of the aims of the project is to examine how to strengthen the position of Sámi writing among Sámi youth by designing teaching methods together with the teachers. Another example is Jannok Nutti's focus on the collaboration between teachers in the field of mathematics education and traditional handicrafts, that taken together shape culturally based teaching.

To understand how language revitalization leads to increased language use among Sámi people and pupils, the implementational and ideological spaces have to connect. At the macro-level, it is important to understand how policies are formulated and at the micro-level it is important to understand how these policies are practiced. The Swedish state recognizes the Sámi people as a minority group that has the right to use Sámi according to regulations and laws (National Minorities and Minority Languages, 2009:724). However, some of these policies do not guarantee the fundamental rights to provide Sámi pupils and youth with culturally-appropriate education, and to ensure the transmission of language and culture between generations, but also to integrate minority policies in areas such as education or healthcare are not guaranteed (SOU 2017:60). Although national policies on the macro-level do not guarantee language use across the society, individuals on the grassroots level create spaces for language use and implement languages.

Conceptual Framework

This section presents the theoretical perspectives taken in this thesis. First, I introduce the term language use, followed by multilingualism, mother tongue, first language, second language, and functional bilingual and show how these different terms relate to the participating pupils. Second, I illustrate the notion of implementational and ideological spaces in relation to space and agency. Given that, I frame this thesis within a broader tradition of language policy research.

Defining terminology

Before the theoretical underpinnings of this study are elaborated on, some fundamental terms require further explanation. These are language use, multilingualism, mother tongue, first language, second language, and functional bilingualism.

Language use refers to pupils' oral use of language(s). Language is used to communicate, to convey rules, even to develop language and is dependent on the social context. Users of the same language, may not share the same language proficiency but the same social-cultural context (Hymes, 1989). Since the participating pupils in this study have various levels of language proficiency skills but share the same socio-cultural context, it is necessary to clarify some terms used throughout this thesis and the appended papers.

To capture the Sámi pupils' language use, I adopt Wei's notion of *multilingualism*. Wei defined a multilingual individual as "anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it active (through speaking and writing) or passive (through listening and reading)" (Wei, 2008, p. 4). This broad definition of multilingualism captures Sámi pupils' language use as all of them used more than one language, both active *or* passive.

The concepts of *mother tongue* and *first language* are usually treated as synonyms however, there is not always a clear-cut. In this thesis, some Sámi pupils identified themselves with Sámi as their mother tongue, even though they acquired Sámi language skills in school. Others had Swedish as their first language as well as mother tongue, as they acquired it first, knew it best, and used it the most. Few had Sámi as their first language as well as their mother tongue, and yet others had more than one "first" language. In this thesis, I distinguish between the mother tongue and first language.

Mother tongue has been defined as (1) the language the individual acquires first, (2) the language the individual knows best, (3) the language the individual uses most, and (4) the language the individual identifies with (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981).

A *first language* (L1) is a language that is "acquired naturally in early childhood, usually because it is the primary language of a child's family" (Saville-

Troike, 2012, p. 4). Children growing up in multilingual settings may have more than one “first” language.

Second language (L2) is defined as a language acquired after the first language has been established. This term refers to an additional language, other than one’s mother tongue or first language, being learned, regardless of whether it is the second, third or fourth language. By this term, I mean both the acquisition, or use, of a second language in a classroom, as well as in natural exposure situations. For some Sámi pupils, Swedish was their L1, and Sámi their mother tongue. At the same time, Sámi was their L2 as they did not speak Sámi at home, but used Sámi when traveling to their relatives and in the school as the curriculum required it. Others had Sámi as their L1 and mother tongue and thus, Swedish was their L2.

Functional bilingualism is defined as individuals’ use of their bilingual languages and is concerned “when, where, and with whom people use their two languages” (Baker, 2017, p. 12). I use this term mainly as is it central in Paper II but also, it is a key terminology in the Sámi National Curriculum. The Swedish National Agency for Education defined

functional bilingualism as the use of both Sami and Swedish when communicating with others depending on the situation. It is a capability that makes it possible to move between different social and cultural contexts and among various labor markets and educational contexts. Having developed such functional bilingualism gives an individual great safety and security and contributes to the development of his or her understanding of the world (Skolverket, 2011, p. 6).

While Baker uses the term, functional bilingualism, to describe how individuals use their multiple languages, the Swedish National Agency for Education uses the term to describe the capability to develop such functional bilingualism.

The main framework in my thesis is Hornberger’s notion of implementational and ideological spaces. Before I move on to describing the Hornberger’s notion in more detail, and the importance of spaces, situations, policies, and agency, for the promotion of language use, I will briefly contextualize them in language policy research.

Language policy and agency

The process of negotiating language use and multilingual practices that include agency on the macro- and micro-level are part of language policy. As Spolsky (2004) argued, language policy is any conscious decision or choice about language or languages by an actor such as the state or the individual.

Language policy, by origin in the 1960s, focused on language policies of the nation-state approach and foregrounded only the macro-level. For example, governmentally mandated institutions made decisions about language form (e.g., grammar) or developed solutions to language problems by a nation-state (Tollefson, 1991). Tollefson (1991) referred to this new approach as the “historical-structural” approach, and viewed language policy as political and ideological assumptions that focus on the interest of dominant groups (Johnson & Ricento, 2013). Central factors that influence this approach are colonialism, Indigenous and human rights, power and equality, and affect decisions of language policy in school (Tollefson & Pérez-Milans, 2018).

In the 1990s, language policy took a turn and focused on power and inequality that benefited powerful individuals (Tollefson, 2011). This approach examined the process by which language is associated with power and inequality. A central component was the role of social structure in shaping and constraining language policies, such as the educational contexts.

The recent approach of language policy research is interested in the power of agents, an approach that focuses on the creation, interpretation, and appropriation of language policy texts and discourses multiple levels and layers of language policy activity. The goal of this current approach is to resist dominant discourses that marginalizes minority and Indigenous language and their users and to focus on human agents (Johnson & Johnson, 2015).

Thus, what separates the previous approach from the recent approach is the focus on the agency as one of the main factors. According to Ricento (2000), this recent approach highlights agency or “the role(s) of individuals and collective in the processes of language use, attitudes and ultimately policies” (Ricento, 2000, p. 208). Moreover, the new approach is interested in the power of agents and focuses on the creation, interpretation, and appropriation of language policy texts across multiple levels and layers of language policy activity.

Johnson (2013) describes language policy as a mechanism that includes official regulations, unofficial mechanisms, processes, text, and discourses. He defines language policy as

... a policy mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use or acquisition of language and includes a) official regulation, b) unofficial, over, de facto, and implicit mechanisms, c) not just products but processes and d) text and discourses across multiple context and layers (p. 3).

In line with this definition, I use Johnson’s definition of language policy as it concerned with the multi-layered nature of policy-process – language use, policy text, and agents – via which policy is negotiated or established. Actors on the macro- and micro-level are engaged in a process where they have the agency to

shape the policy. Therefore, agency “is not limited to government bodies with the power to impose their ideas through their own political dominance” (Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008, p. 9), agency is also possible on the grassroots level and can contribute to “more distributed relationships of power” (p.9).

Researchers have paid attention to policy actions taken by individuals who are considered as key policy actors, agents, or arbiters (Johnson & Johnson, 2015; Menken & García, 2010). By paying attention on how the position of individuals shapes language policy, it is essential to focus on the human agency in order to understand what promotes or restricts the impact an individual can have (Johnson & Johnson, 2015).

Agency is defined as “the socio-cultural mediated capacity to act” (p. 112) and I claim that agency often emerges from the socio-cultural context, in which the agents act. Ahearn (2001) further noted that individuals often differ and change the way they capture their actions and those of others. Similarly, Martin-Jones and Saxena (2003) argued that students and teachers are “key social actors in policy-making processes [...] who are socially positioned and, at the same time, showing agency, navigating constraints and actively responding to the possibilities open to them in particular school and classroom sites” (Martin-Jones & Saxena, 2003, p. 290). Agency reflects the view that individuals are not merely passive users of a language. Instead, they can also make informed choices, resist or comply, although their social circumstances may constrain language choices and use. Such actions of the agency, to speak a specific language or not, can be understood as acts of language ideology, identity, and the power of dynamics (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985).

While studies in the field of language policies have increasingly focused on the power of policies to marginalize minority language use, ideological and implementational spaces focus on agency across multiple levels of language policy creation and interpretation and creation. In this thesis, the role of agency relates to ideological and implementational spaces as they can either open or close spaces for Sámi language use or create their own and new ideological spaces that are connected to their language ideologies.

Implementational and ideological spaces

Hornberger (2002) introduced the notion of implementational and ideological spaces in language policy which can arise when individuals, such as teachers, take advantage of spaces in policy enabling multilingual education. Situated within the ecology of language metaphor, Hornberger (2002) argued that “multilingual language policies are essentially about opening up ideological and implementational spaces for as many languages as possible, and in particularly endangered languages, to evolve and flourish rather than dwindle and disappear” (Hornberger, 2002, p. 30).

Ideological spaces are shaped by dispositions towards multilingualism on the macro-level, which can be prompted or restricted by multilingual language (education) policies (Hornberger, 2005). These spaces are opened when society discourses begin to value minority and Indigenous languages for education. Often, ideological spaces provide teachers with opportunities to include all the languages in their classrooms. Implementational spaces inform how policies on the micro-level are implemented into the classroom by, for example, teachers, who encourage multilingual practices and, which in turn, possibly change the ideological space.

No matter if ideological spaces are closed or opened for multilingual practices, Hornberger (2005) argued that teachers and children must take advantage of ideological spaces opened up by policy, or try to create new ideological spaces while spaces are closed by a restrictive policy. Johnson (2013) referred to these spaces as *potential* spaces, that require active participation from teachers to find new ways to wedge open spaces in their local contexts that may not be visible to others. Contrarily, two different scenarios possible close implementational spaces: first, the teachers may ignore ideological spaces that possibly could have been productively used for multilingual practices (Menken & García, 2010). Second, the implementation of new policies may close down multilingual practices that were previously used successfully, but in turn, teachers may find new ways to wedge open spaces in their local contexts.

For example, Johnson's study (2003) illustrated the case of both scenarios and found that U.S. educational policies closed ideological spaces for multilingualism as they promoted monolingualism. Teachers assumed that the policy, Title III³, was English-only oriented and did not consider other languages than English. Others interpreted the policy in ways that supported the implementation of additive bilingual programs even though the language policy, Title III, focused on English-only discourses and did not foreground bilingual education. Thus, these teachers in Johnson's study ignored Title III's English-only discourse and developed bilingual programs as teachers' interpretation, practices, and ideologies impacted their interpretation and implementation of Title III. Also, teachers with backgrounds similar to their students resisted limiting language policies and integrated supportive teaching practices (Marschall et al., 2011). Individuals, such as teachers and school administrators, who interpret and appropriate language policy have agency to pry open implementational spaces, and create their own ideological spaces. In such situations, these agents must carve out new spaces that are left open by the policies (Hornberger, 2002).

³ Title III is part of the U.S. Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), as amended by the Every Student Succeeds Act of 2015 (ESSA). The purpose of Title III is to help ensure that English learners (ELs) attain English language proficiency and meet state academic standards.

Willans (2014), for example, showed how ideological and implementational spaces for vernacular languages were carved out by agents in educational policy in Vanuatu, an island country in the South Pacific Ocean. She found that educational policies did not promote vernacular languages, but English and French, the two colonial languages, although English and French were not widely spoken outside the classroom. Fiona Willans explained how Vanuatu's colonial histories had influenced language attitudes and, thus, created an ideological barrier to the development of multilingual education. Policymakers had ignored the possibility of making space for Vanuatu's vernacular languages in the curriculum. However, Willans (2014) suggested that macro-level needs to engage with new actors to seek out new and different spaces.

Similar, Menken and García (2010) described teachers as *arbiters*, a term that characterizes the “power of teachers as ultimate decision-makers in how policy is implemented” (p. 100). The authors emphasized the teachers' crucial role as policymakers, as teachers were “producing the dynamism that moves the performances of all the actors” (p. 259). Teachers often found themselves making difficult decisions about multilingual language practices for the benefit of their students (Henderson, 2017).

Hornberger (2002) urged “language educators, language planners, and language users to fill those ideological and implementational spaces as richly and fully as possible, before they close in on us again” (Hornberger, 2002, p. 30). Further, she argued that, regardless of whether ideological spaces open up or close down spaces for multilingualism, teachers and children must carve out implementational spaces at classroom levels and foreground multilingualism. Teachers and students are agents in the interaction between these two spaces as they can fill up implementation spaces and create new ones.

Space and place

The notion of space and place originated from the field of geography. Generally speaking, place is defined as a region or location or an area, while space is conceived as a more abstract notion (Cresswell, 2015; Massey, 1994). Also, places are socially constructed by the people who live in them and know them, while space is a (social) product (Lefebvre, 1991). Place and space are not the same, but place and space are intertwined, as Tuan (1977) argued: “place is space infused with human meaning” (p. 35). Thus, the place has to integrate both its location and its meaning to the context of human action.

In addition, Soja (1996) referred to “third space” and defined it as

where everything comes together ... the subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, consciousness and unconsciousness,

the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life
and unending history (p. 57).

This notion of third space is expanding and includes lived space. I apply Soja's notion of third space to understand ideological and implementational spaces as possibilities but also obstacles for language use in Swedish policy documents and Sámi schools. Third space provides pupils and teachers with spaces where they negotiate language use – by their histories, culture, and experiences – and the possibility to find new ways of using Sámi.

I understand spaces in this thesis as possibilities and obstacles for language use on the macro-level and micro-level. On the macro-level, I analyze policy documents to explore whether policy documents open ideological spaces for language use and multilingual practices. Agents, such as teachers and pupils, play a crucial role in the policy-making process by navigating and deciding whether to implement multilingual language practices and language use. Regardless of whether policy documents open or close these ideological spaces, and thus possibilities to implement multilingual language use, teachers and pupils have the opportunity to wedge to pry open ideological spaces. New implementational spaces that might emerge from the micro-level can help reveal ideological spaces on the macro-level.

Previous research

In this section, I situate my research in relation to language policy, and in particular to ideological and implementational spaces, that complements and expands on those in the appended papers. In the appended papers the literature reviews were relevant to the explicit focus of each paper, while in this chapter, I take upon a broader perspective to situate the thesis as a whole in the research landscape of ideological and implementational spaces in education. First, I draw upon a largescale perspective, including studies with Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, of ideological and implementational spaces in education, before turning to studies conducted in the Sámi educational context across Sápmi.

Ideological and implementational spaces in education

For some minority and Indigenous children, the school setting is the only place where they become exposed to their Indigenous language (McCarty et al., 2009). Although the schools on their own are often insufficient for bilingual development, they are important for Indigenous language development as they create implementational space for Indigenous language and cultural teaching and learning (Disbray, 2016). Indigenous young people need more spaces and opportunities to use their mother tongue language in issues relevant to their everyday lives (Lee, 2009). Similarly, McCarty et al. (2009) argued that schools must collaborate to “create opportunities for young children to learn their heritage language [...] to reshape the ideological and sociolinguistic terrain for the coming generation of adolescents” (p. 304). Moreover, schools must draw upon students’ and their families’ cultural and linguistic resources to provide children with successful learning (Link, 2011). Thus, children need “as many actors as possible, in as many layers as possible, and in as many processes as possible” (Link, 2011, p. 37) for successful Indigenous and minority language learning and language development.

The power within the language policy process can illuminate how agents, such as policymakers, school administrators, and teachers interpret or implement macro policies. For example, Menken and Solorza (2015) examined the role of school administrators in shaping language policies and practice and noted that “principals wield tremendous power in determining programming for emergent bilinguals” and that “school leaders act as gatekeepers for reform policies, playing a vital role in their translation, interpretation, support, and/or neglect in schools” (p. 693). Thus, these agents use their power to close or implement languages into the classroom (Johnson & Johnson, 2015; Stritikus & Wiese, 2006). It is not only school administrators who have the power to close or open spaces for multilingualism, the teachers’ agency is also powerful. In her

study of educational language policy in the Southern Peruvian Andes, Zavala (2014) found that macro policies opened up ideological spaces, while other layers of the policy process hindered the implementation of multilingual practices. On the macro-level, the official documents opened ideological spaces for Quechua language use. However, on the micro-level, where Zavala (2014) focused on teachers and public employees, she found that the actors found it difficult to integrate Quechua as these actors foreground the use of Quechua only with “pure” Quechua speakers.

Similar processes were found in South Africa (Cincotta-Segi, 2013) where educational language policy, on the macro-level, constrained opportunities and thus closed ideological spaces for bilingual education. However, the policy supported the use of oral minority languages in the classroom. This contradictory policy directives reflected on historical and institutional beliefs about language since these policies “were written and rewritten, negotiated and reworded by and for various stakeholders” (Cincotta-Segi, 2013, p. 160). On the micro-level, Cincotta-Segi (2013) found that the teacher implemented these ideological spaces into the classroom and created spaces and opportunities for multilingualism. The teacher used both the majority and minority language in the classroom, as these were part of his and the student’s identity. However, the teacher used the majority language as a language of instruction in order to prepare the students for tests and future academic success, and the minority language to support student’s learning.

Teachers’ interpretation of policy documents depends on their beliefs about language practices (Batsalelwan & Kamwendo, 2013). While some teachers implemented the schools’ only-English policy and strictly used the only-English policy, others ignored the policy and used both English and the minority languages in the classroom. The classroom is the place where language policy takes place and where “teachers have power to implement to some degree, or not at all, policy into the classroom and have a central role of what takes place in the classroom” (Batsalelwan & Kamwendo, 2013, p. 220). While some teachers have positive beliefs about multilingualism, value multilingual research and implement multilingualism, others have doubts about its value, are suspicious about research, and take a restrictive attitude vis-à-vis multilingualism (Johnson & Johnson, 2015). Similarly, in an Indigenous context, McCarty et al. (2009) found that contradictions and conflicts about languages were visible among individuals themselves. Some wanted to learn Indigenous language, but at the same time considered the Indigenous language as not important or as a dead language. As Henderson (2017) argued, the relationship between teachers’ language ideologies and local language policy mediated teacher’s classroom policy.

In order to understand what additionally is happening in the classroom, it is important to consider students’ agency. Students, in Batsalelwan and Kamwendo (2013) and in Hays (2011) studies, reported that using their mother

tongue during lectures helped students understand concepts better. Arguing, if learners in South Africa would build on their mother tongue, learning would be more effective (Hays, 2011). Bergroth and Palviainen (2017) explored bilingual children's agency in three Swedish-speaking preschools in Finland. Their study found that supporting Swedish was of greater importance than supporting bilingualism in these monolingual preschools. Similar, Boyd and Huss (2017) explored children's everyday interaction in an English language profile preschool and Finish language profile preschool in Sweden. Even though the language policy in these two preschools was explicit monolingual and applied for the teaching staff, the children were able to mix languages and were free to choose between them. This free-choice to move between languages enabled children's agency to create language policy-in practice during free play interactions. However, often children's language choice was guided by the previous child's language choice in order to contribute to the interaction. In other words, if child A interacted with child B in English, child A was most likely to use and continue to use English. In young children's drawings, Purkarthofer and De Korne (2019) found that minority children represented themselves as bilinguals, and used languages in their drawing as a mean of practice. The authors saw the children "as agents with the power to symbolically construct (language) realities" (p.5). The children in their study used their minority language in their drawings and contrasted the widespread discourse that the minority language is not valued. Therefore, McCarty (2009) argued that minoritized and Indigenous children "cannot single-handedly counter the myriad pressures on their language practices; they need support from more powerful language policy authorizing agents" (p. 304).

These studies confirm that various layers of the language policy, the policy documents, teachers, and children, can either open or close ideological and implementational spaces for multilingual practices. While some policies open spaces for multilingualism, others close these spaces. However, even though these spaces are closed, individuals have the possibility to create new spaces for multilingual practices. The creating of new spaces for multilingual practices depend on teachers' positive attitudes towards multilingualism. Also, exploring children's agency and their use of languages in the classroom, enables them to create their own language policy. Moreover, to implement these spaces into teaching, policymakers must draw upon students' and their families' cultural and linguistic resources to provide children with successful learning (Duenas, 2015; Link, 2011; McCarty et al., 2009).

Sámi education

While in Sápmi, educational research has focused on literacy aspects, mathematics teaching, or curriculum studies, only one study has used the notion ideological and implementational spaces in education in Sweden. Therefore, this

section explores the educational science spectrum across Sápmi where I identify some of these studies as ideological and implementational spaces.

Educational policy has been central to efforts by the macro-level to enrich the situation for the Sámi languages and culture (Olsen et al., 2017; Svonni, 2015). School curricula and syllabi state among other the teaching content and the language of instruction. Keskitalo (2010)⁴ conducted classroom studies in Sámi schools and explored the role of Sámi education with a focus on teaching and learning, the linguistic and cultural awareness. Keskitalo (2010) found that Sámi schools and the curriculum focused on the mainstream Finnish education and did not enculture Sámi children into Sámi traditions, values and practices. She concluded that Sámi schools and the school curriculum must move away from the western way of teaching and instead include Sámi views, values and knowledge. However, Kemi Gjerpe (2017) argued that the visualization of Sámi culture and Indigenous perspective in the curriculum is important and powerful, but risks that it remains simply that and nothing more.

Making space for implementing activities based on Sámi views is possible with teachers' willingness and their ideologies about languages (Jannok Nutti, 2010). Jannok Nutti (2010) focused on teachers' views on the process of educational transformation in mathematics with a focus on a Sámi perspective. Her findings showed that teachers became agents of change in implementing activities that are based on Sámi knowledge and view. However, teachers had to adapt their teaching approach with a Sámi view, to be relevant for Sámi pupils, although the mathematics syllabus did not include a Sámi view. Jannok Nutti (2010) described this process as an act of decolonizing Sámi tradition knowledge together with mathematics reframing the activities in preschool and school. Similarly, Sarivaara and Keskitalo (2016), argued that mediating structures need to consider time, space, and knowledge in the educational context to enhance Sámi knowledge systems and values for language revitalization purposes. Sámi schools require the integration of "Sámi concepts of time, place and knowledge into school practices" (Keskitalo, 2019, p. 570). Similarly, Hornberger and Outakoski (2015) focused on teachers' metapragmatic statements and found that teachers identified implementational and ideological spaces for Sámi language use, teaching and language revitalization. The teachers recognized the school as a space for language revitalization, teaching from the grassroots level, and Sámi language use. Moreover, the school was an ideological space where knowledge needed to adapt to new times, and where teachers and students together are able to shape ways of knowing.

Svonni (1993) focused on language use in Sámi schools and Sámi children's language use in Swedish Sápmi. He pointed out that Sámi in schools must be communicatively oriented and Sámi must be used in domains outside the school. The Sámi language use in Sweden showed similar patterns to a worldwide

⁴ Based on the abstract of the Ph.D. dissertation, since the Ph.D. dissertation is available in Finish.

language shift process, where the use of minoritized languages is decreasing. Svonni (1993) found that the Sámi schools played an important role in language development, and that teaching in Sámi schools focused on the communicational aspects to ensure language development in Sámi. Thus, he suggested that Sámi children need opportunities to develop Sámi language proficiency in education and that using Sámi as a language of instruction helped Sámi children develop language skills. Similarly, Todal (2003) showed how the development of a new curriculum, where Sámi was offered as a first and as a second language, led to increased fluency and active use of Sámi among school children in the school context.

Outakoski (2015) explored North Sámi students' multilingual literacy events with a focus on their writing activity in Sámi, English and the national majority language: Finnish, Norwegian or Swedish. In her study, she found that North Sámi students risk losing their Indigenous heritage language due to the insufficient access to the heritage language in the Sámi and Swedish communities. Outakoski (2015) further argued that North Sámi students' literacy development and Sámi language use cannot be ensured, first, due to the lack of teaching material. Education for Sámi children to develop their literacy skills is insufficient, "but it does not mean that education is not necessary or central" to Sámi children (Sullivan et al., 2019, p. 250). Therefore, Indigenous children need a familiar context and content to support their language and writing development (Lindgren et al., 2016).

Various studies have shown how the use of media provides Sámi children with implementational spaces for language revitalization and language use. For example, Vinka et al. (2015) suggested the use of language corpora for teaching purposes as an important tool for language revitalization. As well to inform teaching and learning materials for the lexicon and to provide authentic examples of the spoken language. Outakoski et al. (2018) addressed the use of social media for developing long-lasting and innovative models for language revitalization, cultures, and for counteracting language loss. Outakoski and colleagues argued that today Sámi language use expands into new domains, such as social media and that it thereby becomes accessible to young audiences. To strengthen language and ensure language revitalization, this young generation is essential. Domeij et al. (2019) argued that children need alternative spaces for language use, since without spoken language no written language is possible. They suggested that language technology is a pillar for Sámi people to use Sámi language. Integrating language technology and digital media in education but also in public communication and everyday life can promote language use and language revitalization (Domeij et al., 2019; Outakoski et al., 2018).

While schools alone cannot secure Indigenous languages, support from various domains, such as schools, communities, and families, is necessary (Hornberger, 2008). In order to become bilinguals, children need support from all levels for language development, language learning and language use (Duenas,

2015). Rasmussen's (2013) doctoral thesis⁵ suggested that the inclusion of all agents at all levels is necessary to fully understand how to support language revitalization. His study focused on how macro-level, meso-level, and micro-level shaped ethno-linguistic vitality of the Sámi language in two Sámi municipalities in Sápmi. Rasmussen (2013) argued that on the macro-level legislation needs to support bilingual Sámi preschool and primary schools. On the meso-level, municipalities need to change their preschool and school structure to fulfil the needs of Sámi language revitalization. On the micro-level, children need more opportunities to use Sámi and to become bilingual speakers. Finally, Rasmussen (2013) concluded that both the macro-level and the meso-level impact the micro-level and thus individuals' language use. Further, he argued that education, family, and friends are important pillars for Sámi language learning, but that children need more opportunities for Sámi language learning.

The present study is a contribution to the previous body of research in Indigenous education policy, particularly by offering a three-fold perspective on language policy and Sámi language use: policy documents, teachers' perspective, and children's perspective. The review also shows that policy documents, Indigenous schools, families, teachers and teachers' practices are important to maintain and revitalize Indigenous languages, culture, tradition and knowledge. The initial assumption, based on previous research, is that Indigenous children need more ideological and implementational spaces that are culturally based and that can help children to increase their Sámi language use.

⁵ Based on the abstract of the Ph.D, dissertation , since the Ph.D. dissertation is available in Sámi.

Methodology

Historically, non-Indigenous researchers and scholars aimed at answering questions about Indigenous peoples and disempowered Indigenous peoples' knowledge, value and language in the research process. Recently, Indigenous scholars from around the world have challenged this colonial research approach and have developed a research methodology to reframe the power imbalance. Smith (2012) pointed out that decolonization research aims for the self-determination of Indigenous peoples within a social justice framework. Indigenous research methodology must focus on the goal of decolonization and self-determination.

To standardize research with Indigenous peoples it must “promote ethical, respectful and inclusive research processes that can cause appropriate and successful social change for Indigenous peoples” (Sehlin MacNeil, 2017, p. 19; Smith, 2012). Other Indigenous methodologies theorists such as Kovach (2009), Chilisa (2011), and Porsanger (2004) emphasized that among self-determination and decolonization, collaboration with Indigenous communities are at the center of Indigenous research. It is important to remember that Indigenous peoples' premises, values, and worldviews are based on Indigenous paradigms (Kuokkanen 2000).

While Indigenous perspectives are important as they make research relevant to Indigenous communities, they reject, to a certain degree, western research perspectives (Chilisa, 2011; Kovach, 2009). Establishing and maintaining a reciprocal and respectful relationship is crucial when conducting research with Indigenous peoples. Louis (2007) described this process of reciprocal appropriation, as it must be beneficial for both the researcher and the research participant. Responsible research on Indigenous themes demands an appreciation of the relationship between Western scholarship and Indigenous peoples. Indigenous interests, experiences, and knowledge must be at the center of Indigenous research methodologies and the construction of knowledge concerning Indigenous peoples.

Researching from the outside

When reading about Indigenous methodologies, it was clear that Indigenous research needs a community insider for a purposeful and appropriate research process (Kovach, 2009). However, various researchers (Chavez, 2008; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009) have pointed out that also non-Indigenous researchers can conduct research in Indigenous contexts. Further they argued that, regardless of an Indigenous and non-Indigenous research position, both positions have advantages and disadvantages.

The advantages an insider has, as Chavez (2008) mentions, includes: familiarity with the participating community, prior access to participants and the community, and the ability to adapt or tailor activities relating to data collection, interpretation and representing the needs of participants. For example, Jannok Nutti (2010) pointed out benefits of conducting research in one's own community since they know Sámi language(s), understand symbolic Sámi uses and the way of living, that provide the inside researcher with a greater understanding. Yet, while participants were more confident of an inside researcher, at the same time they were suspicious about research. The position of an inside researcher or an Indigenous researcher might be questioned by the own community because of the researchers' tertiary education and positioning as a researcher (Outakoski, 2015; Smith, 2012). Porsanger (2004) goes one step further and articulates "that Indigenous scholars cannot be privileged just because of their Indigenous background, because there are a great variety of "insider" views" (p.109).

Disadvantages of an outsider, as described by Chavez (2008) is the assumption that outsiders do not have prior knowledge relating to the subject or that participants do not always provide full information. A possible advantage for non-Indigenous researchers, as highlighted by Kingsley et al. (2010) is that they learn research methods important to the community while being guided by a cultural mentors and community member.

Various non-Indigenous researchers (Löf, 2014; Reimerson, 2015; Sehlin MacNeil, 2017) have been working with Sámi communities in Sweden. These researchers pointed out the colonial relations that have historically structured and, in most times, continue to structure relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous societies. Therefore, the relationship must be reciprocal and able to identify the community's needs and at the same time, contribute to making research more relevant.

From my experience, as neither a Sámi nor a Swede, I agree with Dwyer and Buckle (2009), that a researcher, regardless insider/outsider perspectives needs openness, trust, honesty and a commitment to provide an accurate representation of research participants' experiences. To this approach, I would like to add reflexivity and reciprocity. Reciprocity allowed me to experience several key learnings, including the importance of relationships; the importance of time, transparency, and trust in relationships. Also, reflexivity enabled me to identify my position as a non-Indigenous researcher and focus on the needs and perspectives of the Sámi people in my research. These were very important key issues as I had to gain trust, not only from the teachers but also from the Sámi pupils.

My role as an observer during teaching and learning, classroom activities, lunchtime, breaks, and field trips relates to what Bryman (2012) calls the "minimally participating observer" (pp. 443-4). Even though I tried not to interact with the Sámi pupils during these activities, the pupils were curious and asked questions during my observations and interrupted them. These

interruptions were obstacles, yet also icebreakers to introduce myself to the pupils, and allowed me to gain teachers' and Sámi pupils' trust. This inside/outsider, or minority perspective, was not something I experienced for the first time: having been born in former Yugoslavia, growing up in Austria, and living in Sweden, I am familiar with the inside/outside perspective. This outside perspective often positioned me in the not-belonging situation. However, I have never thought this outside perspective would bring advantages until I started my Ph.D. project with the Sámi schools. From the very beginning of this project, it was important to engage participants in Sámi schools and to start from their understanding, values, knowledge, and experience. The outside position, not being a Swede, a colonizer, nor a Sámi, opened doors to the Sámi community and the Sámi schools. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) explain that this outside position enables researchers to provide society with a greater variety than only the insider views. In addition, reflexivity helped me to develop examining oneself as a researcher, the research process, and the research relationships, a crucial ingredient to Indigenous methodologies.

This especially included collaboration and responsiveness. In this regard, the schools chose me as a partner rather than me choosing the schools. Together with the teachers we found *a common ground* research interest. This common ground of interest flourished from the teachers' ideas and stories and carried the project forward. In addition, I sought to eliminate any power relations within the researcher/researched by having an open and ongoing dialogue with the schools. Reporting back the research finding to the participants by sending them the published papers and this Ph.D. dissertation, but also a personal meeting with the schools to give them feedback regarding the findings was arranged.

Ethics and approval

Besides being guided by Indigenous methodologies, my research required solid ethical procedures since I am working with Indigenous communities. The teachers in the Sámi schools agreed to participate if and only if they and their schools were not compared with each other. This could be seen as a limitation of the Ph.D. project; however, the focus of this dissertation is Sámi language use, and thus comparing and contrasting individual teachers and schools with each other is not essential. In April 2016 my permission to conduct ethical research was approved by the Swedish Ethical Review Authority.

The school principals, teachers, pupils, parents and non-teaching staff were informed about the purpose and structure of the study, and the possibility of withdrawing from the study any time. I provided the information in a written letter and face-to-face meetings with teachers and virtual meetings with parents.

Since all the students were minors, I required consent from parents or guardians. I had to ensure anonymity to my participants. To promise anonymity to my participants is challenging because of the small Sámi community and

school. I paid attention to the anonymity factor when presenting the data from my study.

Participating schools

Sámi schools are governed by the Sámi Education Board (*Sameskolstyrelsen*), and together with my supervisor, I approached the Board to discuss the project. During the meeting with the Sámi Education Board in September 2014, two out of five school principals participated. Since I was guided throughout the research process by Indigenous methodologies, listening to teacher's needs and concerns was the focus. One of the school principals was interested in participating and some weeks after another school enrolled in the project. In total, two out of five Sámi schools participated in my project, which I name School A and School B.

School A

After the first meeting with the Sámi Education Board, I established contact with the principal of School A. Six months later, in March 2015, my supervisor and I were invited to visit the school and met with the teachers. During our first visit, the school principal showed us the school and informed us what to expect from the upcoming meeting with the teachers. During the meeting, the teachers expressed their thoughts and doubts and asked questions about the research field, my skills and expertise, and what research I could possibly conduct in the Sámi schools together with the teachers. After two hours, we left the meeting with many impressions and thoughts. After this meeting, I communicated with the principal by telephone and e-mail messages, and planned my next visit to the school. The second meeting with teachers and the principal took place in September 2015, six months after the first meeting.

During our second meeting in late September 2015, I summarized our first meeting and proposed some research ideas. Also, the teachers expressed their thoughts and new ideas during our meeting. The teachers have been concerned with Sámi pupils' language use in school due to the complex language situation, not only in school but also in the family environment. Thus, I proposed to focus my study on language use and the teachers agreed to that idea. To understand Sámi pupils' language use, I had to develop both an observational guide and an interview guide. Together with the teachers, we decided that I would first create an observational draft and send it back to the teachers for feedback purposes.

Between the second and third meeting I had e-mail contact with the principal and it took another five months until I could visit the school. During our third meeting in February 2016, I hoped for teachers' responses to the observation draft. Due to time issues, many teachers did not have time to revise the observation draft. Instead, I presented and explained my observation draft to the teachers and pointed out that my goal was not to observe teachers' practices,

rather, to understand what languages are used in the school context, as agreed during our first meeting. Teachers' thoughts about the observational guide was that an additional observational guide was needed: one for classroom activities, another for outside classroom activities, such as recess, lunch, and short breaks.

During the meeting with the teachers and principal, we agreed that I could start with my two-week fieldwork at the school in October 2016. After approval by the Swedish Ethical Review Authority in March 2016, I sent the consent form for the teachers, the pupils and the school principal. In addition, I sent a second observational guide for outside the classroom activities, as required by the teachers. Since teachers did not have time to provide feedback, I piloted both observational guides during various language classes in a Swedish school. I chose language classes, French and Spanish, since I do not know neither of them, just as Sámi, to identify whether sections needed to be adjusted.

A couple of weeks before my fieldwork I had a virtual meeting with parents. During this meeting, the parents had the opportunity to ask questions about the research and I had the possibility to clarify and explain the purpose of the research. After this meeting, the parents decided whether they wanted their children to participate. During my two weeks visit in School A, six Sámi pupils, four teachers, and one principal participated in interviews and observations.

School B

After I received an e-mail from the principal of School B, we corresponded for some time until the principal suggested a first visit together with the school teachers in April 2015. During the meeting, teachers expressed their thoughts and doubts but also talked about the school environment, the pupils, and teachers' challenges. Even though the school environment, the pupils, and the teachers were different from School A, teachers expressed similar challenges with their teaching, namely the decreased Sámi language use.

In early September 2015, together with my academic supervisor and another independent researcher we visited the school. We had the opportunity to attend two Sámi classes and additionally, I was able to attend another meeting with teachers and the principal. During this meeting, we discussed some research ideas and teachers were engaged in the discussion and suggested ideas about possible research in their school environment. From the teachers' suggestions, we focused on the language use among Sámi pupils in a class, and I suggested to design an observational draft, so that teachers were able to comment on it.

In January 2016, the teachers provided their views and comments on the observational draft and I was able to adjust the draft accordingly. The teachers had a meeting with parents and informed them about the relevance of the project in February 2016. Few weeks later, I sent an e-mail to the teachers with the new observational guide, and attached the additional observational guide about outside classroom activities. The observational guide about capturing the outside

classroom activities, was not discussed with teachers from School B. However, I recognized the two observational guides as complementary and therefore also sent them to the teachers. While the teachers agreed on both drafts, the application for permission to conduct ethical research needed to be approved by the Swedish Ethical Review Authority. After the approval in March 2016, I sent the consent forms for the teachers, the pupils and the school principal. The responsible teacher handed out the consent forms to the pupils and once all forms, from teachers and pupils, had been signed and collected, I was able to conduct my two-week fieldwork in April 2016. In School A, five Sámi pupils, five teachers, and one principal participated in interviews and observations.

In School B, I had a cultural mentor that guided me through Sámi culture and answered any questions related to Sámi issues. In addition, the cultural mentor provided access to and a wider understanding for the Sámi context I took part in. Such as, when pupils did not attend school because of reindeer herding obligations or to get a better picture of the community's language use. This was a channel to introduce me to the Sámi context.

In both schools all consent forms and information about the project were sent to the schools to inform the parents, pupils, teachers, principals, and other school staff before data collection. The observation guides were created by the teachers and me, however due to time issues, not all teachers were equally engaged in the designing process. During the first week of my fieldwork, I only observed the pupils, and during the second week I not only conducted interviews with teachers, Sámi pupils, and principals, but also made observations to confirm some uncertainties. I split the two weeks into one observation week and one interviewing week. This design was intentional, so as to be able to ask follow up questions, derived from the observations. At any time, the participants could withdraw from the project, either during observations or during interviews, plus had the possibility to contact me about the project. Due to promised anonymity through the application for permission to conduct ethical research and the teachers' expressed desires, no location, no school principals, no school teachers, no school support staff and no pupils' names are identified in this thesis.

Methods

The following discussion sets out the practical steps that were taken to obtain and analyze the data. The project consists four main data inquiries, namely: questionnaires, policy documents, interviews, and observations.

Questionnaires

As a first step towards understanding how Sámi pupils use and perceive of the Sámi and Swedish languages, I got the opportunity to collaboratively analyze questionnaire data from the project "Literacy in Sápmi: multilingualism,

revitalization, and literacy development in a global perspective”⁶. The questionnaires included 19 questions and had been distributed to 27 pupils in 5 schools. I did not participate in the development or distribution of the questionnaires, but was responsible for the analysis. The analysis focused on language use, attitudes towards languages, reading and writing in Sámi, which were related to aspects of identity. The analysis provided a first insight into Sámi pupils’ language use and attitudes towards languages and provided input to the development of the school-based study. See Appendix 1 for the questionnaire and Paper I for the findings.

Policy documents

To support the interview and observation data, we conducted policy document analysis as it supports and strengthens my research. As Bowen (2009) argued, documents provide background information and broad coverage of data, that aids in contextualizing the research field. As I situate this study within language policy, document analysis focuses on a macro-level perspective and is also used for completeness purposes.

In paper II, the Sámi in Swedish syllabi, which are part of the Sámi National Curriculum, were used as a policy document. To understand and find discourses for language use, we focused on the text of the learning outcomes in the Sámi and Swedish syllabus. The analyzed learning outcomes represented the absolute minimum a pupil must know to pass a subject and thus, reflected the discourse about language. The findings in Paper II were interpreted by the authors to give voice and meaning around discourses for language use and not to provide a definition of functional bilingualism.

Observations and interviews

The purpose of qualitative research, and in particular ethnographic research, as Hammersley states, captures the culture, the perspectives, and practices, of the people involved in the research during a certain amount of time. The aim is to “get inside” what people behave, but also to observe and listen via interviews (Walford, 2009). Further, Walford argued to get inside the researcher needs a thick-description of the participants and can use multiple data types to focus in-depth. Besides, questionnaires and policy documents, I used observations and semi-structured interviews that focused on language use used.

Observations

The purpose of observations is to look analytically at what people do, their behavior, and their routine in a particular setting (Cohen et al., 2011).

⁶ This research was enabled by funding from the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet) [2011–6153].

Observations aid the researcher in seeing “reality,” for example, a classroom reality, and to understand what is happening. The researcher must know what to look for, and often a protocol or research question guides the process (Bryman, 2012). However, sometimes the observer’s presence disturbs the classroom reality, for example, the teacher’s practice and students’ behavior. Therefore, teachers change their teaching practice, and students adapt their behavior.

My role as an observer was as Cohen et al. (2011) referred to as the *complete observer*: an outside observer and detached from the Sámi community, but observing language use. During the observations, I faced three challenges: first, sometimes an observed child interacted with a non-observed child, and consequently, I found it challenging whether to include the non-observed child in my observation. Second, during the observations, I tried to be objective and not be driven by my own beliefs and attitudes. As such, I tried to observe all pupils’ language use equally and as objectively as possible, and not to observe some pupils more than others. However, when Sámi pupils interacted with me and asked questions, I was not able to take notes of the participating pupils’ language use. Third, as a single observer, it is challenging to observe everything, as, for example, during recess, the pupils did various activities in different areas of the schoolyard.

In my case, the observation guides guided me to focus on language use in the Sámi school. I used two different observation guides (Appendices 5–6): one for classroom activities and the other for outside classroom activities. The former was created together with the teachers and was used as a tool to identify Sámi pupils’ language in the classroom. The latter was designed by me and covered different outdoor spaces and activities concerning Sámi pupils’ language use. In addition to school activities, School A had a two-day field trip, and School B had a one-day field trip. As such, I followed and observed the pupils on bus trips and all other activities they have planned during this time.

The observation guide for classroom activities was used in the classroom to observe language use and printed on spreadsheets. I took notes from the type of each student interaction that occurred during classroom activities. The observation guide was used for interactions during school activities and consisted of five different categories. First, *time* included when an interaction took place. Second, *organization* captured the various interactions among whom they took place. For example, whether a teacher talked to the whole class and gave instructions or a teacher talked or explained something to a child. Third, *language use* comprised what language(s) pupils and teachers used during interactions. Fourth, *activities* detailed the various activities, such as reading, writing, speaking, and listening. For example, was the teacher writing on the whiteboard, reading from a book, or speaking to the pupils. Fifth, *engagement* included attention, differences between Swedish, Sámi, and others. For example, pupils engaged in a subject when a particular language was used compared to

others. Additionally, the observation guide obtained general information such as the school, teaching room, grade, the teacher, date, time, and teacher.

Also, I printed out the outside classroom activity observation guide on spreadsheets and took notes about pupils' language use. The observations were taken by hand, which I transcribed the same day or the day after. During these observations, I identified three location types: namely the schoolyard, the lunch break room, and the walk from one building to another, and four categories. The four categories were: first, those *who talked to whom* category referred to whether the interaction was between the teacher and the students or among the students themselves. Second, the *language* category described whether Sámi pupils chose Sámi, Swedish, or any other language. Third, *what do they talk about* category referred to the topic Sámi pupils addressed. Fourth, *comments* included, for example, whether the pupils used items during activities, if pupils did an activity at a particular place or if they only used Sámi with one another. This observation guide captured, for example, that some observed pupils played every day, during every recess a particular ball game. In my field-notes, I even noted that "the three pupils run outside to catch the ball to play the game, no matter how long the break was. They took every opportunity to play the game and used in the same language. Other pupils who joined the game used the same language. The game guided the choice of language" (Personal field notes, April 2016).

In total, I observed eleven Sámi pupils. In School A, I conducted 24 hours of classroom observations, and two-days school field trips. In School B, I observed 20 hours of classroom observations and a one-day field school trip have been collected. More than 44 hours of classroom observations in both schools were conducted and constituted part of the material for Paper III.

Interviews

Besides observing the pupils and the teachers within their school environment, I also had the opportunity to interview the pupils, teaching, and non-teaching staff. Bryman (2012) described the semi-structured interview as a list of predefined questions specific to the topic. The interview questions do not follow the same order; however, throughout the interview, the researcher asks all questions. The purpose of the semi-structured interview is to ask, to some degree, flexible questions, and allow room for targeting questions, emerging, for example, from the observations (Kvale, 2007). In my case, I conducted a semi-structured interview with the Sámi pupils, the teaching staff and the non-teaching staff to deepen the understanding of their language use. Moreover, understanding their views, feelings, and ideologies regarding their language use. Three slightly different interview guides for pupils (Appendix 2), teaching staff (Appendix 3), and non-teaching staff (Appendix 4) were designed and used. All the interview guides included first general information about the participants; the second element was about their language use during their free time; the third element

about language use during school time activity, and the fourth element about their thoughts about the future of Sámi languages. Additionally, Sámi pupils, teachers and non-teaching staff could add final thoughts that they would like me to know. By the end of the interview, I offered the teaching staff, the non-teaching staff, and the Sámi pupils the opportunity to receive a copy of the recording and to comment on anything they might want removing. None of the participants accepted the offer of a copy, nor requested any changes. The conducted interviews I do not see as a representation of existing knowledge, instead of as a process of joint knowledge creation (Kvale, 2007).

These interview guides served as rough guides, but I did not necessarily address the questions in order nor to the same degree to all participants. Each interview was influenced by the interviewee's availability and willingness to talk, and their interest in talking about specific subjects. Some interviewees stayed close to the question, while others took the discussion in different directions. During the interviews, some of the pupils answered just with "yes," "no," or "I don't know" and often I had to rephrase the question or make follow up questions so that the pupils would be able to understand the question being asked. As Cohen et al. (2011) noted, conducting interviews with children affects reliability, such as trustworthiness or the nature of the topic. Therefore, it is vital that the researcher, for example, structures the interview well, allow interviewees to take their time to answer in their way, to be sensitive and empathic (Kvale, 2007).

In total, I have interviewed 23 pupils, teaching and non-teaching staff about their language use in the school environment and free time. All the interviews took place in the school building during the school day, and lasted between 20 minutes and 90 minutes. The audio-recorded interviews were conducted in Swedish, and notes were taken after each interview. I then transcribed all the interviews.

Participants

Considering that the purpose of this thesis is to explore Sámi language use in an educational context, it is not essential to explore the educational and personal background of the participants in more detail. Therefore, I present the participants in a somewhat brief manner rather than detailed.

I interviewed and observed nine teachers and two principals in total. The teachers working in School A and B were between 27 and 58 years old, and all the teachers were multilingual. They spoke one or more Sámi languages, plus Swedish, Norwegian, English, or German. The length of teaching experience varied among the teachers; some had as much as 38 years and others only six months. Some teachers had learned Sámi as a first language at home, and others had learned it as a second language at school or as adults. The majority were from households where everyone spoke Sámi; some were from households where only one or two people spoke Sámi. All the teachers use Sámi outside the school

context, for example, during their free time or with family members. Three teachers did not have a teaching degree, and eight teachers obtained their teacher training either in Norway or in Sweden. The teachers had various educational background, and thus had different levels of confidence in using Sámi across the curriculum.

In total, I interviewed and observed eleven pupils in School A and School B. The Sámi pupils were between 10 and 12 years old, and were multilingual, though they had diverse language and literacy histories. Some had learned Sámi as a first language at home, and others had learned it as a second language at school. Some were from households where everyone spoke Sámi, others were from households where only one person spoke Sámi, and yet others were from households where nobody in the household spoke Sámi.

Overview of appended papers

Paper I

This paper focuses on young Sámi peoples' language use and their attitudes vis-à-vis the Sámi language in Sweden. Supported by questionnaires from 27 young Sámi learners varying in age from 9 and 19 from five different schools in Sweden, our study focuses on attitudes towards languages, reading and writing. To understand young Sámi learners' language use in and outside school we draw upon questions related to: with whom young Sámi learners talk Sami, in which situations they talk Sámi and how they use media in Sami. The paper addresses young Sámi learners' view vis-à-vis their mother tongue, their perception vis-à-vis their own Sámi knowledge and their motivation vis-à-vis Sámi use. These themes are supported by a theoretical lens for understanding motivation and attitudes vis-à-vis language (Dörnyei, 2001; Gardner & Lambert, 1972). According to this theoretical lens, motivation and attitudes are intertwined and difficult to separate from each other. Guided by this theoretical lens we understand how attitudes, motivation, and language use are intertwined and how it triggers language use.

We find that, language becomes an important part of young Sámi learners' identity due to their positive attitudes towards Sámi culture and language, Positive attitudes and the desire to use Sámi are motivational indicators that influence young Sámi learners' language development. This connectedness was also found in a study that examined positive attitudes and L2 development (Dörnyei, 2001; Guilletoaux & Dörnyei, 2008).

In our study, we have identified language use in the home environment and school environment. In the home environment, many young Sámi learners have expressed talking Sámi with parents, siblings, friends and other adults, that relied on their own ability and their own language perception. Although many parents did not speak Sámi, did not want to converse in Sámi or did not have the desire to speak Sámi due to different reasons (Hansen & Sørli, 2012), pupils in our study described writing and reading activities as a part in their home environment language use. This positive trend to use Sámi at home is due to parents' positive attitudes towards Sámi and strengthens the Sámi languages and Sámi identity. Only a few participants watched television in a Sámi language, or used social media, such as Facebook and chat, in Sámi. Nowadays, Sámi TV programs and social media are lacking to a high degree. Providing social media, TV programs and computer games in Sámi offers young Sámi learners the possibility to use Sámi and to develop not only their language skills but also their identity.

Our findings show that in the school environment all young Sámi learners have expressed writing in Sámi in the school context. While more than half of the

participants lend Sámi books the other half spoke Sámi in schools. During recess, only few young Sámi learners used Sámi while a high number of participants listened to music and sent SMS in Sámi. The school context triggers young Sámi learners' language use in one way or another but we argue that Sámi young learners need more possibilities in the school context to develop their language skills.

We argue that children in our study want to have power over Sámi and use Sámi as one of their communicative repertoires. However, it is not only the responsibility of young Sámi learners to revitalize the language, but the Swedish and Sámi societies must provide Sámi young learners with more linguistic opportunities for languages development and language use which reflects young Sámi learners' positive attitude towards Sámi language and increases their motivation to use Sámi.

Paper II

This paper examines pupils' access to knowledge in and about Sámi languages and functional bilingualism in both Sámi and Swedish within the Sámi National Curriculum for the Sámi schools in Sweden. Drawing on functional linguistic analysis, Bloom's revised taxonomy of knowledge types and processes, and Bernstein's concepts of vertical and horizontal discourse this paper analyzes and examines the learning outcomes in the Sámi and Swedish syllabi. The material analyzed in Paper II consisted of comprised the syllabi of Sámi as a first language and Swedish as a first language, which are part of the Sámi National Curriculum. The Sámi National Curriculum focuses on functional bilingualism and is one of the main objectives of it.

From our analysis, both the Sámi and Swedish learning outcomes focus on school-based knowledge. This is not surprising as they are part of the educational system. However, we find a stronger focus on oracy, the ability to express oneself fluently and grammatically, in the Sámi syllabus and a stronger focus on literacy in the Swedish syllabus. The two learning outcomes show an inequality between the Sámi and Swedish language, and raises issues of power between these two languages (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). The findings also show that the Sámi learning outcomes require two genres, while the Swedish learning outcomes requires at least seven genres. As a result, pupils will acquire knowledge about fewer genres in Sámi, which makes them less well prepared to function in a wide variety of ways in Sámi as compared with Swedish.

We argue that pupils after completing six years in the Sámi school will have a language base that, with future practice, enable them to function in both languages in social and cultural contexts. But without access to a wide range of genres, criticality, and both oracy and literacy in Sami, pupils do not have the same linguistic foundation to function in various labor markets. Further we argue that since the Sámi learning outcomes are weaker, pupils cannot achieve and develop functional bilingualism that enables them to function as democratic citizens in all aspects of Sámi society. Nor does it give them full opportunity to develop their identities as multilingual, multicultural and Indigenous individuals.

We suggest raising Indigenous issues among the Sámi and Swedish population, but also among policymakers would create space for language use and revitalization. A first step towards this visibility is to revise the Sámi National Curriculum, so Sámi values, knowledge and language are underpinned. Also, the definition of functional bilingualism should be part of the Sámi National Curriculum for teacher to understand what functional bilingualism implies.

Paper III

This paper discusses the notion of sociodramatic play and how playing activities in the outdoors reflects on Sámi pupils' language use via the teachers' lens. In particular, the paper traces how teachers identify children's language use and play in Sámi school places. To highlight the nuances of teachers' notion about language use and play, the paper draws on 11 interviews with Sámi teachers from two Sámi schools. Theoretically, the paper draws on Vygotsky's sociocultural perspective on language and play, which he described as a crucial factor in children's language development and abstract thinking among members of a community.

This paper reveals that most of the teachers are aware of the benefits of play regarding language development and language use. By combining language use and outdoor (sociodramatic) play three different themes have emerged. The first theme, play and place matters for language learning, relates to first and second language learning outdoors and learning languages together with others through pretend play outdoors. The second theme, play and place matter for cultural awareness and refers to the cultural background of Sámi children. It shows how playing reindeer herding has an impact on language choice and language use. This theme points out the importance of the outdoors, as real-life reindeer herding happens only outside. The third theme, peers' language preference and fluency matter in the outdoors, shows that children learn through play outdoor while interacting with or more competent peers.

The three themes indicate the importance of outdoors for learning purposes that provide Sámi children with the flexibility to negotiate their languages. In line with Berk and Meyers (2013), play is identified as an activity, that happens together with others within school places for different linguistic and cultural learning purposes.

The paper suggests that play is important for language development and cultural awareness, as it allows children to choose between languages; and place matters when using a new language as a reader and writer. However, in order to ensure language learning and development it is important to provide children with scaffolding and a context that is familiar to them. Thus, the study suggests, that it is important to provide pupils with various playing activities that reflect their reality, but also interests and culture to stimulate and support play. Also, teachers might join the pupil's play outdoors to scaffold the pupil's language learning.

Paper IV

This paper looks more closely at 11 interviews with Sámi children from two Sámi schools in Sweden. The interviews with the pupils have been approached by asking questions about their Sámi language use, their practices, and as well their beliefs about Sámi language and the future development of the Sámi language. These themes are interpreted in relation to Spolsky's notion about language policy as practice, and in particular to language practices and language ideologies (Spolsky, 2004). Pennycook argued that individuals' ideologies, beliefs and assumptions influence the creation of language policy, not only on the macro-level but also on the micro level. Therefore, the inclusion of individuals, or agents in studying the language policy process is important, as it foregrounds agents' practices and beliefs about languages (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). In this study, the pupils' agency is being placed in the heart of the language policy level, since agency emerges from the socio-cultural context, in which the agent acts Ahearn (2001).

I find in Paper IV that, according to the interviewed pupils, the school has become one of the most important domains where the language is being used in various ways. Furthermore, for some Sámi pupils the use of Sámi is to a large extent limited to the educational context. This finding mirror those of Svonni Svonni (1993) who described that Swedish was the language of school and administration and media, while Sámi the language of the home. The findings in Paper IV further indicate that, for some pupils, the home is another domain for Sámi language use. However, the Sámi pupils in this study use Sámi mainly orally with parents, siblings, grandparents and extended relative members. Within the family context, the pupils use Sámi (orally) when traveling abroad or during reindeer herding.

Examining pupils' beliefs about language use, the results indicate that pupils expressed identity, belonging, and inclusion through the Sámi language. However, some of the pupils question this relation in terms of knowing Sámi language. While some pupils identified themselves as Sámi without knowing Sámi, others foregrounded that speaking Sámi correctly is an identity marker. Certainly, most of the pupils have positive beliefs about Sámi, but some of the pupils worry about the future direction of Sámi languages.

Paper IV suggests that pupils' practices and beliefs about Sámi provide insights into their reality about language use. Many different factors seem to influence their language choice that reflect upon their ideologies and practices, and in turn create (new) implicit language policy.

Discussion

This thesis set out to explore language use from a language policy perspective in the case of policy documents, Sámi teachers, and pupils in Sweden. The purpose was thereby to contribute to the emerging language policy literature, the theoretical conceptualization of implementational and ideological spaces as well as to address empirically identified opportunities for Sámi language use. This final section is devoted to this discussion.

Factors for ideological and implementational spaces for Sámi language use

Language policies are necessary to support and strengthen Indigenous peoples' rights and the right to use Indigenous languages across society. Hornberger (2005) pointed out that the official language policy documents are relevant as they open ideological and implementational spaces for multilingual practices. However, in some cases, a variety of factors, such as monolingual ideologies of language that are reflected in language policy documents, can close ideological spaces for multilingual practices (Cincotta-Segi, 2013).

In education, particularly the Sámi National Curriculum governs goals and guidelines for language use, and teaching activities, that open or close ideological and implementational spaces for Sámi language use. Looking into the Sámi National Curriculum more carefully, one factor that opens ideological spaces is the use of Sámi and Swedish as languages of instruction. Another factor that opens up spaces for language use is that the curriculum does not govern, neither specifying nor restricting, the teaching material and teaching practices. While these factors open spaces for Sámi language use, other factors close spaces for Sámi language use.

Various studies (Batsalelwang & Kamwendo, 2013; Hays, 2011; Svonni, 1993) have suggested the use of students' mother tongue as the language of instruction help children to develop their languages, but the curriculum closes ideological spaces for Sámi language use exclusively. Since the Sámi National Curriculum is not written in Sámi, hardly focuses on Sámi values, is almost identical to the Swedish National Curriculum, these are factors that close ideological spaces for Sámi language use. In fact, the inclusion of the Sámi syllabus in the Swedish National Curriculum since 2019, makes the Sámi and Swedish curricula even more identical. However, this inclusion was one possible step towards language revitalization, but few qualified Sámi teachers and limited textbooks may reduce pupils' access to learn. Thus, what differs between the two curricula is the focus on functional bilingualism, that is underpinned additionally in the Sámi syllabus.

An analysis of the Sámi and Swedish syllabi, in Paper II, examined discourses of functional bilingualism and access to knowledge in and about the Swedish and the Sámi language. Transforming the results into ideological and implementational spaces, several possible factors have been identified for the opening and closing for Sámi language use. One factor that opens ideological spaces is the access to knowledge in and about Sámi and to become functional bilingual. Another factor that opens ideological spaces is in line with the Compulsory School Ordinance (2019:275) and the Sámi National Curriculum, as the syllabus does not explicitly describe how to provide children with opportunities to achieve functional bilingualism. By the same token, it provides teachers and pupils with the flexibility to use Sámi and Swedish freely.

One factor that closes ideological spaces for Sámi language use is that the Sámi and Swedish syllabi do not offer the same linguistic requirements and opportunities for Sámi learners to develop their Sámi and Swedish skills in an equal balanced way (Paper II). The Sámi syllabus is unequally balanced in terms of fewer knowledge types, fewer cognitive processes, verb processes, a stronger focus on oracy, and a stronger focus on the horizontal discourse compared to the Swedish syllabus. In other words, while Sámi is described as a language that is used orally, and for everyday communication, Swedish is described as a language for academic purposes (Paper II). In Paper II, we explain this contradiction as structural discrimination where an institutional system of society indirectly discriminates people or groups with a different ethnic background than the majority community.

Other possible factors that explain the unbalanced access to Sámi and Swedish are the allocation of teaching hours between Sámi and Swedish and the lack of national tests in Sámi in grade six. The flexibilities to choose between languages and the teaching methods are factors that open ideological spaces for Sámi language use. Teachers have the possibility to adopt their language to the pupils, and to focus on teaching methods that reflect Sámi values and traditions, and thus open ideological spaces for Sámi language use.

Factors, such as unbalanced access to Sámi and Swedish knowledge, fewer Sámi teaching hours, and no national tests in Sámi close ideological spaces for Sámi language use, as the syllabi do not provide Sámi learners with the same possibilities to develop their linguistic repertoire across society. However, as Hornberger (2005) noticed although these ideological spaces are closed by policy, teachers and children must try to create new ideological spaces for multilingual practices.

While the policy documents may appear to contribute but also undermine ideological and implementational spaces for language use, multiple factors provide but also limit the use of Sámi. Teachers play a crucial role in implementing policy since they have the power to implement or restrict ideological spaces for Indigenous and minority language use. A factor that influences the choice of whether to implement Indigenous language in the

classroom depends on teachers' interpretation of educational policy and their views and ideologies about (multilingual) languages and practices (Jannok Nutti, 2018). If teachers positive beliefs about multilingualism and are positive towards multilingual research, they are more willing to implement multilingualism in the classroom, compared to those who have negative beliefs towards multilingualism (Johnson & Johnson, 2015).

In Paper III, I explored teachers' beliefs about Sámi pupils' language use concerning play and place in grades four to six. The results showed that pupils built upon their already existing language repertoire and developed language when engaging in different outdoor school practices, such as play. Teachers noted that the combination of the outdoors and less structured playing activities are factors for Sámi language use as well as for increased cultural learning. The results suggested that communication with other peers and learning together with peers who share the same social-cultural context during outdoor play are factors that might open implementational spaces for Swedish and Sámi language use. This combination of the place and play provides an implementational space for Sámi language use and enables teachers to provide Sámi pupils with multiple languages by drawing upon pupils' cultural and linguistic resources. Somewhat surprisingly, as reported by the teachers in Paper III, was parents' concerns that the use of both Sámi and Swedish in the Sámi schools may influence the decline of Sámi. However, the teachers were not concerned with that and instead recognized the school context as crucial as the home environment to develop Sámi. Teachers in Paper III suggested that if providing pupils with both Sámi and Swedish in school and the home, creates and opens more spaces for Sámi languages use.

In addition to teachers, also Sámi pupils' language ideologies and language attitudes have been identified as factors that possibly influence their language use. Paper I showed how individual questionnaires picture young Sámi learners' voices as well as their thoughts and views about Sámi about their language use and identity. Findings indicated a spectrum of different views regarding young Sámi learners' language use: 1. most of the pupils spoke Sámi, 2. they were proud of their Sámi language knowledge, 3. they identified themselves as Sámi, and 4. they did not hide their Sámi cultural roots.

Results in Paper I also found that language attitudes reflected upon pupils' language use: positive attitudes relate to high language use while negative attitudes relate to decreased language use. Positive attitudes and the desire to use Sámi are motivational factors main to language development and language use, which open implementational space for Sámi language use at the grassroots level. These results mirror those of Choi (2003), who suggested that children's attitudes and ideologies are factors that facilitate or reject language use and multilingualism. The majority of pupils in this study have positive towards Sámi, but some expressed worries. Some pupils believed that Sámi will die out, as it is not needed anymore. García et al. (2006) argued that language ideologies are

responsible for the closing of spaces for multilingual practices in schools. The findings of this study, suggest that negative attitudes potentially close implementational spaces for language use, while positive ideologies and attitudes towards Sámi are possible factors that open spaces.

Some pupils in Paper IV foregrounded the link between Sámi language and identity, belonging, and social inclusion. While some pupils argued that knowing Sámi is an indicator of belonging and identity, others questioned this link and felt that there is “nothing wrong with not being proficient in Sámi, and still feeling like a Sámi.” Others went one step further and expressed that understanding Sámi does not have the same value as speaking Sámi. Therefore, some pupils believed that only speaking Sámi correctly gives them a sense of belonging. While these results in Paper IV partly reflect those of Nicholas (2009), who found that young Hopi maintain their lives as Hopi without being fluent in the language, it seems that some Sámi pupils maintain their identity only by speaking Sámi correctly. In accordance with the present results, previous studies have also shown that the choice of whether to use a specific language is shaped by children’s language ideologies and signal “social relationships based on shared or unshared group membership” such as teachers and family members (Heller, 1982, p. 5). If pupils have positive attitudes, feel part of a community regardless of the level of proficiency, and can identify themselves with the community, they are more likely to open implementational spaces for Sámi language use. Conversely, unfavorable attitudes, not being part of a community, and identifying with the community are possible factors that hinder language use and close implementational spaces. Internal factors such as language ideologies, attitude, social inclusion, and belonging are additional factors that open or close implementational spaces for Sámi language use.

Pupils’ learning environment is another possible factor that closes or opens implementational spaces for Sámi language use. The Sámi pupils in Paper I and IV reported that the use of Sámi is tied to their learning environment, their practice, and the counterpart. One such learning environment identified by pupils in Paper I and IV is the school context that provides pupils with different Sámi language practices. While all the pupils in Paper I and IV practiced writing in school, not all the pupils spoke and used Sámi in school, but acknowledged the possibility to listen to Sámi in school. Similarly, the teacher’s in Paper IV reported upon Sámi pupils’ language use and suggested that pupils’ play and the language use are connected and based on pupils’ social-cultural context. While pupils use Swedish when playing with cars, they use Sámi when playing reindeer herding. Regarding language switch when interacting with others, Sámi pupils in Paper IV pointed out that switching to Swedish happens unconsciously. This finding mirrors those of Purkarthofer and De Korne (2019), who found that school children’s language choice depends on the counterpart strong language and language proficiency. In the school context, both the Sámi-speaking teachers and peers are factors that possibly provide pupils with Sámi engagement and

language input and open implementational spaces for language use. Conversely, non-speaking Sámi teachers and peers may explain the reasons for closing implementational spaces for Sámi language use.

The Sámi pupils identified the home environment as another learning environment and the findings in Paper I and Paper IV foreground that pupils' Sámi language use varies in terms of practices and media. Most of the pupils in Paper I expressed listening to music, reading and writing in Sámi, while few pupils watched TV or played video games. The pupils in Paper IV used Sámi exclusively orally, while some did not use Sámi at all at home. A possible explanation for more use of Sámi among pupils in Paper I is the difference in age between them. In both Paper I and IV, all the pupils reported using Sámi either with their parents, siblings, or grandparents. A few pupils in Paper IV use Sámi when traveling abroad and visiting relatives. Thus, family members and extended family members are factors that provide Sámi pupils with Sámi language engagement and input. In turn, it opens implementational spaces for language use. However, if Sámi is not used at home, spaces for language use are being closed.

The home and school environments have been identified as facilitators for language use. The more Sámi pupils are exposed to Sámi at home and in school, the more resources and opportunities Sámi pupils have to use Sámi, the more willing they are to use and learn Sámi. However, limited access to Sámi and little exposure to Sámi in and outside Sámi schools are connected with decreased language use (Paper I). In terms of ideological and implementational spaces, it seems that the school environment provides pupils with a variety of language practices and open spaces for Sámi language use. However, one factor that possibly undermines Sámi language use in schools is the Sámi pupils' worrying about the difficulty in writing and spelling in Sámi.

Creating ideological and implementational spaces for Sámi language use

This thesis was informed by educational language policies, and ideological and implementational spaces or multilingual spaces, to investigate language use in the Sámi schools in Sweden. It examined factors that either contributed or undermined the use of Sámi in the policy document, among teachers, and among pupils and how various actors (i.e., policy, teachers, pupils) interact when creating implementational spaces for language use.

The notion of ideological and implementation spaces is applied in relation to policy documents that appear to restrict agents, such as teachers and students, to use multilingual languages. In this case, actors seek out ways to wedge open the spaces that are left open by the policies. However, the data in this study shows that educational language policies do not restrict the use of Sámi in the educational setting and other contexts in Sámi administrative municipalities. The

Swedish regulations and laws stipulated by the Ministry of Education encourage the use of Sámi and leaves space for a variety of different interpretations. For example, the Compulsory School Ordinance (2019:275) does not fully support the use of Sámi as a language of instruction but rather *allows* the use of both Sámi and Swedish in the classroom. Thus, it provides teachers and pupils with a space to negotiate between languages and choose the language(s) of instruction based on the pupils' language needs and their proficiency. Paper I and IV show that the use of Sámi among Sámi pupils varies to some degree. While some pupils speak, read, and write in Sámi at home, others are only exposed to the Sámi language by speaking to their grandparents or in school. Having Sámi as a language of instruction exclusively may restrict and exclude pupils from Sámi schools, considering that as pupils' language proficiency varies.

Likewise, the Sámi National Curriculum does not govern teaching material and teaching practices and leaves space for teachers to create new spaces for language learning. Even though the curriculum enables teachers to make space for new activities based on Sámi views and values, teachers in Jannok Nutti (2018) argued that the goals within the Sámi National Curriculum did not correspond with their desire to implement culture-based teaching. Further, they foregrounded that culture-based teaching in mathematics was desired but time-demanding, and therefore, teaching was determined by textbooks as it was easier to teach from a book. However, the teachers also foregrounded that the textbooks have been written in other local Sámi dialects, a dialect the pupils were not aware of and that textbooks were not Sámi culture-based. Paper III show signs of culture-based activities, as teachers identified the combination of the outdoors and less structured playing activities as fruitful for Sámi pupils to use their languages. Therefore, culture-based teaching is worth further exploring to understand the benefits behind it.

The Sámi syllabus, another legal policy document, governs content, goals as well as learning outcomes and provides pupils with the possibility to develop functional bilingualism. However, Paper II shows contradictions between the learning outcomes in Sámi and Swedish, as they do not provide the same opportunities to develop Sámi and Swedish in terms of written and oral language. Additional differences between the two syllabi include that fewer hours are allocated to Sámi than to Swedish language learning, and the exclusion of national tests in Sámi. Taken these factors together, pupils have challenges to use Sámi in the same way as Swedish as the results in Paper I and IV suggest. The majority of the pupils, in Paper IV, reported using Sámi mainly orally, with a few literacy practices, in the home environment. In school and the classroom, pupils used Sámi in forms of oracy and literacy, but expressed difficulties in writing. The majority of the pupils in Paper I reported similar patterns in terms of using Sámi and Swedish in the home and educational context. Additionally, the pupils in Paper I read books, listened to Sámi music, and used social media. Even though it seems that the syllabus closes spaces for Sámi language use, the pupil's own

choice to make use of multiple resources, nevertheless limited, in Sámi, makes space amongst the policy for the use of Sámi.

The choice to use a minority language is determined not only by statutes and regulations law, but it is also influenced by social and personal factors, such as ideologies, expectations, identity, and belonging (Choi, 2003). These factors sometimes contribute to or undermine the creation of implementational spaces. For example, Zavala (2014) found that individuals do not implement language and make use of their linguistic repertoire due to their negative ideologies towards Indigenous and minority languages, even though policy documents open spaces for multilingual language. Zavala's findings agree partly with the findings of this study that ideological spaces for language use exist, however Sámi pupils do not make use of them due to their belief that Sámi is not valued and their perceived expectations that adults have of them regarding their knowledge of Sámi. In contrast, it may be the case that Sámi pupils open implementational spaces for language use due to their positive attitudes towards Sámi as they were proud of their identity and were more willing to use Sámi (Paper I and IV).

Further studies

The results and discussion offer several possible approaches for future research. One aspect is to shape and construct spaces for functional bilingualism, as these spaces are necessary for teachers to include functional bilingualism in all subjects to increase language use. Future research could address how teachers implement the notion of functional bilingualism in subjects other than Sámi to understand if it reflects on Sámi pupils' language use.

Another possible future study is to examine the implementation of culture-based education in relation to pretended and sociodramatic play in the Sámi schools to understand pupils' literacy. Previous research claimed that play is consistent within Indigenous epistemologies and values not only "self-knowledge but also social and communal knowledge" (Cajete, 2017, p. 114). Notably, in early childhood research, play is recognized as a context for pupils to learn social and cultural practices, and engage in abstract thinking which supports later academic learning (Hedges et al., 2018; Pramling-Samuelsson et al., 2013). To understand the role of play for a wide range of language purposes, such as Sámi literacy, more research in primary Sámi schools with Sámi pupils between 9 and 12 years old is needed.

Another possible research direction is to explore parents' ideologies and identify family language policy. Families have their norms of speaking, acting and believing, and provide a context for language socialization and language development. As parents' ideologies and beliefs are central to the field of family language policy, more research to understand how parents' ideologies reflect upon their pupils' views and practices on languages is needed.

Concluding remarks

This study suggests that ideological and implementational spaces are central to language policy and show the dynamic relationship between language and policy documents, teachers as well as pupils. As discussed in the previous section, these concepts are interrelated in practice as one space influences the other in a way that each is a necessary piece of multilingual education initiatives. Policy spaces are shaped when language knowledge, language beliefs, language practices as well as language use interact and are influenced by each other.

National language policies, such as the Sámi syllabus, opens and closes spaces for Sámi language use. The Sámi syllabus opens ideological spaces as it enables teachers to move freely between Sámi and Swedish. However, if the Sámi and Swedish syllabi do not provide a balanced access to both languages, it closes ideological spaces for Sámi language use. Teachers and pupils can wedge pry open these (closed) spaces. First, the teachers understand that play and place enhance language development that reflects their language beliefs; at the same time, as Jannok Nutti (2018) found teachers might feel trapped, as policy documents do not correspond with their beliefs. Second, while pupils' positive attitudes towards Sámi relate to increased language use, negative language attitudes relate to decreased language use. Likewise, the pupils have positive attitudes towards Sámi and try to use Sámi in the school environment in various ways, but if policy documents reflect a discourse that lessens the Sámi language in comparison with Swedish, they close spaces for Sámi language. Even though the policy documents open spaces for language use in education, they potentially close spaces for Sámi language for teachers and pupils. Acknowledging all the different assumptions, ideologies, and beliefs across all levels of education is undoubtedly a complex task. However, opening up a dialogue between those who work at these various levels and engaging policy actors and researchers in this dialogue may provide an opportunity to work together on the issue. The connection between the various perspectives may thus be a productive dialogue for a change in policy, rather than a sign of power and inequality.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Summary of the questionnaire

Questions from the questionnaire that are used to access information about pupils' language use

1. How often and with whom do you speak the following languages? Choose all alternatives that suit you. At home I speak most often, With my mother I speak, With my father I speak, With my siblings I speak, With my older relatives I speak, At school I speak, During the breaks at school I speak, On my free time I speak, With my friends I speak.
2. Approximately how long time do you spend on following activities on your free time during a normal school day? In Sámi, in Swedish, in Finnish, in Norwegian, in English: Watch TV or videos, Play TV or computer game (e.g., Nintendo®, Gameboy®, X-Box®, Play Station®), Listen to music
3. Which (one or more) languages do you use when you do the following things? In Sámi, in Swedish, in Finnish, in Norwegian, in English: I write SMS (text messages), I chat and write short messages on the Internet (e.g., Facebook).

Questions from the questionnaire that are used to access information about pupils' beliefs on mother tongue, perceptions about their own ability in Sámi and motivation to use the language?

1. What is your mother tongue? (If you have more than one mother tongues, and are bilingual or multilingual, choose the ones that is suitable) Sámi, Swedish, Finnish, Norwegian, English, I am multilingual, Other.
2. Which language(s) did you speak before you started school? If you have spoken more than one language before you started school, choose the ones that is suitable, Sámi, Swedish, Finnish, Norwegian, English, Other
3. How do you feel about the following claims/suggestions? Choose most suitable alternative that describes YOUR thoughts about the language. I do not speak Sámi, I am proud of my language skills, I often hide that I know Sámi, I dare not to speak Sámi, I speak never or very seldom in Sámi, I am interested in writing in Sámi, I find it easier to write in Sámi than in other languages, I could, but I only speak if I must.

Appendix 2: Summary of interview questions with the Sámi pupils

Name:

Age:

Grade:

Mother tongue:

What does mother tongue mean to you? Expand, please:

1. Questions about the Sámi language (attitudes, motivation, self-perception):

- a. Which language(s) did you speak before you started school?
- b. Which language(s) did you learn to read and write?
- c. How long have you spoken Sámi/Swedish?
- d. What do you think is easy / difficult in Sámi / Swedish? Explain, please.
- e. What do you want to learn more in Sámi? Write, read, talk, listen? Explain!
- f. Are you better in Sámi or Swedish?
- g. How important is it for you do know Sámi?

2. Language use in school:

- a. Did you attend a Sámi nurse? How was it? Which language did you use?
- b. When do you use Sámi most? (with friends, teachers, recess)
- c. Which language(s) do you prefer to use in the classroom?
- d. What do you work with in Sámi? How? Reading, writing, listening, speaking? Do you work in the same way in Swedish?
- e. Homework in Sámi and Swedish? Describe.
- f. In what situations (when) do you learn Sámi best?
- g. Follow-up questions from observations!

3. Language use in free-time:

- a. Which books do you read right now? Do you read in Sámi or Swedish, or both?
- b. Does anyone at home help you with your homework in Sámi and Swedish? Who? How?
- c. Do you usually speak Sámi when you are not in school? In what context, with whom. Expand, please!
- d. Do you mix languages, with whom? Expand, please.
- e. How do you use Sámi? Written or spoken? And with when?
- f. Do you need Sámi outside the school context? Who speaks Sámi in your family?

4. Concluding questions:

- a. How do you view the future of the Sámi languages?
- b. Are there any places where it is forbidden to speak Sámi?

Appendix 3: Summary of interview questions with the Sámi teachers

Date:

Name:

Age:

Grade:

Mother tongue (one or more):

Teaching in which grades?

2. Teaching profession:

- a. What kind of teacher training did you obtain?
- b. What Sámi education did obtain
- c. For how many teachers have you been teaching?
- d. For how many years have you been teaching in this Sámi school?
- e. In what kind of schools have you been teaching prior?
- f. What has changed over the past years?
- g. Tell me challenges/possibilities you face in your profession?
- h. What extra trainings have you obtained and what would you like to obtain in the future?
- i. What support do you get from colleagues, parents, principal?

3. Teaching

- a. In what language(s) do you teach?
- b. What do you think is difficult/less difficult in teaching?
- c. How many Sámi classes do you teach and in what subjects, other than Sámi do you use Sámi?
- d. Describe a typical lesson in Sámi or any other subject (teaching method, themes, material, ...)
- e. What is more/less important in your teaching?
- f. How do you motivate your students?
- g. What recourses are available in the school (laptops, iPad, books, games, ...). Is there something you miss? Why?

4. Students' knowledge and attitudes

- a. What do you think about your students' motivation?
- b. Do you experience language barriers (språkspärr) in any student? If so, tell me more.
- c. What kind of relation do students have among themselves?
- d. How would you describe student's language use in Sámi/Swedish?
- e. Describe how do you use Sámi during a school day (recess, lunch, short breaks, ...)

5. Language use

- a. Which language(s) did you learn to read and write first?
- b. Which language(s) do you prefer to speak at school?
- c. What language(s) do you speak to your colleagues/school staff in the school?
- d. Which language(s) do you use most often during recess? Why?
- e. When and where do you speak Sámi?
- f. Do you mix languages?
- g. Do you need Sámi outside the school context? Explain!
- h. What do you do in your free time that is Sámi related?
- i. Follow-up questions from observations:

6. Only for Sámi teachers

- a. What knowledge in Sámi do students have when they start here?

- b. Students learn Sámi as their first or second language. Is there anything that stands out when learning Sámi (e.g. motivation, language awareness, group size, typological similarities that facilitate or make it difficult, influence from other languages)?
- c. How you perceive language mix among students during lessons?
- d. What is your understanding of functional bilingualism? Do you think about it when planning you teaching?
- e. Do you think students can achieve functional bilingualism?
- f. How do you assess you own competences in Sámi?

7. Concluding questions:

- a. How do you view the future of the Sámi languages?

Appendix 4: Summary of interview questions with the school staff

Date:

Name:

Profession:

Mother tongue (one or more):

1. Profession:

- a. How long have you been working here?
- b. With what have you been working before?
- c. Tell me about your challenges/possibilities in your profession?
- d. What extra trainings have you obtained and what would you like to obtain in the future?
- e. What support do you get from colleagues, parents, principal?

2. Language background information:

- a. (If you know Sámi, when did you learn Sámi? Which language did you learn first?)
- b. Which language(s) do you speak at home? (If you have children, which language(s) do you speak with them?)

3. Language use in school

- a. How would you describe students' and school staffs' language use?
- b. How would you describe teachers' language use?
- c. How important is it for students, staff, and teachers to use Sámi? Tell me more.
- d. Follow-up questions from observations

4. Sámi knowledge and attitudes:

- a. Which language(s) did you use outside the school context? Tell me more.
- b. (If you talk Sámi: When and with whom do you speak Sámi outside the school context? Tell me how do you use Sámi within the school context (recess, lunch)? Do you use Sámi with students and other staff members?)
- c. What are your attitudes towards Sámi in school?
- d. What do you associate with Sámi?
- e. How do you view Sámi language and culture today? What changes did you observed during the past few years?

5. Concluding questions:

- f. How do you view the future of the Sámi languages?

Appendix 5: Observational guide (in the classroom)

School: Classroom: Grade: Date:

Time: Teacher(s): Subject:

			Tid
		Lärare – Klass	Organisation
		Lärare- Elev Elev- Lärare	
		Elev-Elev	
		Elev-Klass	
		Samiska	Språkanvändning
		Svenska	
		Annat	
		Läsa	Aktivitiet (Läsa, Skriva, tala, lyssna) och material
		Skriva	
		Tala	
		Lyssna	
		Uppmärks amhet	Engagemang
		Skillnad svenska o samiska	
		Annat	

Appendix 6: Observational guide (outside the classroom)

1. Where?	2. Who talks to whom?	3. Which language(s) are being used?	4. What do they talk about?	5. When?	6. Comments

Area 1*

Area 2*

Area 5*

Area 3*

Area 4*

Note. The different areas indicate the outline of school (such as school buildings, playground, ...). and were drawn by hand once on spot

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